Lawrence J. Johnson

WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH 2

An Anthology of Historical Sources

VOLUME TWO

WORSHIP
IN THE EARLY CHURCH
An Anthology of Historical Sources
Volume Two

Worship in the Early Church is a four-volume collection of excerpts from early Christian writings illustrating the Church's liturgical practice in both East and West, from its Jewish beginnings through the end of the sixth century. Source material includes doctrinal and historical treatises, scriptural commentaries, sermons, letters, synodal legislation, early church orders, monastic rules, and baptismal and funeral epigrams. Each author or major selection is preceded by a short introduction containing such information as dates, country of origin, and various other background details. A bibliography of pertinent periodical and liturgical literature is given as well as a bibliography referencing standard encyclopedias of religion and manuals of patrology.

Volume 1—Jewish prayers from table and synagogue; Subapostolic Era: the *Didache,* Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Pastor Hermas; Second Century: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, Melito of Sardis; Third Century: Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Hippolytus of Rome, the *Didascalia of the Apostles,* Origen, the *Apostolic Church Order;* and others.

Volume 2—Fourth Century, West: Optatus of Milevis, Zeno of Verona, Ambrose of Milan, Pope Siricius, Hilary of Poitiers, Parian of Barcelona, Synod of Elvira (ca. 300); Fourth Century, East: Lactantius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Pseudo-Ignatius, Gregory of Nyssa, the Council of Nicaea (325), John Chrysostom, *Apostolic Constitutions;* and others.

WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH

WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH

An Anthology of Historical Sources

Volume Two

Lawrence J. Johnson

A PUEBLO BOOK

Liturgical Press Collegeville, Minnesota
www.litpress.org

A Pueblo Book published by Liturgical Press

Cover design by David Manahan, OSB

Excerpt (57-B), Epigraph in the Ambrosian Baptistery: from *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*, by S.A. Stauffer, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 29–30 (Bramcote, Nottingham: Grove Books), p. 24. Copyright © 1994. Reprinted with permission of the publisher (www.grovebooks.co.uk).

Excerpt (64-A), Epitaph at Salona: from *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3, *The Sacraments*, new edition, by R. Cabié and others (Collegeville: Liturgical Press), pp. 62–63, n. 207. Copyright © 1987. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Excerpts (79, 96), *Anaphora of Addai and Mari, Strasbourg Papyrus*: from *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd rev. edition, ed. R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming (Collegeville: Liturgical Press), pp. 42–45, 53–54. Copyright © 1992. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Excerpt (86-A), Rule of Saint Pachomius. Precepts: from *Pachomian Chronicles and Rules*, vol. 2, trans. A. Veilleux, Cistercian Studies Series 46 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications), pp. 146ff. Copyright © 1981. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Excerpts (87-A, 87-B), *History of the Monks of the Egyptian Desert, Life of Onnophrius*: from *Paphnutius: Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onnophrius*, rev. edition, trans. and ed. T. Vivian, Cistercian Studies Series 140 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications), pp. 78ff., 164. Copyright © 2000. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

© 2009 by Order of Saint Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, microfilm, microfiche, mechanical recording, photocopying, translation, or by any other means, known or yet unknown, for any purpose except brief quotations in reviews, without the previous written permission of Liturgical Press, Saint John's Abbey, PO Box 7500, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321-7500. Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Johnson, Lawrence J., 1933–
Worship in the early church : an anthology of historical sources / Lawrence J. Johnson.
p. cm.
"A Pueblo book."
Includes index.
ISBN 978-0-8146-6197-0 (v. 1) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6198-7 (v. 2) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6199-4 (v. 3) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6226-7 (v. 4)
1. Worship—History—Early church, ca. 30–600. 2. Church history—Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600. I. Title.
BV6.J64 2009
264.00937—dc22

2009035344

Contents

Abbreviations xi

Introduction xxiii

Chapter VII. Fourth Century. West 1

Africa 1

48. *Acts of the Martyrs of Abitina* 1

49. Optatus of Milevis 2

49-A. *Against the Church of the Apostates* 3

50. Synods 4

50-A. Synod of Carthage (345–48) 4

50-B. Synod of Carthage II (390) 4

50-C. Synod of Hippo (393) 5

Italy 8

51. Zeno of Verona 8

51-A. Sermons. I. 24; I. 32; I. 38; I. 49; I. 55; II. 6 9

52. Damasus I, Pope 10

52-A. *The Tome of Damasus* 11

53. Ambrose of Milan 12

53-A. *On Cain and Abel* 17

53-B. *On Virgins* 17

53-C. *On Faith to Gratian* 18

53-D. *On Elias and Fasting* 18

53-E. *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* 19

53-F. *On the Holy Spirit* 20

53-G. *On Penance* 21

53-H. *On Abraham* 25

53-I. *Hexameron* 26

53-J. *Commentary on Psalm 118 (119)* 27

53-K. *Explanation of David the Prophet* 27

53-L. *On the Mysteries* 28

53-M. *On the Sacraments* 40

53-N. *An Explanation of the Creed* 69

53-O. *Duties of the Clergy* 70

53-P. *On the Patriarchs* 71

53-Q. *Commentaries on Twelve Psalms of David* 71

53-R. Sermons 73
53-R-1. Sermon on the Death of Satyrus 73
53-R-2. Sermon on the Death of Valentinian 74
53-S. Letters. 8 (39); 62 (19); 75A (21a); 76 (20); 77 (22); (63) 75
53-T. Hymns 77
53-T-1. *Aeterne rerum conditor* 78
53-T-2. *Deus creator omnium* 78
53-T-3. *Jam surgit hora tertia* 79
53-T-4. *Intende qui regis Israel* 79
54. Filaster of Brescia 80
54-A. *Book of Heresies* 80
55. Siricius, Pope 82
55-A. Letters 82
55-A-1. Letter 1. To Himerius 82
55-A-2. Letter 7. To Various Bishops 85
56. Three Anonymous Sermons. *On Penance* 85
56-A. Sermon 2 85
56-B. Sermon 3 86
57. Inscriptions 87
57-A. Epigraph of Saint Tarcisius 87
57-B. Epigraph in the Ambrosian Baptistery 87
57-C. Epigraph of Flavius Latinus 88
57-D. Epigraph of Postumius Eutenion 88
Gaul 88
58. Hilary of Poitiers 88
58-A. *On the Gospel of Matthew* 89
58-B. *On the Trinity* 89
58-C. *On the Psalms* 90
59. Synods 90
59-A. Synod of Arles I (314) 90
59-B. Synod of Valence (374) 91
59-C. Synod of Nîmes (394) 91
Iberia 92
60. Pacian of Barcelona 92
60-A. *On Baptism* 93
60-B. *On the Penitents* 98
60-C. Letters 106
60-C-1. Letter 1. To Simpronian 106
60-C-2. Letter 3. To Simpronian 111
61. Gregory of Elvira 116
61-A. *Sermons on the Books of the Holy Scriptures* 116
61-A-1. Sermon 15 117

62. Synods 118
62-A. Synod of Elvira (ca. 300) 118
62-B. Synod of Saragossa (ca. 380) 121
Bulgaria/Croatia 122
63. Synod of Sardica (Serdica) (ca. 343) 122
64. Inscription. Epitaph at Salona 122

Chapter VIII. Fourth Century. East 123
Asia Minor 123
65. Methodius of Philippi (of Olympus) 123
65-A. *The Banquet* 123
66. Lactantius 124
66-A. *The Death of the Persecutors* 125
67. Basil the Great 127
67-A. *On the Holy Spirit* 129
67-B. Longer Rules 131
67-C. *Ascetical Discourse* 133
67-D. Homilies 133
67-D-1. Homily 14 on Drunkards 133
67-D-2. Homily 3 on Famine and Drought 134
67-D-3. Homily 13 on Baptism 134
67-D-4. Homily on Psalm 1 135
67-D-5. Homily on Psalm 114 136
67-E. Letters 136
67-E-1. Letter 2. To Gregory 137
67-E-2. Letter 93. To the Patrician Lady Caesaria on Communion 137
67-E-3. Letter 188. To Amphilochius 137
67-E-4. Letter 199. To Amphilochius 140
67-E-5. Letter 207. To the Clergy of Neo-Caesarea 140
67-E-6. Letter 217. To Amphilochius 141
68. Gregory of Nazianzus 143
68-A. Orations. 8; 18; 38; 39; 40; 43; 45 144
68-B. Letters. 231 150
69. Gregory of Nyssa 151
69-A. *The Great Catechesis* 151
69-B. *Life of Macrina* 152
69-C. Sermons and Orations 154
69-C-1. Sermon on the Ascension 154
69-C-2. Sermon on the Day of Lights on Which Our Lord Was Baptized 154
69-C-3. Sermon on the Forty Martyrs 156
69-C-4. Sermon against Those Who Postpone Baptism 156

69-D. Letters 156
69-D-1. Letter 2. To Those Wanting to Go to Jerusalem 156
69-D-2. Letter 5. To Those Who Doubt That His Faith Is Orthodox 157
69-D-3. Letter 25. To Amphilochius 157
69-D-4. Letter to Letonius 159
70. Pseudo-Ignatius. Letter to the Antiochians 159
71. Councils/Synods 160
71-A. Synod of Ancyra (314) 160
71-B. Synod of Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320) 163
71-C. Council of Nicaea I (325) 164
71-C-1. Canons 165
71-C-2. Synodal Letter to the Egyptians 168
71-D. Council of Constantinople I (381) 168
72. Inscription. Fourth Century. Asia Minor 169
72-A. From a Dokimeion marble slab 169
Syria 170
73. Ammianus Marcellinus 170
73-A. *Rerum gestarum libri* 170
74. John Chrysostom 171
74-A. Homilies on the Psalms. Psalms 7; 49; 140; 144; 145; 149 174
74-B. Homilies on Isaiah. 1; 4 175
74-C. Homilies on Hannah. 4; 5 177
74-D. Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew. 25; 50; 71 177
74-E. Homilies on the Gospel of John. 11; 46 178
74-F. Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles. 18; 26 179
74-G. Homilies on the First Letter to the Corinthians. 8; 24; 27; 36; 40 180
74-H. Homilies on the Second Letter to the Corinthians. 2; 18 184
74-I. Homilies on the Letter to the Ephesians. 3; 14 185
74-J. Homilies on the Letter to the Philippians. 1; 3 186
74-K. Homilies on the Letter to the Colossians. 12 186
74-L. Homilies on the Second Letter to the Thessalonians. 4 187
74-M. Homilies on the First Letter to Timothy. 5; 6; 14 187
74-N. Homilies on the Second Letter to Timothy. 2 189
74-O. Homilies on the Letter to the Hebrews. 8; 17 190
74-P. Homilies on Lazarus. 4 191
74-Q. Homilies "On the Incomprehensible Nature of God." 3; 4; 5 191
74-R. Homilies against the Jews. 3 193
74-S. Liturgical Homilies 194
74-S-1. Homily on the Baptism of Jesus 194
74-S-2. Homily 1 on Holy Thursday 194

74-S-3. Homily 1 on Pentecost 195
74-T. Other Homilies 195
74-T-1. Homily 2 on Prayer 195
74-T-2. Homily 2 on the Devil 195
74-T-3. Homily 2 on the Obscurity of Prophecies 196
74-U. Panagyrics 197
74-U-1. On Berenice and Prosdoce 197
74-U-2. On Lucian 197
74-V. Baptismal Catecheses 197
74-V-1. Catechesis 2 (Wenger) 197
74-V-2. Catechesis 3 (Wenger) 201
74-V-3. Catechesis 8 (Wenger) 202
74-V-4. Catechesis 1 (Papadopulos-Kerameus) 203
74-V-5. Catechesis 2 (Papadopulos-Kerameus) 204
74-V-6. Catechesis 3 (Papadopulos-Kerameus) 205
74-W. *On the Priesthood* 208
74-X. Letter 1 to Pope Innocent 211
75. Aphraates 212
75-A. *Demonstrations* 212
76. Ephraem the Syrian 213
76-A. Hymns 214
76-A-1. *On Oil and the Olive* 215
76-B. Homilies 215
76-B-1. Homily 4 for Holy Week 215
76-C. Biblical Commentaries 216
76-C-1. *On Joel 2:24* 216
76-D. *Sermon on Our Lord* 216
76-E. *Last Will or Testament* 217
77. *Apostolic Constitutions* 217
78. Epiphanius of Salamis 284
78-A. *The Well-Anchored Man* 284
78-B. *Panarion* 285
78-C. *On Faith* 291
79. *Anaphora of Addai and Mari* 292
80. Synods 296
80-A. Synod of Antioch (341) 296
80-B. Synod of Gangra (ca. 345) 298
80-C. Synod of Laodicea (between 343 and 381) 298
Palestine 304
81. Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea 304
81-A. *Church History* 305
81-B. *Life of Constantine* 316
81-C. *Address to the Assembly of the Saints* 317

81-D. *Proof of the Gospel* 318
81-E. *Commentary on the Psalms.* Psalms 64; 65; 91 319
82. Cyril of Jerusalem 319
82-A. *Protocatechesis* 322
82-B. *Lenten Catecheses.* I; III; VI; XVIII 323
82-C. *Mystagogical Catecheses.* I; II; III; IV; V 326
83. Egeria. *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places* 337
Egypt 361
84. Peter of Alexandria 361
84-A. Canonical Letter. *On Penance* 362
85. *Canons of Hippolytus* 370
86. Pachomius 387
86-A. Rule of Saint Pachomius. Precepts 388
87. Paphnutius 389
87-A. *History of the Monks of the Egyptian Desert* 389
87-B. *Life of Onnophrius* 392
88. Serapion of Thmuis 393
88-A. *Prayerbook* 394
89. *Didascalia of the 318 Fathers (Fides Nicaena)* 405
90. Athanasius 406
90-A. *Discourse 2 against the Arians* 407
90-B. *Apology against the Arians* 408
90-C. *Apology to the Emperor Constantius* 408
90-D. *Apology for His Flight* 410
90-E. *History of Arian Impiety* 411
90-F. *Festal Letters.* 1; 2; 3; 5; 39 411
90-G. Letter to Serapion 415
90-H. Sermon to the Newly Baptized 415
91. *Canons of Father Athanasius* 415
92. Timothy I of Alexandria 422
92-A. Canonical Responses 422
93. Didymus the Blind 424
93-A. *On the Trinity* 425
94. Pseudo-Athanasius 425
94-A. *On Virginity* 426
95. *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* 427
96. *Strasbourg Papyrus* 429

Index to Volume Two 431

Abbreviations

SCRIPTURE

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos	John	John
Bar	Baruch	1 John	1 John
Cant	Canticle of Canticles	2 John	2 John
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	3 John	3 John
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Jonah	Jonah
Col	Colossians	Josh	Joshua
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Jude	Jude
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Judg	Judges
Dan	Daniel	1 Kgs	1 Kings
Deut	Deuteronomy	2 Kgs	2 Kings
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Lam	Lamentations
Eph	Ephesians	Lev	Leviticus
Esth	Esther	Luke	Luke
Exod	Exodus	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Ezek	Ezekiel	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Ezra	Ezra	Mal	Malachi
Gal	Galatians	Mark	Mark
Gen	Genesis	Matt	Matthew
Hab	Habakkuk	Mic	Micah
Hag	Haggai	Nah	Nahum
Heb	Hebrews	Neh	Nehemiah
Hos	Hosea	Num	Numbers
Isa	Isaiah	Obad	Obadiah
Jas	James	1 Pet	1 Peter
Jdt	Judith	2 Pet	2 Peter
Jer	Jeremiah	Phil	Philippians
Job	Job	Phlm	Philemon

Prov	Proverbs	2 Ṭhess	2 Thessalonians
Ps/Pss	Psalms	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Rev	Revelation	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Rom	Romans	Titus	Titus
Ruth	Ruth	Tob	Tobit
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Wis	Wisdom
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Zech	Zechariah
Sir	Sirach	Zeph	Zephaniah
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians		

PERIODICALS AND BOOKS MOST FREQUENTLY CITED

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1882ff.).
ABR	*American Benedictine Review* (Atchison, KS, 1950ff.).
AC	*Antike und Christentum* (Münster, 1929–50).
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review* (Washington, D.C., 1889–1975).
Altaner (1961)	B. Altaner, *Patrology*, trans. H.C. Graef, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961).
Altaner (1966)	B. Altaner, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, 6th ed., rev. A. Stüber (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1966).
Altaner (1978)	B. Altaner, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, 8th ed., rev. A. Stüber (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1978).
ALW	*Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* (Regensburg, 1950ff.).
Amb	*Ambrosius* (Milan, 1925–60).
ANF	A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (New York, 1885, 1926).
Ant	*Antonianum* (Rome, 1926ff.).
APB	*Acta Patristica et Byzantina* (Praetoria, 1990ff.).
ApT	*Apostolic Tradition.*
Assem	*Assembly* (Notre Dame, 1974ff.).
AThR	*Anglican Theological Review* (New York, 1918ff.).
Aug	*Augustinianum* (Rome, 1961ff.).
AugMag	*Augustus Magister*, Congrès international augustinien (Paris, Sept. 21–24, 1954). Vols. I and II: *Communications*; vol. III: *Acts.*
BALAC	*Bulletin d'ancienne litérature et d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1911–14).

Bardenhewer (1908)	O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church*, trans. T.J. Shahan (Freiburg i. B./St. Louis, 1908).
Bardenhewer (1910)	O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (Freiburg i. B., 1910).
Bardenhewer (1913)	O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg i. B./St. Louis, 1913–32).
Bardy (1929)	G. Bardy, *The Greek Literature of the Early Christian Church*, trans. Mother Mary Reginald, Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge 2 (St. Louis, 1929).
Bardy (1930)	G. Bardy, *The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries*, trans. Mother Mary Reginald, Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge 12 (St. Louis, 1930).
Bautz	F.W. Bautz, ed., *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Hamm Westf., 1970ff.).
BCE	*Bulletin du comité des études* (Paris, 1953–70).
Bib	*Biblica* (Rome, 1920ff.).
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* (Toulouse, 1899ff.).
Bouyer	L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame, 1968).
BT	*The Bible Today* (Collegeville, 1962ff.).
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne* (Brussels/Paris, 1953–68).
CA	*Cahiers archéologiques* (Paris, 1945ff.).
Campbell	J.M. Campbell, *The Greek Fathers*, Our Debt to Greece and Rome series (New York, 1929).
CATH	G. Jacquemet, ed., *Catholicisme*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1947ff.).
CB	*Collationes Brugenses* (Bruges, 1896–1954).
CC	*La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome, 1850ff.).
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954ff.).
CE	*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13 vols. + index (New York, 1907–14).
CH	*Church History* (Chicago and Tallahassee, 1932ff.).
CHECL	F. Young, L. Ayres, and A. Louth, eds., *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 2004).
ChQ	*Church Quarterly Review* (London, 1875–1968).
Chr	*Christus* (Paris, 1954ff.).
CollMech	*Collectanea Mechliniensia* (Mechlin, 1927–70).
ComL	*Communautés et liturgies* (Ottignies, 1975ff.).
Con	*Concilium* (Glen Rock, NJ, etc., 1965ff.).
Courtonne	Y. Courtonne, ed., *Saint Basile: Lettres*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1957, 1961, 1966).
CPG	M. Geerard and F. Glorie, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–87).

CPGS	M. Geerard and others, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum Supplementum* (Turnhout, 1998).
Cph	*Classical Philology* (Chicago, 1906ff.).
CPL	E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, eds., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Turnhout/Steebrugge, 1995).
CR	*The Clergy Review* (London, 1931–87).
CRI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris, 1857ff.).
Cross	F.L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers* (London, 1960).
CS	*Chicago Studies* (Mundelein, IL, 1962ff.).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff.).
CV	G.M. Diez, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona/Madrid, 1963).
DACL	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1913–53).
DCA	W. Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 2 vols. (London, 1876–80).
DCB	W. Smith and H. Wace, eds., *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, 4 vols. (London, 1877–87).
DDC	R. Naz and others, eds., *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1935–65).
DDCon	P. Palazzini, ed., *Dizionario dei Concili*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–67).
DEC	N.P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London/Washington, D.C., 1990).
Deiss	L. Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* (Collegeville, 1979).
DGA	P.-P. Joannou, ed., *Disciplina Generale Antique* (Rome, 1962).
DHGE	A. Baudrillart, ed., *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912ff.).
DictSp	M. Viller and others, eds., *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* (Paris, 1937ff.).
Did	*Didache*
Didas	*Didascalia Apostolorum*
Di Sante	C. di Sante, *Jewish Prayer: The Origins of the Christian Liturgy*, trans. M.J. O'Connell (New York, 1991).
Div	*Divinitas* (Vatican City, 1957ff.).
Dix	G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 4th ed. (Westminster, 1949).
DLW	J.G. Davies, ed., *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (New York, 1972).
Dolbeau	F. Dolbeau, ed., *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique / Augustin d'Hippone; retrouvés à Mayence*, Collection des études augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 147 (Paris, 1996).
DPAC	A. di Berardino, ed., *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, 3 vols. (Marietti, 1983–88).

DR	*Downside Review* (Bath, England, 188off.).
DT	*Divus Thomas* (Fribourg i. S., 1871–1953).
DTC	A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, eds., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–50).
DV	*Dieu vivant* (Paris, 1945–55).
EC	P. Paschini and others, eds., *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, 12 vols. (Vatican City, 1949–54).
ED	*Euntes Docete* (Rome, 1948ff.).
EEC	A. di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, trans. A. Walford, with a foreword and bibliographic amendments by W.H.C. Frend, 2 vols. (New York, 1992).
EEChr	E. Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York, 1997).
EgT	*Eglise et théologie* (Ottawa, 1970–99).
Elbogen (1962)	I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 4th ed. (Hildesheim, 1962).
Elbogen (1993)	I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*, trans. R.P. Scheindlin (Philadelphia/New York, 1993).
EO	*Echos d'Orient* (Paris, 1897–1942).
EOr	*Ecclesia Orans* (Rome, 1984ff.).
EphL	*Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Rome, 1887ff.).
ERP	*Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques, et litteraires* (Paris, 1888–1940).
EstAg	*Estudio Teologico Augustiniano* (Valladolid, Spain, 1973ff.).
Et	*Etudes* (Paris, 1897ff.).
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* (Louvain, 1924ff.).
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses* (Montpellier, 1926ff.).
ExpT	*The Expository Times* (Edinburgh, 1889ff.).
FF	*France franciscaine* (Lille, 1912–29).
FLDG	Forschungen zur christliche Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte (Mainz/Paderborn, 1910–38).
Folia	*Folia. Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics* (Worcester, MA, 1959–79).
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien (Freiburg i. B., 1910ff.).
FZPT	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* (Fribourg i. S., 1954ff.).
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte (Berlin, 1897ff.).
Goodspeed	E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enl. R. Grant (Chicago, 1966).
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (Brookline, MA, 1954ff.).
Greg	*Gregorianum* (Rome, 1920ff.).

Hamell	P.J. Hamell, *Handbook of Patrology* (New York, 1968).
Hänggi	A. Hänggi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgicis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg i. S., 1968).
Harp	*Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies* (Kerala, India, 1987–2000).
Hefele (1905)	C.J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, trans. H. Leclercq, 11 vols. (Paris, 1905–52).
Hefele (1871)	C.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church: From the Original Documents*, trans. W.R. Clark and H.N. Oxenham, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1871–96).
HS	*Hispania sacra* (Madrid, 1948ff.).
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review* (New York, 1908–9; Cambridge, MA, 1910ff.).
Idelsohn	A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and Its Development* (New York, 1967).
IER	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Dublin, 1864–1968).
Imp	*Impacts: Revue de l'Université catholique de l'Ouest* (Angers, 1967ff.).
Ire	*Irénikon* (Amay, 1926ff.).
Ist	*Istina* (Paris, 1954ff.).
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly* (Dublin, 1906–22; Maynooth, 1951ff.).
Jasper	R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd rev. ed. (Collegeville, 1992).
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston/New Haven, 1890ff.).
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies* (Baltimore, 1993ff.).
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1950ff.).
Jeremias (1960)	J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, 3rd. ed. (Göttingen, 1960).
Jeremias (1966)	J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. N. Perrin (London, 1966).
JL	*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (Münster, 1921–41).
JLH	*Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* (Kassel, 1955ff.).
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (London, 1889–94; New York, 1896–1908).
JR	*The Journal of Religion* (Chicago, 1921ff.).
JThSt	*The Journal of Theological Studies* (London, 1900–1905; Oxford, 1906–49; n.s. 1950ff.).
JucL	*Jucunda Laudatio* (Milan, 1963ff.).
Jurgens	W.A. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, 3 vols. (Collegeville, 1970–79).
Kat	*Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* (Mainz, 1821–89).

Labriolle (1947)	P.C. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 3rd rev. ed. (Paris, 1947).
Labriolle (1968)	P.C. de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, trans. H. Wilson, History of Civilization (New York, 1968).
LAC	*L'Ami du clergé* (Langres, France, 1888–1968).
Latomus	*Latomus. Revue d'études latines* (Brussels, 1937ff.).
Lau	*Laurentianum* (Rome, 1960ff.).
Leigh-Bennett	E. Leigh-Bennett, *Handbook of the Early Christian Fathers* (London, 1920).
LJ	*Liturgisches Jahrbuch* (Münster, 1951ff.).
LMD	*La Maison-Dieu* (Paris, 1945ff.).
LMF	*Le messager des fidèles* (Mardesous, 1884–89).
LNPF	P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (repr. Grand Rapids, 1951ff.).
LO	Lex Orandi (Paris, 1944–71).
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen (Münster i. W., 1918–39).
LThPh	*Laval théologique et philosophique* (Quebec, 1970–82).
LTK	W. Kasper and others, eds., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols., 3rd ed. (Freiburg i. B., 1993–2001).
LV	*Lumière et vie* (Bruges, 1951–60).
LWP	*Liturgical Week Proceedings, North American*
LwQF	Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen (Münster i. W., 1919–2005).
LXX	Septuagint
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–98).
Mel	*Melto. Melta. Recherches orientales* (Kaslik, Liban, 1965–69).
Millgram	A.E. Millgram, *Jewish Worship* (Philadelphia, 1971).
MilS	*Milltown Studies* (Dublin, 1978ff.).
Mnem	*Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica Batava* (Leyden, 1852ff.).
MRR-1	J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1951).
MRR-2	J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner, rev. C.K. Riepe (New York, 1959).
MS	*Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto, 1939ff.).
MSR	*Mélanges de science religieuse* (Lille, 1944ff.).
Mus	*Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1882–1916, 1921ff.).

NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 14 vols. + index (New York, 1967) + 3 supplementary vols. 16–18 (1974–89).
NCES	*New Catholic Encyclopedia, Second Edition*, 15 vols. (Detroit/ Washington, D.C., 2003).
NDSW	P.E. Fink, ed., *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville, 1990).
Not	*Notitiae* (Rome, 1965ff.).
NRTh	*Nouvelle revue théologique* (Tournai, 1869–1913, 1920–39, 1945ff.).
NTes	Novum Testamentum (Leiden, 1956ff.).
NTS	New Testament Studies (London, 1954ff.).
NWDLW	J.G. Davies, ed., *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Philadelphia, 1986).
OC	Oriens Christianus (Wiesbaden, 1931–39, 1953ff.).
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Rome, 1935ff.).
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome, 1935ff.).
ODCC	F.L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., ed. E.A. Livingstone (New York, 1997).
Oesterley (1911)	W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 2nd ed. (London, 1911).
Oesterley (1925)	W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925).
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1909ff.).
OrSyr	*L'Orient syrien* (Paris, 1956ff.).
OstkSt	*Ostkirchliche Studien* (Würzburg, 1952ff.).
ParL	*Paroisse et liturgie* (Bruges, 1946–74).
PB	*Pastor Bonus* (Trier, 1889–1943).
PEA (1894)	A.F. von Pauly, *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–1919).
PEA (1991)	H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1991ff.).
PG	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66).
PhW	*Philologische Wockenschrift* (Leipzig, 1881–1940).
PL	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
PLS	J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina Supplementum*, ed. A. Hamman (Paris, 1958ff.).
PO	*Parole de l'Orient. Melto dmadnho* (Kaslik, Lebanon, 1970ff.).
PP	*Parole et pain* (Paris, 1964–73).
PrO	*Présence orthodox* (Paris, 1967–81).
PrOChr	*Proche-orient chrétien* (Jerusalem, 1951ff.).
QL	*Questions liturgiques* (Louvain, 1970ff.).
QLP	*Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (Louvain, 1919–69).

Quasten	J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Westminster, MD, 1962ff.). (Vol. 4, 1986, is a translation of vol. 3 of *Patrologia*, ed. A. di Berardino.)
RAC	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1924ff.).
RACh	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser (Leipzig, 1950ff.).
RAM	*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* (Toulouse, 1920–71).
RAp	*Revue pratique d'apologétique* (Paris, 1905–21).
RAug	*Recherches augustiniennes* (Paris, 1958ff.).
RB	*Revue bénédictine* (Maredsous, 1890ff.).
RBibl	*Revue biblique internationale* (Paris, 1891ff.; n.s. 1904ff.).
RBPh	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* (Brussels, 1922ff.).
RCF	*Revue du clergé francais* (Paris, 1894–1920).
RCT	*Revista catalana de teología* (Barcelona, 1976–88, 1990ff.).
RDC	*Revue de droit canonique* (Strasbourg, 1951ff.).
REAug	*Revue des études augustiniennes* (Paris, 1955ff.).
REF	*Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* (Paris, 1910ff.).
REG	*Revue des études grecques* (Paris, 1888ff.).
REJ	*Revue des études juives* (Paris, 1880ff.).
REL	*Revue ecclésiastique de Liège* (Liège, 1905–67).
RELA	*Revue des études latines* (Paris, 1923ff.).
Res	*Résurrection* (Paris, 1956–63).
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly* (Abilene, TX, 1957ff.).
RET	*Revista española de teología* (Madrid, 1940ff.).
RevAgusEsp	*Revista augustiniana de Espiritualidad* (Calahorra, Spain, 1960–79).
RevAug	*Revue augustinienne* (Louvain, 1901–10).
RevSR	*Revue des sciences religieuses* (Strasbourg, 1921ff.).
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain, 1900ff.).
RHL	*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* (Paris, 1896–1922).
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg, 1921ff.).
RIT	*Revue internationale de théologie* (Berne, 1893–1910).
RivAM	*Rivista di Ascetica et Mistica* (Florence, 1956ff.).
RL	*Rivista Liturgica* (Turin, 1914ff.).
Rocz	*Rocznik theologico-kanoninczne* (Lublin, Poland, 1949–90).
RPLH	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* (Paris, 1845–47; n.s. 1877–1926; 3. s. 1927ff.).
RQ	*Römische Quartelschrift für christliche Altertumskunde* (Freiburg i. B., 1887ff.).
RQH	*Revue des questions historiques* (Paris, 1866–1939).
RR	*Revue réformé* (Saint-Germaine-en-Laye, France, 1950ff.).
RRel	*Review for Religious* (St. Louis, 1942ff.).

RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (Paris, 1907ff.).
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse* (Paris, 1910ff.).
RT	*Revue thomiste* (Paris, 1924–65).
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (Louvain, 1969ff.).
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain* (Louvain, 1970ff.).
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne, 1921ff.).
RUO	*La revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* (Ottawa, 1931–87).
Sal	*Salesianum* (Turin, 1939ff.).
SC	*Scuola Cattolica* (Milan, 1902ff.).
SCA	Studies in Christian Antiquity (Washington, D.C., 1941–85).
ScE	*Science et esprit* (Montreal, 1928ff.).
SChr	Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1941ff.).
SCJ	*Second Century: Journal of Early Christian Studies* (Abilene, TX, 1981–92).
Scr	*Scripture* (London, 1969–75).
SE	*Sacris Erudiri* (Bruges, 1948ff.).
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology* (Edinburgh, etc., 1948ff.).
SM	*Studia Monastica* (Barcelona, 1959ff.).
SP	*Studia Patristica: Acts of the International Conventions of Oxford* (TU) (Berlin, 1957ff.).
SPMed	Studia Patristica Mediolanensia (Milan, 1974ff.).
ST	*Studi e Testi* (Rome, 1900ff.).
StC	*Studia Catholica* (Nijmegen, 1924–60).
Steidle	B. Steidle, *Patrologia: seu Historia Antiquae Litteraturae Ecclesiasticae, Scholarum Usui Accommodata* (Freiburg i. B., 1937).
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Paderborn, 1907ff.).
STh	*Studia Theologica* (Lund, 1947ff.).
StLit	C. Jones and others, eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed. (New York, 1992).
StP	*Studia Patavina* (Padua, 1954ff.).
Strack	H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. iv/i, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1956).
StudEnc	*Study Encounter* (Geneva, 1965–76).
StudLit	*Studia Liturgica* (Rotterdam, 1962ff.).
TD	*Theology Digest* (St. Louis, 1953ff.).
Theol	*Theology* (Norwich, England, 1976ff.).
ThGl	*Theologie und Glaube* (Paderborn, 1909ff.).
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift* (Stuttgart/Tübingen, 1831–1928; various places, 1929ff.).
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha, 1828–42).
Tixeront	J. Tixeront, *A Handbook of Patrology*, trans. S.A. Raemers (London/St. Louis, 1947).

Tra	*Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* (New York, 1943ff.).
TRE	G. Krause and G. Müller, eds., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin, 1976ff.).
TS	*Theological Studies* (Baltimore/Woodstock, 1940ff.).
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte de altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin, 1882ff.).
TV	*Theologia Viatorum: Jahrbuch der kirchlichen Hochschule Berlin* (Berlin, 1948/49–1979/80).
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1945ff.).
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae* (Amsterdam, 1947ff.).
VerC	*Verbum Caro* (Taizé, France, 1947–69).
VetChr	*Vetera Christianorum* (Bari, 1964ff.).
VS	*La Vie Spirituelle* (Paris, 1919ff.).
WEC	L. Johnson, ed., *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 4 vols. (Collegeville, 2009).
Werner	E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London/New York, 1959).
Wor	*Worship* (Collegeville, 1952ff.; formerly *Orate Fratres*, 1926–51).
Wright (1928)	F.A. Wright, ed., *Fathers of the Church: Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine: A Selection from the Writings of the Latin Fathers* (London, 1928).
Wright (1932)	F.A. Wright, *A History of Later Greek Literature from the Death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to the Death of Justinian in 545 A.D.* (London, 1932).
WSt	*Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* (Vienna, 1879ff.).
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin/New York, 1881ff.).
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha, 1877–1930; Stuttgart, 1931ff.).
ZkTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck, 1877–1940; Vienna, 1947ff.).
ZNeW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* (Giessen/Berlin/New York, 1900ff.).
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (Münster, 1911–37).
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (Tübingen, 1891ff.).
/	= "or," e.g., 543/554
[ ]	Textual material supplied by translator of the original source or by the present editor/translator

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed numerous Christian denominations reforming and renewing their communal worship structures. Well before such a venture occurred, there took place, mainly though not exclusively in Europe, a scientific study of the early development of the Church's common prayer, a study that continues today. Both professional and amateur historians have applied and are applying their expertise to this important task, for understanding the past is not merely an intellectual exercise but offers one of the all-important keys for understanding the present.

Yet many students of worship have but little direct contact with the great literary heritage that witnesses the way Christians lived their liturgical life during the early ages of Christianity. Often a person's acquaintance with the primitive Church's written documentation is only by way of citations in end- or footnotes. Frequently access to the excellent English language collections of early source material is limited, since these are for the most part found only in the libraries of theological schools and major universities. The same is true of texts related to particular subjects, e.g., initiation. Furthermore, a large amount of pertinent material has simply not appeared in English. Texts in Latin, Greek, and other languages—apart from their inherent problems for many students of the liturgy—are no less difficult to obtain.

The four volumes of the present series aim to present a selection or thesaurus (representative, to be sure) of a wide selection of source material illustrating the growth of the Church's common prayer, in both East and West, from its Jewish roots down to the end of the sixth century. Included are texts from homilies, dogmatic and spiritual treatises, letters, monastic rules, church orders, prayer formulas, conciliar and synodal legislation, inscriptions, and the like. The subject matter is not only sacramental celebration but also the liturgical year, the times of the day for personal or group prayer, music and song, the physical arrangement of the church building, times for fasting (considered to be so closely allied with prayer), veneration of the martyrs, liturgical roles, decorum within and without the church, etc.

The user of these volumes fortunate enough to have access to a major theological library may well profit from the references to patristic and other manuals, as well as from the bibliography of pertinent periodical articles and treatises.

In a few cases the most recent edition of a text was, for various reasons, unavailable to me. Also, several texts initially intended to appear in

this work are in fact not included since a particular volume could not be obtained.

It should be noted that, unless otherwise indicated, the enumeration of the psalms follows the Hebrew.

All cited texts have been translated by the present editor from the source indicated ("Translated from . . .") or are taken from a preexisting translation ("Translation from . . .").

A note on format

Each subhead (author, anonymous document, synods, etc.) is assigned an identification number, which is usually followed by a letter indicating a particular work of an author or a particular synod.

The internal enumeration of paragraphs usually corresponds to that of the edition from which the text was translated. Marginal numbers, running sequentially, are assigned to paragraphs of the text.

Cross-references are indicated by the abbreviation for *Worship in the Early Church*, i.e., WEC, followed by the volume number and then either the subhead number in bold text (e.g., WEC 2:57 or WEC 2:**68-A**) or else the marginal paragraph number (e.g., WEC 2:1613).

There are three types of footnotes: daggers, letters, and numbers. Daggered notes indicate the sources from which translations have been made, lettered notes contain explanations for words and phrases used in the text, and numbered notes indicate scriptural references.

* * *

No work of this kind can reach completion without the encouragement and assistance of many people. And thus I must express my gratitude to Mr. Peter Kearney for sharing his expertise in Latin and Hebrew. To the Rev. James Challancin, a priest of the diocese of Marquette, Michigan, and a former professor of liturgy, for his many words of encouragement. To the staff (especially Jessica) of the Escanaba, Michigan, Public Library for such gracious assistance in procuring by means of interlibrary loans ever so many volumes from libraries throughout the country. To the whole publishing team at Liturgical Press and especially to Stephanie Lancour, my copy editor, whose careful reading of the text has saved me from any number of embarrassing moments. And especially to my wife, Marlene Winter-Johnson, not only for her patience throughout this endeavor but especially for the numerous hours in researching materials found in the library of The Catholic University of America and in that of the University of Notre Dame, as well as for helping to prepare the work's manuscript for publication.

Chapter VII

Fourth Century. West

AFRICA

48. *ACTS OF THE MARTYRS OF ABITINA*†

In 304 a group of Christians was arrested in Abitina (close to Medjez-el Bab in western Tunisia) and taken to Carthage to be questioned by Anulinus, the proconsul, namely, the provincial governor. The charge was that the thirty-one men and eighteen women had gathered to celebrate the Lord's Day.

The account of their questioning or trial has come down to us in a Donatist recension.

CATH 1:38 * DHGE 1:129–31 * DPAC 1:10 * EEC 1:2 * NCES 1:90–91

2. At the time of Diocletian and Maximianus the devil waged war upon 862
the Christians in the following way: the most holy writings on the Lord and the divine Scriptures were sought out and burned; churches were destroyed; it was forbidden to hold the sacred rites and the most holy assemblies. [. . .] In the city of Abitina, in the house of Octavius Felix [. . .] those celebrating the Lord's Day as customary were apprehended by the magistrates who were accompanied by a detachment of soldiers. Among those arrested were the priest Saturninus with his four children: namely, his son Saturninus, a lector; Felix, also a lector; Mary, a consecrated virgin; and Hilarianus, a child. [. . .]

4. These martyrs of Christ were put in longed-for chains and from Abi- 863
tina they were sent to Carthage. Throughout their whole journey they joyfully sang hymns and psalms to the Lord. [. . .]

10. [. . .] The proconsul said, "Contrary to the order of the emperors 864
and the Caesars, did you not bring all these together?" Saturninus the priest, inspired by the Lord's Spirit, replied, "Without fear we celebrated the Lord's Supper [*dominicum*]." "But why?" "Because," replied Saturninus, "we cannot omit the Lord's Supper." [. . .]

12. The proconsul, going on to Emeritus, said, "Is it indeed in your 865
house that the assemblies take place contrary to what the emperors have decreed?" Emeritus, full of the Holy Spirit, replied, "It is in my house that we have celebrated the Lord's Supper." "Why did you allow these to

† Translated from P.F. de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, vol. 8, ST 65 (Rome, 1935) 50ff.

enter?" Emeritus answered, "Because they are my brethren, and I was unable to hinder them." "But this is what you should have done." "I could not do so because we cannot live without celebrating the Lord's Supper." Immediately the proconsul had him placed on a rack and tortured. [. . .]

866 14. [. . .] Ampelius was the next to be questioned. He was the keeper of the law and the most faithful preserver of the divine Scriptures. The proconsul questioned him as to whether he was at the assembly [*collecta*]. Cheerful and unafraid, he eagerly replied, "I assembled with the brethren. I celebrated the Lord's Supper. I have the Lord's Scriptures with me but they are written on my heart. Praise to you, O Christ. Hear me, O Christ." [. . .]

867 15. But the younger Saturninus, the venerable offspring of the priest Saturninus, [. . .] was questioned by the proconsul. "And you, Saturninus, were you present?" "I am a Christian," said Saturninus. "This is not what I asked. My question was whether you celebrated the Lord's Supper." To this Saturninus answered, "I did so because Christ is the Savior." Hearing the word "Savior," Anulinus became agitated and had a rack prepared for the father's son. The proconsul addressed Saturninus, who was stretched out on the rack. "What did you profess? Look where you are. Do you have any of the Scriptures?" Saturninus replied, "I am a Christian." "I am asking whether you were part of the assembly, whether you have the Scriptures." [. . .] "I have the Lord's Scriptures, but they are written on my heart." [. . .]

49. OPTATUS OF MILEVIS

Relatively little is known concerning the details of Optatus's life, whose date of birth is often given as ca. 320. He seems to have been a convert and was perhaps a rhetorician. As bishop of Milevis in Numedian Africa, he wrote his *Against the Church of the Apostates*, a work opposing the Donatists. The date of the bishop's death appears to be ca. 385.

CPL nos. 244ff. * Altaner (1961) 435–36 * Altaner (1966) 371–72 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:491–95 * Bautz 6:1226–27 * Jurgens 2:139–41 * Labriolle (1947) 1:428–29 * Labriolle (1968) 294–95 * Quasten 4:122–27 * Steidle 183 * Tixeront 233–34 * CATH 10:103–5 * CE 11:262–63 * DCB 4:90–93 * DictSp 11:824–29 * DPAC 2:2549–52 * DTC 11.1:1077–84 * EC 9:449–51 * EEC 2:612–13 * EEChr 2:830–31 * LTK 7:1076–77 * NCE 10:706–7 * NCES 10:611–12 * ODCC 1185 * PEA (1894) 18.1:765–72 * PEA (1991) 8:1269–70 * TRE 25:300–302

T. Sagi-Bunič, "Controversia de Baptismate inter Parmenianum et s. Optatum Milevitanum," Lau 3 (1962) 167–209. * A. Goda, "Les mots 'fides' et 'fidelis' chez Optat de Milève," Rocz 19 (1972) 172–80 [in Polish with resume in French]. * A. Malunowiczówna, "Signification du mot 'sacramentum' chez Optat de Milève," Rocz 19 (1972) 163–70. * M. Labrousse, "Le baptême des hérétiques d'après Cyprien, Optat et Augustin: Influences et divergences," REAug 42 (1996) 223–42. * J.L. Gutiérrez-Martin, *Iglesia y liturgia en el Africa romana del siglo IV: bautismo y eucaristía en los libros de Optato, obispo de Milevi*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 116 (Rome, 2001).

49-A. Against the Church of the Apostates†

Also called *Against Parmenian* or *On the Schism of the Donatists,* this treatise, begun ca. 367 and often rambling in composition, originally consisted of six books. A seventh book was added ca. 385 as an appendix, perhaps by Optatus himself in a revised edition of the work.

The Donatists were a schismatic group, largely confined to Africa, who among other points rejected the efficacy of the sacraments when conferred "outside the Church." Parmenian, the author of a treatise being refuted by Optatus, was the Donatist bishop of Carthage (362–391/392). In marked contrast to the attitude of most late fourth-century orthodox writers is the lenient approach Optatus takes in regard to the schismatics (not heretics, however).

II.II. [. . .] You know that Peter received the first episcopal chair in the 868
city of Rome, a fact you cannot deny. This chair was occupied by Peter, the first among the apostles, and so he is called Cephas. This one chair is the basis of the unity to be kept by all. The other apostles did not act in an independent manner. Anyone arranging another chair contrary to that single chair—whoever would do anything like this would already be a schismatic and a sinner.

II.III. Peter, therefore, was the first to occupy this chair, and this was the 869
first of his gifts. [. . .]

II.XX. Perfect happiness is not given by Christ our Savior; it is promised. 870
For this reason God said, "You shall be holy, for I am holy."[1] And so God, who alone is perfect and holy, did not say, "You are holy," but rather "You will be holy." [. . .] When you lead some astray, you promise that you will grant them the forgiveness of their sins. And when you desire to grant them the forgiveness of sins, you confess your own innocence. You forgive as if you yourselves had no sins. This is not presumption; it is deception. It is not truth; it is a lie. For shortly after you have imposed hands and forgiven sins, you will face the altar but you cannot omit the Lord's Prayer wherein you say, "Our Father [. . .] Forgive us our sins." [. . .]

IV.VII. Heaven is opened.[2] When God the Father anointed Christ, the 871
spiritual oil immediately descended in the form of a dove and, resting upon his head, enveloped him. The oil was spread about. For this reason he came to be called the "Christ" since he was anointed by God the Father. Should he seem to lack the imposition of the hand, the voice of God was heard speaking from a cloud, saying, "This is my Son, the Beloved, with whom I am well pleased. Listen to him."[3]

V.IV. No one baptizes always and everywhere. There were those who 872
baptized in times past; others do so now; still others will do so in the future. The person baptizing can be different but not the sacrament. As you

† Translated from *S. Optati Milevitani Libri VII,* ed. C. Ziwsa (Vienna, 1893) 36ff.

1. Lev 11:45. 2. See Matt 3:16. 3. Matt 3:17; Luke 9:35; 2 Pet 1:17.

can see, those who do the baptizing are the workers, not the lords. The sacraments are holy in themselves and are not made so by mere mortals. So what is it that you so insist upon for yourselves? What is it that you claim God rejects from what is divinely given? Acknowledge that God is in charge of what is his own. [. . .]

873 VI.1 [. . .] What is so sacrilegious as to break, scrape, remove God's altars on which you yourselves had once offered, on which both the prayers of the people and the members of Christ had been held, where God Almighty has been invoked, where the Holy Spirit has been requested and has descended, from which many have received the pledge of eternal salvation, the safeguard of the faith, and the hope of resurrection? [. . .] For what is an altar other than the resting place for Christ's Body and Blood? [. . .] Who among the faithful does not know that in celebrating the mysteries the wooden altar is covered by a linen cloth? During the rites themselves the covering can be touched but not the wood. [. . .]

50. SYNODS

50-A. Synod of Carthage (345–48)†

The purpose of this synod, which took place sometime between 345 and 348, was to thank God that the schism of Donatism had ended—or at least so the bishops participating believed—and to draw up some useful rules, fourteen in all, for church discipline. The canons of this meeting form one of the earliest canonical collections that have come down to us.

Hefele (1871) 2:185–86 * EEC 1:146 * ODCC 3:293

874 Canon 1. Therefore if it pleases you, we will first consider the question of rebaptism. My question concerns someone who has gone down into the water and has been questioned regarding the Trinity according to the faith of the Gospel and the doctrine of the apostles and before God has acknowledged belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Should this person again be questioned concerning the same faith and again be washed in water?

875 All the bishops responded: In no way! Rebaptism is not allowed.[a] We forbid it as being contrary to the true faith and to the Catholic Church.

50-B. Synod of Carthage II (390)††

This general African synod, under the presidency of Bishop Genethlius of Carthage, enacted thirteen canons.

---

† Canons translated from *Concilia Africae à 345 à 525*, ed. C. Munier, CCL 149 (Turnhout, 1974) 3–4.

a. See Orleans III (538) can. 34 (WEC 4:4614); Toledo III (589) ser. 1 can. 15 (WEC 4:4764).

†† Canons translated from CCL 149:13–17.

CPL no. 1765c * DDCon 1:255 * Hefele (1905) 2.1:76–78 * CATH 2:607 * DCA 1:38 * EEC 1:146 * ODCC 293

Canon 3. [. . .] Presbyters may not consecrate chrism[a] or bless virgins;[b] nor may a presbyter grant public reconciliation.[c] 876

Canon 4. [. . .] If someone is in danger and seeks reconciliation at the holy altar and if the bishop is absent, the presbyter should consult the bishop and with his permission reconcile the sinner.[d] 877

Canon 9. [. . .] A presbyter officiating without the bishop's permission is to be deprived of his rank. 878

50-C. Synod of Hippo (393)[†]

This first plenary African council took place on October 8, 393, in the Basilica of Peace at Hippo Regius. Its president was Aurelius, the archbishop of Carthage; Augustine (WEC 3:98) gave the opening speech. Although the meeting's *Acta* have for the most part been lost, manuscript evidence gives us some glimpse of what transpired at the gathering.

DDCon 2:195–96 * Hefele (1905) 2.1:82–91 * Hefele (1871) 2:394–402 * CE 11:99 * DCA 1:38 * DHGE 24:621 * EEC 1:383 * ODCC 773

F.L. Cross, "History and Fiction in the African Canons," JThSt, n.s., 12 (1961) 227–47. * B. Neunheuser, "'Cum altari adsistitur semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio': der canon 21 des Konzils von Hippo 393. Seine Bedeutung und Nachwirkung," Aug 25 (1985) 105–19.

50-C-1. CANONS FOUND IN *CODEX VERCELLI 165*

Some fragments of the discussion appear to have survived in five canons found in a northern Italy manuscript, *Codex Vercelli 165*.

Canon 5. [. . .] It pleases all that the Scriptures that are read are canonical;[a] the passions of the martyrs[b] may be read aloud in their particular churches. 879

---

a. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 34 (WEC 2:891); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 19 (WEC 4:4752).

b. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 2:881); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 34 (WEC 2:891); Saragossa (ca. 380) can. 8 (WEC 2:1298); Riez (439) can. 4 (WEC 3:3122); Agde (506) can. 19 (WEC 4:4555).

c. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 30-b (WEC 2:888); Elvira (ca. 300) can. 32 (WEC 2:1279); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

d. See note c above.

[†] Canons translated from CCL 149:21–44.

a. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) cans. 59–60 (WEC 2:2002–3).

b. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 36-d (WEC 2:892).

50-C-2. THE *BREVIARIUM HIPPONENSE*

In preparation for a later synod, one held in Carthage in 397, the bishops of Byzacene drafted a document, known as the *Breviarium Hipponense*, which gave a résumé of the canons previously enacted at Hippo in 393. This summary has come down to us through a number of manuscript traditions that incorporate various textual differences. There are two series of enactments, the first having five canons, the second having thirty-seven canons.

Series 1

880 Canon 1. All the provinces of Africa are to be guided by the church of Carthage regarding the feast of Easter,[c] concerning which an error has arisen.

Series 2

881 Canon 1. a) Readers may not extend the greeting to the people. b) No one is to be ordained[d] nor is any virgin to be blessed who is under twenty-five.[e] c) Because of the need to profess and defend the faith no one is to be made a cleric unless such a person has first been instructed in the holy Scriptures or from youth has been given a good education in them.[f]

882 Canon 3. During the most holy days of the Pasch no other sacrament than the accustomed salt will be given to the catechumens because if during these days the faithful do not change the sacraments, so also the catechumens are to change nothing.

883 Canon 4. a) The deceased are not to be given the Eucharist[g] nor are they to be baptized since the Lord said, "Take and eat."[1] Dead bodies can neither take nor eat. b) Since the Eucharist is not given to the deceased, care must be taken that no one mistakenly believes that the dead can be baptized.

884 Canon 20. No one may be ordained who has not been approved either by an examination carried out by the bishop or by the testimony of the people.[h]

885 Canon 21. a) In prayer no one shall address the Son rather than the Father, or the Father rather than the Son except at the altar when prayer is always to be addressed to the Father. b) No one shall use strange forms of prayer without having first consulted those brethren who are well-instructed.[i]

---

c. See Nicaea I (325) (WEC 2:1459); Antioch (341) can. 1 (WEC 2:1947); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 78 (WEC 3:3103); Orleans IV (541) can. 1 (WEC 4:4615).

d. See Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320) can. 11 (WEC 2:1443); Agde (506) can. 17 (WEC 4:4553); Arles IV (524) can. 1 (WEC 4:4589); Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605).

e. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 34 (WEC 2:891); Saragossa (ca. 380) can. 8 (WEC 2:1298); Riez (439) can. 4 (WEC 3:3122); Agde (506) can. 19 (WEC 4:4555).

f. See Narbonne (589) can. 11 (WEC 4:4658).

g. See Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 12 (WEC 4:4637).

h. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 13 (WEC 2:1965); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 10 (WEC 3:3072); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 1 (WEC 4:4675).

i. See Carthage VI (407) can. 103 (WEC 3:2748); Milevis (416) can. 12 (WEC 3:2750).

1. 1 Cor 11:24.

Canon 23. a) At the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ nothing is to be offered other than what the Lord himself passed down, namely, bread and wine mixed with water.[j] b) The first-fruits, milk and honey, which on the one most solemn day are accustomed to be offered, even though offered upon the altar, have their own blessing so that they are distinguished from the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood. Only what comes from grapes and grain is among the first fruits. 886

Canon 28. The sacraments of the altar shall always be celebrated by those who are fasting except on the anniversary of their institution, namely, the *Coena Domini*.[k] For if a commendation of others is to be made in the afternoon, whether of bishops or of clerics or of others, this is to be done by prayer alone if those who do so have already eaten. 887

Canon 30. a) The time of penance shall be determined by the bishop in proportion to the severity of the sin. b) Presbyters are not to reconcile penitents[l] without the consent of the bishop unless the absence of the bishop requires this. c) A penitent whose sin is public and known to all and which disturbs the whole Church shall receive the imposition of the hand before the apse. 888

Canon 32. Sick persons who are no longer able to speak but who testified that they would desire baptism should they be in danger are to be baptized. 889

Canon 33. Actors and apostates who convert or return to the Lord will not be refused grace or reconciliation. 890

Canon 34. A presbyter may not bless virgins without the consent of the bishop,[m] and he must never prepare the chrism.[n] 891

Canon 36. a) Other than the canonical Scriptures nothing is to be read in the church under the title of "divine writings."[o] b) The canonical books are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, 4 Books of Kings, 2 Books of Paralipomenon, Job, Psalms, 5 Books of Solomon, 12 Books of the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Tibias, Judith, Esther, 2 Books of Estrous, 2 Books 892

---

j. See Orleans IV (541) can. 4 (WEC 4:4618); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 8 (WEC 4:4633).

k. See Dvin (527) can. 24 (WEC 4:4850); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 19 (WEC 4:4642); Braga II (572) can. 10 (WEC 4:4762); Mâcon II (585) can. 6 (WEC 4:4655).

l. See Carthage II (390) cans. 3–4 (WEC 2:876–77); Elvira (ca. 300) can. 32 (WEC 2:1279); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 20 (WEC 3:3077); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

m. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 2:881); Riez (439) can. 4 (WEC 3:3122); Agde (506) can. 19 (WEC 4:4555).

n. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 19 (WEC 4:4752); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 51 (WEC 4:4686).

o. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) cans. 59–60 (WEC 2:2002–3).

of the Maccabees, and from the New Testament: 4 Books of the Gospels, 1 Book of the Acts of the Apostles, Fourteen Epistles of Paul the Apostle, 2 [Epistles] of Peter, 2 [Epistles] of John, 1 [Epistle] of Jude, 1 [Epistle] of James; the Apocalypse of John.[p] c) The church across the sea is to be consulted regarding this canon. d) It is permitted to read the acts of the martyrs on their anniversaries.[q]

893 Canon 37. Still in effect is what former councils established, namely, that no Donatist cleric is to be received by us—salvation being denied to no one—except as a member of the laity—inasmuch as the African churches suffer the lack of ordained clerics so that some places are completely without them. The exception is those who were not rebaptized or who desire to go over to the Catholic communion with their people. [. . .]

ITALY

51. ZENO OF VERONA

Relatively little is known about Zeno. In a letter written ca. 380 Ambrose (WEC 2:53) refers to him as the "recently deceased bishop of Verona," and this city's tradition lists Zeno as its eighth bishop. Some believe that Zeno was of African origin. His death must have occurred between 375 and 380.

Zeno's works show that he was well acquainted with the theological disputes of his time, both trinitarian and christological, especially those concerning the relationship between the Father and the Son.

CPL nos. 208ff. * Altaner (1961) 432 * Altaner (1966) 369 * Bardenhewer (1908) 418–19 * Bardenhewer (1910) 362–63 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:477–81 * Bardy (1930) 96 * Bautz 14:427–30 * Labriolle (1947) 1:435–36 * Labriolle (1968) 300–301 * Quasten 4:127–30 * Steidle 152 * Tixeront 231–32 * CATH 15:1530–32 * CE 15:754–55 * DCB 4:1213 * DictSp 16:1628–30 * DPAC 2:3627–28 * DTC 15.2:3685–90 * EC 12:1793–94 * EEC 2:884–85 * EEChr 2:1187 * LTK 10:1422–23 * NCE 14:1118 * NCES 14:917–18 * ODCC 1779–80 * PEA (1894) 10.1 (n.s.) 147–49

O. Perler, "Die Taufsymbolik der vier Jahreszeiten im Baptisterium bei Kelibia," in *Mullus: Festschrift Th. Klauser* (Münster, 1964) 282–90. * G. de Apoli, "L'iniziazione cristiana nei 'Sermoni' di S. Zeno di Verona," RL 54 (1967) 401–17. * E.J. Kelzenberg, "An Investigation of the Baptismal Writings of Zeno of Verona," diss. (Notre Dame, 1967). * J. Doignon, "Réfrigerium et catéchèse à Verone," in *Hommages à M. Renard*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1969) 220–39. * G. Philippart, "La fête de S. Zénon de Vérone le 8 décembre," AB 92 (1974) 347–48. * F. Segala, *Il Culto di San Zeno nella liturgia medioevala fino al secolo XII*, Studi e documenti di storia e liturgica 1 (Verona, 1982). * A. Galli, "Zénon de Vérone dans l'antiphonaire de Bangor," RB 93 (1983) 293–301. * G. Jeanes, "Early Latin Parallels to the Roman Canon? Possible References to a Eucharistic Prayer in Zeno of Verona," JThSt, n.s., 37 (1986) 427–31. * G.P. Jeanes, *The Day Has Come! Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona*, Alcuin Club Collections 73

p. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 60 (WEC 2:2003).

q. See Hippo (393) *Cod. Ver.* can. 5 (WEC 2:879).

(Collegeville, 1995). * M.A. Mascari, "Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius: The Dynamics of Preaching in Northern Italy, 360–420," diss. (Washington, D.C., 1996).

51-A. Sermons

Zeno's work has come down to us in the form of sermons (*tractatus*), gathered into two collections. The first collection or book contains sixty-two texts, with the second containing thirty texts. Only thirty of the total are complete sermons, others being sketches, outlines, summaries, and the like. They treat a wide variety of subjects: exegesis (especially the Old Testament), morality, sacramental theology, and liturgical practice, including discourses on baptism and the Easter liturgy. The collections as such, which were very popular during the Middle Ages, appear to have been redacted after Zeno's death.

51-A-1. SERMON I. 24. AFTER BAPTISM[†]

1. [. . .] After the delightful vigils of the night, the night that shines 894
brightly due to its own sun, and after the life-giving bath that you took in the font from which honey flows forth, you have been led to the hope of immortal life. Upon coming out of the water, you, being of various ages and coming from diverse countries, suddenly seemed to be brothers and sisters sharing the same blood, as if all of you were twins to one another. [. . .]

51-A-2. SERMON I. 32. INVITATION TO THE FONT[††]

Brothers and sisters in Christ, rejoice and eagerly hasten to receive the 895
heavenly gifts. The eternal font that gives birth to new life already invites you by its saving warmth. Our mother is anxious to bring you into the world but not according to the ordinary rules of childbirth. [. . .] Your heavenly mother begets you with happiness, abundant joy, and willingly. She brings you forth free from the bonds of sin. You will be nourished not in foul-smelling cradles but at the aromatic railing of the holy altar. [. . .]

51-A-3. SERMON I. 38. TO THE NEOPHYTES. ON THE TWELVE SIGNS[†††]

1. People of heaven, first fruits of Christ, rejoice. Always be vigilant. 896
Take care not to stain in any way the brightness of your illustrious spiritual birth which took place today. What happened on this day cannot be repeated. Behold the boys, the adolescents, the young men, the old men, both males and females. You were guilty. You were soiled by this world's impure birth. But now, freed from all sin, you are innocent children. What is especially wonderful and pleasing is that suddenly, in an instant, you, being of various ages, attained the same age.

[†] Translated from *Tractatus*, ed. B. Löfstedt, CCL 22 (Turnhout, 1971) 71.

[††] Translated from CCL 22:83.

[†††] Translated from CCL 22:105.

51-A-4. SERMON I. 49. INVITATION TO THE FONT†

897 Brothers and sisters, enter the heavenly gates as quickly as possible. Do not believe that those who go down into this eternal pool produce eternal grace by their personal merits. Here it is that you decide to be reborn. You know that your nobility of soul is measured by the greatness of your faith. Be firm and faithful in laying aside the old self with its odoriferous garments.[1] You will soon go forth as newly born, clothed in white, filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit.

51-A-5. SERMON I. 55. TO THE NEOPHYTES††

898 Why are you waiting? Although birth, age, sex, and profession differentiate you, nonetheless, you will soon be one body. All of you, hasten to the sweet womb of your virgin mother. There you will be ennobled because of your faith. The greater your faith, the greater your happiness. It is a wonderful, holy, and truly divine birth where the mother does not suffer the pains of childbirth. The person born again knows no tears. Here is renewal, resurrection, and life eternal. Here is the mother of us all who gathers us from every race and nation, who brings us together to form us into one body.

51-A-6. SERMON II. 6. ON BUILDING THE HOUSE OF GOD†††

899 [. . .] Just as pagan temples are fitting for the unfeeling idols, so living temples are required by the living God. [. . .] An incomparable glory, one truly worthy of God, is the fact that all—namely, the priest and the temple—turn to God with one accord and devotion as all pray for one another. And so, my brothers and sisters, rejoice. [. . .]

52. DAMASUS I, POPE

Damasus, said to be of Spanish origin, was born in Rome (305), where he became a member of that city's clergy. While still a deacon he was elected (366) bishop of Rome, an election contested by a faction that selected Ursinus to be bishop. Violence on both sides ensued. Civil authority finally settled the dispute in favor of Damasus.

Damasus is especially noted for his love of the martyrs and their places of burial. He excavated, enlarged, and repaired many catacombs, making them more accessible to the increasing numbers of pilgrims coming to Rome. Furthermore, he composed numerous epigrams (*tituli*) honoring the martyrs (see WEC 2:57-A), these inscriptions being engraved on marble slabs by the noted calligrapher Furius Dionysius Filocalus. It has been estimated that

† Translated from CCL 22:123.

1. See Col 3:9.

†† Translated from CCL 22:130.

††† Translated from CCL 22:168–69.

the texts of fifty-nine such inscriptions and thirteen fragments are authentic, many of these still existing on their original marble. In addition to his work on the catacombs, Damasus constructed several churches.

Serving as the pope's secretary from 382 to 384 was Jerome, the noted biblical scholar (WEC 3:145). As early as 376 Jerome had become a close friend of and adviser to Damasus, who encouraged Jerome to work on the Latin translation of the Bible (the Vulgate), Jerome's translation of the Gospels being completed in 384, the year of the pope's death.

Damasus was a strong proponent of the Petrine role enjoyed by the bishop of Rome and perhaps was the first to use Matthew 16:18 to support his position.

Found among the correspondence of Jerome exists a letter, although scholars generally consider it to be nonauthentic, to Damasus on the psalms and the Alleluia (CSEL 54:62–67).

It is conjectured that it was during the pontificate of Damasus that the language of the liturgy changed from Greek to Latin.

CPL nos. 1632ff. * Altaner (1961) 414–15 * Altaner (1966) 354–55 * Bardenhewer (1908) 421–22 * Bardenhewer (1910) 366 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:563–67, 588–91 * Bautz 1:1199–2000 * Hamell 131 * Jurgens 1:402–7 * Labriolle (1968) 451–52 * Quasten 4:273–78 * Steidle 145–46 * Tixeront 276 * CATH 3:429–31 * CE 4:613–14 * DCB 1:783–84 * DDC 4:1014–19 * DHGE 14:48–53 * DPAC 1:883–85 * DTC 4.1:28–36 * EC 4:1136–39 * EEC 1:218–19 * EEChr 1:316–17 * LTK 2:1385 * NCE 4:624–25 * NCES 4:503–5 * ODCC 448–49 * PEA (1894) 4.2:2048–50 * PEA (1991) 3:297

E. Vacanard, "Le pape Damase et le culte des saints," RCF 67 (1911) 611–14. * P. Blanchard, "La correspondance apocryphe du pape s. Damase et de s. Jérôme sur le psautier et le chant d'Alleluia," EphL 63 (1949) 376–88. * P. Borella, "S. Damaso e i canti della Messa didattica," EphL 72 (1958) 223–29. * E. Griffe, "L'inscription damasienne de la catacombe de Saint-Sébastien," BLE 6 s. 62 (1961) 16–25. * P.H. Lafontaine, *Les conditions de l'accession aux ordres dans la première législation ecclésiastique* (Ottawa, 1963) 301–3. * A. de Vogüé, "La Règle du Maitre et la lettre apocryphe de s. Jérôme sur le chant des psaumes," SM 7 (1965) 357–67. * E. Griffe, "En relisant l'inscription damasienne 'ad catacumbas,'" BLE 71 (1970) 81–91. * H.M. Shepherd, "The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. Grandfield and J.A. Jungmann, vol. 2 (Munich, 1970) 847–63.

52-A. The Tome of Damasus†

The *Tome of Damasus* (*Tomus Damasi*, also known as the *Confessio fidei catholicae Damasi* as well as the *Epistula Damasi ad Paulinum Antiochum episcopum*) is a collection of twenty-four anathemas or condemnations relating to various trinitarian and christological heresies of the fourth century. The document appears to have been the fruit of a Roman synod held in 377/382.

† Translated from PL 13:364.

900 xxiv. Should anyone dare to say that the Father is God and that his Son is God and that the Holy Spirit is God—as if referring to "gods"—and calls them God not because of the one godhead which we know belongs to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit; or if they separate from God the Son or the Holy Spirit so as to believe that only the Father is God and in this way come to believe that God is one, let them be condemned as heretics. [. . .] We are baptized only in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and not in the names of the archangels or angels as are the heretics, the Jews, or even the foolish pagans. [. . .]

53. AMBROSE OF MILAN

Born at Trier in 337/339 (scholars disagree), Ambrose belonged to an aristocratic family. His father, also called Ambrose, was the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul and died at a young age, whereupon Ambrose's mother, Monica, returned to Rome with her children.

Following the footsteps of his father, Ambrose embarked upon a career of public service, becoming the governor of Aemilia-Liguria with his headquarters at Milan. Upon the death of that city's Arian bishop, Auxentius, great hostility broke out between the Arians and the Catholics in 373/374. Ambrose intervened and so impressed the populace that the people called upon him to become the next bishop. Still a catechumen, he initially rejected this proposal but soon consented. Being baptized, he was ordained bishop on December 7, 374.

As bishop Ambrose did not hesitate to involve himself in the civil and political world of his time when it concerned religious matters and the independence of the Church. He was both friend and mentor to several of the western rulers. In addition, he was a staunch opponent of Arianism. And Augustine (WEC 3:98) credits him with playing a part in his conversion. Ambrose died at Milan on April 4, 397, and ranks among the four "Latin Doctors of the Church."

Drawing greatly on Greek Christian authors, Ambrose wrote extensive commentaries on Scripture, mostly on the Old Testament, apparently basing these on homilies he gave to the faithful in Milan. His other writings concern various moral, ascetic, and dogmatic topics. Especially valuable is the light he sheds on liturgical practice in Milan during the last years of the fourth century.

CPL nos. 122ff. * Altaner (1961) 443–57 * Altaner (1966) 378–89 * Bardenhewer (1908) 431–44 * Bardenhewer (1910) 374–84 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:498–547 * Bardy (1930) 90–95 * Bautz 1:142–44 * Hamell 132–36 * Jurgens 2:145–77 * Labriolle (1947) 380–414 * Labriolle (1968) 263–86 * Leigh-Bennett 290–303 * Quasten 4:144–80 * Seidle 152–56 * Tixeront 235–40 * Wright (1928) 173–209 * CATH 1:412–15 * CE 1:383–88 * CHECL 309–12 * DACL 1.1:1347–53 * DCB 1:91–99 * DHGE 2:1091–1108 * DictSp 1:425–28 * DPAC 1:147–56 * DTC 1.1:942–54 * EC 1:984–1000 * EEC 1:28–29 * EEChr 1:41–44 * LTK 1:495–97 * NCE 1:376–77 * NCES

1:337–40 * ODCC 49–50 * PEA (1894) 1.2:1812–14 * PEA (1991) 1:582–84 * RACh 1:365–73 * TRE 2:362–86

General Studies

J. Schmitz, *Gottesdienst im altchristlichen Mailand* (Bonn, 1975). * T. Marsh, "The History of the Sacramental Concept," MilS 3 (1979) 21–56.

De Mysteriis/De Sacramentis/Initiation

G. Morin, "La sputation, rite baptismal de l'Eglise de Milan au IVe siècle, d'après un passage corrigé du 'De mysteriis' de s. Ambroise," RB 16 (1899) 414–18. * Th. Schermann, "Die pseudoambrosianische Schrift 'De Sacramentis': ihre Ueberlieferung und Quellen," RQ 17 (1903) 237–55. * G. Morin, "Pour l'authenticité du 'De sacramentis' et 'l'Explanatio symboli' de s. Ambroise," JL 8 (1928) 86–106. * C. Atchley, "The Date of the De sacramentis," JThSt 30 (1929) 281–86. * O. Faller, "Was sagen die Handschriften zur Echtheit der sechs Predigten s. Ambrosii de sacramentis," ZkTh 53 (1929) 41–65. * F.J. Dölger, "Das Oktogon und die Symbolik der Achtzahl: die Inschrift des hl. Ambrosius im Baptisterium der Thekllakriche von Mailand," AC 4 (1934) 153–65. * O. Faller, *Ambrosius der Verfasser von De Sacramentis: die inneren Echtheitsgründe* (Leipzig, 1940). * R.H. Connolly, *The De sacramentis, a Work of St. Ambrose* (Downside Abbey, 1943). * R.H. Connolly, "St. Ambrose and the Explanatio Symboli," JThSt 47 (1946) 185–96. * F.R.M. Hitchcock, "The Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos compared with Rufinus and Maximus of Turin," JThSt 47 (1946) 58–69. * O. Perler, "L'inscription du baptistère de s.-Thècla à Milan et le De sacramentis de s. Ambroise," RAC 27 (1951) 145–66. * J. Quasten, "Baptismal Creed and Baptismal Act in St. Ambrose's De mysteriis and De sacramentis," in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, vol. 1, Muséum Lessianum—Section Historique 13 (Gembloux, 1951) 223–34. * H.S. Medeiros, *The De mysteriis and De sacramentis of St. Ambrose* (Washington, D.C., 1952). * C. Mohrmann, "Le style oral du De sacramentis de s. Ambroise," VC 6 (1952) 168–77. * G. Michiels, "L'initiation chrétienne d'après s. Ambroise," QLP 34 (1953) 109–14, 164–69. * G. Lazzati, "L'authenticità del 'De sacramentis' e la valutazione letteraria delle opere di s. Ambrogio," *Aevum* 29 (1955) 17–48. * F. Petit, "Sur les catéchèses postbaptismales de s. Ambroise: à propos de De sacramentis IV 29," RB 68 (1958) 256–65. * A. Caprioli, "Battesimo e confermazione in s. Ambrogio: Studio storico sul Signaculum," in *Miscellanea C. Figini* (Venegono Inferiore, 1964) 49–57. * K. Gamber, "Die Autorschaft von 'De sacramentis,'" RQ 61 (1966) 94–104. * G.M. Signori, *Battesimo e professione di fede: catechesi di Sant'Ambrogio*, Letture ecumenici 8 (Bergamo, 1966). * K. Gamber, *Die Autorschaft von De sacramentis* (Regensburg, 1967). * K. Gamber, "Nochmals zu Frage der Autorschaft von 'De sacramentis,'" ZkTh 91 (1969) 586–89. * E.J. Yarnold, "The Ceremonies of Initiation in the De sacramentis and the De mysteriis of St. Ambrose," SP 10, TU 107 (Berlin, 1970) 453–63. * H.M. Riley, "The Rite of Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan," diss. (Regensburg, 1971). * C. Calcaterra, *La catechesi pasquale di Ambrogio di Milano* (Rome, 1972). * R. Johanny, "Du baptême à l'eucharistie selon s. Ambroise de Milan," PP 9 (1972) 325–37. * E.J. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1972). * E.J. Yarnold, "'Ideo et Romae fideles dicuntur qui baptizati sunt': A Note on De sacramentis I 1," JThSt 24 (1973) 202–7. * R.S. Campbell, "The Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos of St. Ambrose of Milan: A Comparative Study,"

diss. (Notre Dame, 1974). * H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan*, Studies in Christian Antiquity 17 (Washington, D.C., 1974). * E.J. Yarnold, "Did St. Ambrose Know the Mystagogic Catecheses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem?" SP 12 (1975) 184–89. * C. Mohrmann, "Observations sur 'De sacramentis' et 'De mysteriis' de s. Ambroise, SPMed 6 (Milan, 1976) 103–23. * D. Ramos-Lisson, "La tipologia de Jn. 9:6–7 en el De Sacramentis," SPMed 6 (Milan, 1976) 336–44. * R. Iacoangeli, "La catechesi escatologica di s. Ambrogio," Sal 41 (1979) 403–17. * A.G. Martimort, "Attualità della catechesi sacramentale di s. Ambrogio," VetChr 18 (1981) 81–103. * D. Dufrasne, "Saint Ambroise de Milan: le Christ et les enfants," ComL 66:5 (1984) 481–87. * W.R. Rusch, "Baptism of Desire in Ambrose and Augustine," SP 15 (1984) 374–78. * E. Mazza, *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age* (New York, 1989). * P. Jackson, "The Meaning of 'spiritale signaculum' in the Mystagogy of Ambrose of Milan," EOr 7 (1990) 77–94. * J. Schmitz, "Die Taufe auf den Tod Jesu bei Ambrosius von Mailand: ein Beispiel für den Einfluss der Theologie auf die Liturgie," EOr 12 (1995) 153–71. * C.A. Satterlee, "Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching," diss. (Notre Dame, 2000). * C.A. Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, 2002).

EUCHARIST

R.H. Connolly, "The 'Irish' and 'Roman' Texts of the Canon of the Mass," JThSt 33 (1931–32) 27–33. * J. Quasten, "'Sobria ebrietas' in Ambrosius 'De Sacramentis,'" in *Miscellanea Liturgica in Honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1948) 117–25. * Callewaert, "Histoire positive du Canon romain: une épiclèse à Rome?" SE 2 (1949) 95–110. * J. Daniélou, "Eucharistie et Cantique des Cantiques," Ire 23 (1950) 257–77. * C. Mohrmann, "Quelques observations sur l'évolution stylistique du canon de la messe romaine," VC 4 (1950) 1–19. * L. Lavorel, "La doctrine eucharistique selon s. Ambroise," diss. (Lyons, 1956). * L. Lavorel, "Oblats et corps du Christ sur l'autel d'après s. Ambroise," RTAM 24 (1957) 205–24. * E. Griffe, "Trois texts importants pour l'histoire du Canon de la messe," BLE 59, 6th ser. (1958) 65–72. * L. Lavorel, "Que signifie l'expression 'perfectiora sacramenta' chez s. Ambroise?" RevSR 32 (1958) 251–54. * G. Segalla, "La conversione eucaristica in s. Ambrogio," StP 14 (1967) 3–55, 161–203. * G. Segalla, *La conversione eucaristica in s. Ambrogio* (Pauda, 1967). * R. Johanny, *L'Eucharistie, centre de l'histoire du salut chez Ambroise de Milan*, Théologie historique 9 (Paris, 1968).

PENANCE, RECONCILIATION

A. Lagarde, "La pénitence dans les Eglises d'Italie au cours des IVe et Ve siècles," RHE 92 (1925) 108–47. * H. Frank, *Ambrosius und die Büsseraussöhnung in Mailand* (Münster, 1938). * G. Odoardi, *La dottrina della penitenza in s. Ambrogio* (Rome, 1941). * J. Romer, *Die Theologie der Sünde und der Busse beim hl. Ambrosius* (St. Gallen, 1968). * P.J. Riga, "Penance in St. Ambrose," EgT 4 (1973) 213–26. * R. Marchioro, *La prassi penitenziale nel IV secolo a Milano secondo s. Ambrogio* (Rome, 1975). * V. Fattorini and G. Picenardi, "Le riconciliazione in Cipriano di Cartagine ('Ep. 55') e Ambrogio di Milano ('De paenitentia')," Aug 27 (1987) 377–406.

ORDERS, PRIESTHOOD

J. Lécuyer, "Le sacerdoce chrétien selon s. Ambroise," RUO 22 (1952) 104–26. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82,

130–46. * R. Gryson, "Les degrés du clergé et leurs dénominations chez s. Ambroise de Milan," RB 76 (1966) 119–27. * B. Studer, "Il sacerdozio dei fedeli in sant'Ambrogio di Milano" (Rassegna bibliografica 1960–1970), VetChr 7 (1970) 325–40. * P. Rousseau, "The Spiritual Authority of the 'Monk-Bishop': Eastern Elements in some Western Hagiography," JThSt, n.s., 22 (1971) 380–419.

LITURGICAL YEAR

C. Callewaert, "Le carême à Milan au temps de s. Ambroise," RB 32 (1920) 11–21. * C. Callewaert, "La Quaresima a Milano al tempo s. Ambrogio," in *Sacris Erudiri: Fragmenta . . .* (Steenbrugge, 1940) 549–60. * H. Frank, "Das mailandische Kirchejahr in den Werken des hl. Ambrosius," PB 51 (1940) 4off. * R. Cantalamessa, "La concezione teologica della Pasqua in s. Ambrogio," in *Studi G. Lazzati*, SPMed 10 (Milan, 1980) 362–75.

MUSIC: HYMNODY

L. Biraghi, *Inni sinceri e carmi di s. Ambrogio* (1862). * G.M. Dreves, "Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchgesangs: eine hymnologische Studie," in *Erganzungsheft zu den Stimmen aux Maria Laach* 58 (Freiburg i. B., 1893). * J.-V. Bainvel, "Les hymnes de s. Ambroise; à propos d'un livre récent," ERP 61 (1894) 635–63. * A. Steiner, *Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Hymnen des Ambrosius* (Leipzig, 1903). * P.P. Trompeo, "Intorno alla composizione degli innin di Ambrogio," *Atene e Roma* 16 (1903) 35–40. * G. Mercati, *Paralipomena Ambrosiana*, ST 12 (Rome, 1904). * J.B. van Bebbern, "Der Brevierhymnus: en clara vox redarguit, eine hymnologische Studie," ThQ 89 (1907) 373–84. * A. Walpole, "Notes on the Texts of the Hymns of St. Ambrose," JThSt 9 (1908) 428–36. * Kl. Blume, "Ursprung des ambrosianischen Lobgesanges," *Stimmen aus Maria Lach* (1911) 274–87, 401–14, 487–503. * G. Ghedini, "L'opera di Biraghi e l'innologia ambrosiana," SC 68 (1940) 160–70, 275–85. * R.E. Messenger, "The Classical Influence in the Hymns of St. Ambrose," Folia 4 (1949–50) 5–9. * M. Simonetti, "Osservazioni cirtiche sul testo di alcuni inni ambrosiani," *Nuova Didaskaleion* (1953–55) 45–48. * M.P. Cunningham, "The Place of the Hymns of St. Ambrose in the Latin Poetic Tradition," *Studies in Philology* 52 (1955) 509–14. * M.M. Beyenka, "St. Augustine and the Hymns of St. Ambrose," ABR 8 (1957) 121–32. * N. Corneanu, "Aspecte din lirica ambrozian," *Studii theologice* 11 (1959) 443–52. * E. Bolisani, *L'innologia cristiana antica, s. Ambrogio e i suoi imitatori* (Padua, 1963). * G.M. Dreves, *Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesanges: eine hymnologische Studie* (Amsterdam, 1968). * J. Fontaine, "L'apport de la tradition poétique romaine à la formation de l'hymnodie latine chrétienne," RELA 52 (1974) 318–55. * L. Szelestei-Nagy, "Zeitmass und Wortbetonung in den frühchristlichen Hymnen in lateinischer Sprache," *Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis* 2 (1974) 75–89. * B.K. Braswell, "Kleine textkritische Bemerkungen zu frühchristlichen Hymnen," VC 29 (1975) 222–26. * J. Fontaine, "Les origines de l'hymnodie chrétienne latine d'Hilaire du Poitiers à Ambroise de Milan," LMD, no. 161 (1985) 33–74. * J. Perret, "Aux origines de l'hymnodie latine: l'apport de la civilisation romaine," LMD, no. 173 (1988) 41–60. * M.-J. Julien, "Les sources de la tradition ancienne des hymnes attribuées à s. Ambroise," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 19 (1989) 57–189. * J. Fontaine, ed., *Hymnes / Ambroise de Milan: texte établi, traduit et annoté sous la direction de Jacques Fontaine par J.-L. Charlet . . .* [et al.], Patrimoines. Christianisme (Paris, 1992). * M.-H. Jullien, "Le chant des hymnes dans l'antiquité chrétienne," *Résurrection*, n.s., 44 (1993) 20–26. * A.A.R. Bastiaensen, "Les hymnes d'Ambroise de

Milan: à propos d'une nouvelle édition," VC 48 (1994) 157–69. * A. Franz, *Tageslauf und Heilsgeschichte: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Text und liturgischen Kontext der Tagzeitenhymnen des Ambrosius von Mailand*, Pietas liturgica: Studia 8 (St. Ottilien, 1994). * X. Frisque, "Le chant au Christ chez Ambroise: la foi de Nicée dans ses hymnes," LMD, no. 221 (2000) 101–28.

MUSIC: STUDIES ON INDIVIDUAL HYMNS

G.M. Dreves, "Der Hymnus des hl. Ambrosius 'Agnes beatae virginis,'" ZkTh 25 (1901) 356–65. * H. Vogels, "Hymnus 'Splendor paternae gloriae,'" in *Festschrift A. Knöpfler* (Munich, 1907) 314–16. * R. Merkelbach, "'Errorum cohors': zum Hymnus des Ambrosius 'Aeterne rerun conditor,'" VC 40 (1986) 390–91. * J.-L. Charlet, "Richesse spirituelle d'une hymne d'Ambroise: 'Aeterne rerum conditor,'" LMD, no. 173 (1988) 61–69. * G. Nauroy, "Le martyr de Laurent dans l'hymnodie et la prédication des IVe et Ve siècles et l'authenticité ambrosienne de l'hymne 'Apostolorum supparem,'" REAug 35 (1989) 44–82. * M.J. Mans, "A Comparison between Ambrose's 'Aeterne rerum conditor' and Prudentius' 'Cathemerinon I' or 'Hymnus ad Galli cantum,'" APB 1 (1990) 99–118. *

MUSIC: VARIA

E. Soullier, "Causeries sur le plain-chant: s. Ambroise," ERP 49 (1890) 263–79. * G. Morin, "Notes additionnelles à l'étude sur l'auteur du 'Te Deum,'" RB 11 (1894) 337–45. * L. Brou, "L'antienne 'Dignum namque est' sa source littéraire," SE 4 (1952) 217–25. * B. Fischer, "Ambrosius der Verfasser des osterlichen Exsultet?" ALW 2 (1952) 61–74. * P. Borella, "La valeur pastorale du Bréviaire ambrosien et l'oeuvre de s. Ambroise," QLP 41 (1960) 143–57. * H. Leeb, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 18 (Vienna, 1967). * M. Testard, "Virgile, s. Ambroise et 'l'Exsultet': autour d'un problème de critique verbale," RELA 60 (1982) 283–97. * G. Nauroy, "Le martyr de Laurent dans l'hymnodie et la prédication des IVe et Ve siècles et l'authenticité ambrosienne de l'hymne 'Apostolorum supparem,'" REAug 35 (1989) 44–82.

OTHER TOPICS

F.J. Dölger, "Die Inschrift des hl. Ambrosius im Baptisterium der Theklakirche von Mailand," AC 4 (1934) 155–56. * J. Quasten, "Sobri ebrietas in Ambrosius De Sacramentis (ein Beitrag zur Echtheitsfrage)," in *Miscellanea Liturgica in Honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1948) 117–25. * "Le dédicace de la basilique ambrosiènne par s. Ambroise (Saint Ambroise de Milan Lettre 22 à sa soeur Marcellina)," LMD, no. 70 (1962) 141–45. * A. Wilmart, "Saint Ambroise et le légende dorée," EphL 50 (1936) 167ff. * G. Francesconi, *Storia e simbolo: "mysterium in figura": la simbolica storico-sacramentale nel linguaggio e nella teologia di Ambrogio di Milano*, Publicazioni del Pontificio seminario lombardo in Roma, Ricerche di scienze teologiche 18 (Brescia, 1981). * A.M. Triaca, "'Christianus qui plenitudinem temporis agnovit': Une prospettiva escatologica in sant'Ambrogio," EOr 2:1 (1985) 31–65. * M.P. Ellebracht, "Today This Word Has Been Fulfilled in Your Midst," Wor 60:4 (July 1986) 347–61. * K. Baus, *Das Gebet zu Christus beim hl. Ambrosius: eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Theophaneia 35 (Berlin, 2000). * M. Heintz, "The Prologue of Ambrose of Milan's Homilies on Luke," *Antiphon* 8:2 (2003) 26–31.

53-A. On Cain and Abel†

This work, probably dating from early in Ambrose's ministry as bishop of Milan, appears to have a homiletic background, perhaps being a revision of a series of instructions for the catechumens.

I.v.19. Do you desire to eat? To drink? Then come to the banquet of Wis- 901
dom which invites all as it cries out, "Come and eat my bread and drink the wine I have mingled for you."[1] Do you delight in songs that calm the banqueter? Listen to the Church which exhorts and sings not only in songs but in the Canticle of Canticles: "Eat, friends; drink and be inebriated, my friends."[2] Yet this inebriation results in sobriety. It produces joy, not drunkenness. Nor should you fear that in the Church's banquet there will be no pleasant odors nor delightful foods nor various kinds of drink. Noble guests and proper ministers will be present. Who is more noble than Christ who serves and is served in the Church's meal? Find a place alongside him who reclines as a guest at that meal. Unite yourself to God. Do not disdain the banquet table which Christ selected, saying: "I have entered my garden, my sister, my spouse. I have gathered myrrh with my aromatic spices. I have eaten my bread with my honey, and I have drunk wine with my milk."[3] It is in the garden, namely, in paradise, that the Church's feast takes place, the garden where we find Adam before he sinned, where Eve reclined before she succumbed to wrongdoing. There you will gather myrrh, namely, the burial of Christ so that as you are buried with him through baptism unto death, and just as he has risen from the dead, so you too may rise.[4] There you will eat the bread that strengthens the human heart;[5] there you will taste the honey that delights the tongue; there you will drink the wine together with the milk,[6] namely, with splendor and sincerity. [. . .] Approach, therefore, this banquet. [. . .]

I.viii.31. [. . .] It was in haste that our ancestors ate the paschal lamb, 902
doing so with loins girded, sandals on their feet,[7] and putting aside any bodily constraint, so as to be ready for the departure. [. . .] The pasch is the passage [*transitus*] of the Lord from passion to the practice of virtue. Therefore it is said to be the pasch of the Lord because at that time the truth of the Lord's passion was being announced in the type of the lamb; now its benefit is celebrated. [. . .]

53-B. On Virgins††

Completed before December 397, this treatise, perhaps originally a homily, was written in the form of a letter to Marcellina, Ambrose's sister.

---

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 1, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 (Vienna, 1897) 355–56, 366.

1. Prov 9:5. 2. Cant 5:1. 3. Ibid. 4. See Luke 23:56; Rom 6:4. 5. See Ps 104:15. 6. See Cant 4:10ff. 7. See Exod 12:11.

†† Translated from PL 16:225.

903 III.18. Frequent prayer also commends us to God. For if the prophet, although occupied with the affairs of the kingdom, says, "Seven times a day I have praised you,"[1] what are we to do as we read, "Watch and pray that you not enter temptation"?[2] Certainly our solemn prayers are to be offered with the giving of thanks, when we rise from sleep, when we go out, before and after eating, when the lamp is lighted, and when we finally retire to our bed-chambers. But in the bed-chamber itself I wish that you frequently alternate the psalms with the Lord's Prayer, either when you awaken or before sleep overtakes your body so that as sleep begins, you, free from worrying about worldly affairs, may be meditating on the things of God. [. . .]

53-C. On Faith to Gratian†

Gratian was the western Roman emperor from 375 to 383. This tract, written in reply to Gratian's request to be instructed in the faith against Arianism, is composed of five books and was published by the end of 380.

904 IV.x.124. Then he [Christ] adds: "My flesh is indeed food and my blood is indeed drink."[1] You hear him speaking about flesh? You hear him speaking about blood? Do you know that he is speaking about the sacraments of the Lord's death, and you misrepresent the divinity? Listen to what he says: "A ghost does not have flesh and bones."[2] As often as we receive the sacramental elements, which through the mystery of the holy prayer are transformed into flesh and blood, we proclaim the "death of the Lord."[3]

53-D. On Elias and Fasting††

Homiletic in nature and rebuking the lifestyle of the wealthy, this work was written between 377 and 390.

905 x.34. Not all hunger, however, makes fasting acceptable. Only that undertaken by fear of the Lord. Consider, for a moment, that during Lent fasting takes place on all days except Saturdays and Sundays. The Lord's Pasch concludes the fast, the day of the resurrection arrives, the elect are baptized, they come to the altar, they receive the sacrament; thirsting, they drink with all their veins.[a] Being refreshed with spiritual food and drink,

---

1. Ps 119:64. 2. Matt 26:41.

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 8, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 78 (Vienna, 1962) 201.

1. John 6:55. 2. Luke 24:39. 3. See 1 Cor 11:26.

†† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 2, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32 (Vienna, 1897) 430, 444–45.

a. The vein was at times considered as the vessel that conveyed food and drink.

rightly does each one say, "You have prepared a table before me, and how wonderful is your intoxicating cup."[1] [. . .]

xv.55. Not undeservedly, therefore, is woe to those who in the morning require an intoxicating drink, those who should be praising God; they should anticipate the daybreak and hasten to meet with prayer the Son of Justice who visits his own and rises for us if we rise for Christ and not for wine and strong beverage. Hymns are sung by the righteous, and do you hold a cithara? Psalms are sung, and do you take up the psaltery or drum? Rightly there is woe because you have forsaken salvation and chosen death. [. . .] 906

53-E. Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke†

Based on various homilies, this is the only New Testament commentary by Ambrose. It appeared before 389.

I.28. But he [the angel] appeared at the right of the altar of sacrifice because he bore the mark of divine mercy; for "the Lord is at my right hand so that I not be shaken."[1] And elsewhere, "The Lord is your protection at your right hand."[2] It pleased God that we also, when we incense the altars, when we present the sacrifice, be assisted by the angel, or rather that the angel make himself visible. For you cannot doubt that the angel is there when Christ is there, when Christ is immolated; "Christ our paschal lamb has been immolated."[3] [. . .] 907

VIII.25. And it is not without reason that he [Christ] suffered on the Great Sabbath[4] to signify the Sabbath on which death was destroyed by Christ. But if the Jews celebrate the Sabbath to the point of considering a month and a whole year as a Sabbath, how much more should we celebrate the Lord's resurrection? Also, our ancestors taught us to celebrate all fifty days of Pentecost as belonging to Easter since Pentecost is the beginning of the eighth week. This is why the apostle as a disciple of Christ, a disciple who knew the changes of the seasons, wrote to the Corinthians, "Perhaps I will remain and spend the winter with you,"[5] and further on, "I will remain in Ephesus till Pentecost since a door has opened for me."[6] Accordingly, he spent the winter with the Corinthians whose errors distressed him—it was their tepidity toward divine worship; he celebrated Pentecost with the Ephesians, gave them the mysteries, and relaxed his spirit because he saw them burning with the fervor of the faith. So throughout these fifty days of Pentecost the Church, as on Sunday which is the day of the Lord's resurrection, does not fast; and these days are all like Sunday. 908

---

1. Ps 23:5.

† Translated from *Expositio in evangelium S. Lucae*, vol. 1, ed. G. Tissot, SChr 45 (Paris, 1956) 61; vol. 2, ed. G. Tissot, SChr 52 (Paris, 1958) 110–11.

1. Ps 16:8. 2. Ps 121:5. 3. 1 Cor 5:7. 4. See Matt 27:62; Luke 23:54. 5. 1 Cor 16:6. 6. 1 Cor 16:8.

53-F. On the Holy Spirit†

This treatise, completed in 381, defends the divinity of the Holy Spirit and explains the place of the Spirit within the Trinity.

909 Prol. 18. Damasus did not cleanse. Nor did Peter. Nor did Ambrose. Nor did Gregory; ministries are ours, the sacraments are yours. No, it does not belong to human powers to grant what is divine. This, Lord, belongs to you and to the Father. [. . .]

910 I.III.42. [. . .] [Baptism] is complete if you confess Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. If you deny one, you undermine the whole. And just as if you mention only one in words, whether it be the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, while in faith you deny neither Father nor Son nor Holy Spirit, then the sacrament of faith is complete; likewise, if you say Father and Son and Spirit but lessen the power of Father or Son or Holy Spirit, then the whole mystery is empty. [. . .]

911 I.VI.76. Since "we are baptized in water and the Spirit,"[1] there are many who do not believe that water and the Spirit have distinct functions and so do not believe that they have separate natures. Nor does it strike them that we are buried in water so that we might rise up renewed through the Spirit.[2] The image of death is in the water; the pledge of life is in the Spirit so that the "body of sin"[3] may die through the water which encloses the body as a type of tomb. In this way we are to be renewed through the power of the Spirit from the death of sin.

912 I.VI.77. Therefore, as John said, "these three witnesses are one, water, blood, and Spirit,"[4] one in mystery, not in nature. Water, therefore, is a witness of burial, blood is a witness of death, the Spirit is a witness of life. Should there be grace in the water, it is not from the nature of water but from the presence of the Holy Spirit.

913 I.VI.78. Is it really possible that we live in water as in the Spirit? Are we sealed in the water as in the Spirit? We live in the Spirit who is the "pledge of our inheritance,"[5] as the apostle writing to the Ephesians said, "Believing in him you were sealed with the Holy Spirit which is the pledge of our inheritance."[6] Accordingly, we were signed with the Holy Spirit, not by nature but by God since it is written, "It is God who anointed us and who sealed us and gave the pledge of the Spirit in our hearts."[7]

914 I.VI.79. So we were sealed with the Spirit by God. Just as we die in Christ in order to be reborn, so we are also sealed with the Spirit that we might possess his brightness, likeness, and grace, for this certainly is our spiritual seal. Even though we are outwardly sealed on the body,

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 9, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 79 (Vienna, 1964) 23ff.

1. John 3:5. 2. See Rom 6:4; Col 2:12–13. 3. Rom 6:6. 4. 1 John 5:8. 5. Eph 1:14. 6. Eph 1:13–14. 7. 2 Cor 1:21–22.

nonetheless we are in truth sealed in the heart so that the Holy Spirit might express in us the likeness of the heavenly image.[8]

I.VI.80. Who can dare say that the Holy Spirit exists apart from God the Father and apart from Christ since it is through the Spirit that we merit the "image and likeness"[9] of God and became, as Peter the Apostle says, "sharers in the divine nature"?[10] Surely what is received is not something from the body; it is something spiritual, namely, adoption and grace. So that we might understand that this seal is more in our hearts than on our bodies, the prophet teaches us as he says, "The light of your countenance has been impressed on us, O Lord, you have gladdened my heart."[11] 915

I.VII.88. In the Gospel you hear that "an angel went down at a certain time into the pool and the water was stirred up; whoever stepped in first was cured."[12] What did the angel announce in this type unless the future descent of the Holy Spirit, a descent that would occur in our own day, one invoked by the prayers of the priests and which would consecrate the waters? [. . .] 916

I.VIII.90. At the same time notice that God gives the Holy Spirit. This is not a human undertaking nor is the Spirit given by a human being; but the Spirit, invoked by the priest, is given by God; here is the work of God and the ministry of the priest. [. . .] 917

III.VI.112. How could it be that [the Holy Spirit] would not have all that pertains to God, seeing that the Spirit is named along with the Father and Son when priests baptize, is invoked in the offerings, is proclaimed along with the Father and the Son by the seraphim in heaven above. [. . .] 918

III.XVIII.137. [. . .] Note well that it is through the Holy Spirit that sins are forgiven. Men show forth their ministry when forgiving sins, but they are not exercising any power that is theirs by right. It is not in their own name but in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit that they remit sins. They petition and the divinity forgives. A human being ministers, but the gift is from the Power above. 919

53-G. On Penance†

Written between 384 and 394, this treatise, divided into two books, is directed against the Novatians who denied that the Church had the power to forgive greater sins.

I.II.6. "But," they [the Novatians] say, "we show respect to the Lord to whom alone we reserve the power to forgive sins." But in truth none do more harm than those who wish to abrogate his commands and reject the functions entrusted to them. For the Lord Jesus Christ said in the Gospel, "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you forgive, they will be forgiven them; and whose sins you retain, they will be retained."[1] Now who honors 920

8. See 1 Cor 15:49. 9. Gen 1:26. 10. 2 Pet 1:4. 11. Ps 4:6–7. 12. John 5:4.

† Translated from *De paenitentia*, ed. R. Gryson, SChr 179 (Paris, 1971) 56ff.

1. John 20:22–23.

the most? Those who obey the Lord's commands or those who resist doing so.

921 I.II.7. The Church is obedient in both instances: when it retains sin as well as when it forgives sin. Heresy—harsh as to the former, disobedient as to the latter—wishes to retain what it will not forgive, and it does not wish to forgive what it has retained. By so doing it condemns itself; for the Lord desired that the right of forgiving and that of retaining go together since he sanctioned both in like circumstances. Consequently whoever does not have the authority to forgive does not have the authority to retain. According to the Lord's instruction whoever possesses the right of retaining also has that of forgiving. And so what these people affirm strangles itself since by denying the power to forgive they should also deny themselves the power to retain. Now, I ask, can one be allowed and not the other? It is evident that both are permitted or it is certain that neither is permitted in the case both things have been granted. The Church can do both; heresy can do neither since this right is given only to priests. Correctly, then, does the Church claim this right, having as it does true priests. Heresy, lacking priests of God, cannot claim it. And by not claiming this right, heresy condemns itself because, not having priests, it cannot claim a priestly power for itself. So it is that in heresy's shameless obstinacy we discover a shameful confession.

922 I.VIII.36. Why, then, do you impose hands and believe that it is an effect of the blessing if perchance the sick person is restored to health? Why do you presume that you can purify someone from the contamination of the devil? Why do you baptize if sins cannot be forgiven through a human being? Surely the forgiveness of all sins is found in baptism. What difference does it make whether it be through penance or through baptism that priests claim the right given to them? In both cases the function is the same.

923 I.VIII.37. "But in baptism," you say, "the grace of the mysteries is at work." Yet what about penance? Is not God's name also at work here? When you so wish, you claim God's grace for yourselves; and then again as you wish, you refuse it. But it is due to insolent presumption and not holy fear that you are scornful of those desiring to do penance. You cannot endure the tears of those who weep; your eyes cannot bear looking at their rough clothing, at the filth of those who are dirty. With proud eyes and a pompous heart each of you says with shocked voice, "My delicate ones,"[2] "do not touch me because I am pure."[3]

924 I.VIII.39. When the Lord Jesus was about to proclaim the forgiveness of our sins, John said to him, "It is I who should be baptized by you, and yet you come to me!" The Lord replied, "Allow it now since it is in this way that we fulfill all justice."[4] Although guilty of no sin the Lord went to a

2. Bar 4:26. 3. John 20:17. 4. Matt 3:14–15.

sinner; he desired to be baptized even though he had no need for purification. Who will bear with you when you believe that you do not need to be purified by means of penance since, as you claim, you are purified by grace, henceforth it being impossible for you to sin?

I. XVI.90. If those who have hidden crimes should nonetheless zealously do penance out of love for Christ, how do they here receive anything if reconciliation [*communio*] is not extended to them? My desire is that the guilty hope to be pardoned; may they seek this with tears, seek it with groaning, seek it with the weeping of all the people; may they beg to be forgiven. And when for the second or third time their reconciliation has been differed, may they believe that their petition has been too weak; may they increase their tears; may they return later on in an even more pitiable condition; may their arms embrace the feet [of Jesus]; may they cover these feet with their kisses; may they wash them with their tears, and may they not let go of them[5] so that Jesus might likewise say of them [what he said of the woman], "Her many sins are forgiven because she has loved much."[6] 91. I have known certain penitents whose faces were furrowed with their tears, whose cheeks were hollowed by their constant weeping, who prostrated themselves in order to be stepped on by all, and who, with faces pale due to fasting, appear to be corpses in living bodies. 925

II.II.12. [. . .] When God so wills, he is powerful enough to pardon our sins, even those for which we believe that forgiveness cannot be granted. And so whatever appears to us as impossible to obtain, it is possible for God to give. For did it not seem impossible that sin could be washed away by water? And so did Naaman the Syrian not believe that he could be cleansed of leprosy by means of water?[7] But what was impossible, God made possible, giving us such great grace. Likewise, it appeared impossible that sins could be forgiven by means of penance. Yet Christ granted this to his apostles, and from them it was handed down to be among the functions of the priests. What was judged impossible has accordingly become possible. [. . .] 926

II.III.19. And so the Lord's teaching most clearly prescribes that even those guilty of the most serious sins are to receive the grace of the heavenly sacrament if they wholeheartedly do penance for their sins and confess them openly. Consequently there can certainly be no excuse [for remaining in sin]. 927

II.VI.41. You see what God, your God[8] demands of you: it is that you remember the grace you have received and that you not "boast as if you had not received it."[9] You see by which promise of pardon he has called you to confess. Take care not to resist the heavenly commandments lest you fall into the tepidity of the Jews to whom the Lord Jesus said, "We have sung 928

5. See Luke 7:38. 6. Luke 7:47. 7. See 2 Kgs 5:11–12. 8. See Ps 45:8. 9. 1 Cor 4:7.

for you, and you have not danced; we have lamented for you, and you have not cried."[10]

929 II.VI.42. This saying is rather common, but the mystery is not. And so be watchful that no one, deceived by a superficial interpretation of this dictum, think that we are commanded to carry out the grotesque contortions of a lascivious dance and the foolishness of the stage; these are evil, even for the young. In truth, what Jesus commanded is the type of dance David performed before the ark of the Lord.[11] Everything done for the sake of religion is fitting, and so we need not blush at any practice that renders homage to Christ and is due him.

930 II.VI.43. Recommended, then, is not this dance, which is the companion of self-indulgence and dissipation, but the dance whereby each person raises up his or her body, a body full of energy, and does not allow one's lazy members to drag along the ground or become stiff from walking slowly. Paul danced spiritually when, straining forward for our sake, forgetting all that previously occurred, and keeping his eyes focused on what would lie ahead, pressed on to the prize offered by Christ.[12] You also, when you come for baptism, are told to lift up your hands, to move your feet, so that you may ascend toward things eternal. This is the dance associated with the faith, this is the dance that accompanies grace.

931 II.VI.44. Such, then, is the mystery: "We have sung for you," yes, sung the canticle of the New Testament, "and you have not danced," that is, you have not lifted up your soul to spiritual grace. "We have lamented and you have not cried," namely, you have not done penance. For this reason the Jewish people were forsaken: they did not do penance and they refused grace—penance [preached] by John, grace given by Christ. Christ gives grace, as is fitting for the Lord; John preaches repentance, as befits a servant. The Church retains both in that it obtains grace and at the same time does not reject penance. Grace is the gift of him who gives lavishly; penance is the remedy given to those who have sinned.

932 II.IX.89. There are those who believe that penance consists in abstaining from the heavenly sacraments. These judge themselves too harshly. They inflict punishment on themselves; they refuse the remedy even though they should be mourning the punishment they are undergoing since it deprives them of heavenly grace. Others, because they hope to do penance, believe it is permissible to continue sinning although penance, being a remedy for sin, is not an invitation to sin. Medicine is necessary for the wound, not the wound for the medicine. We look for a remedy because we have a wound; we do not seek to be wounded in order to obtain a remedy. [. . .]

933 II.X.91. Would anyone be able to admit that you should blush to entreat God and not do so when entreating another person? That you should be

10. Luke 7:32. 11. See 2 Sam 6:12–23. 12. See Phil 3:13–14.

ashamed to beseech God who knows everything you do, and that you are not ashamed to confess your sins to someone who does not know you? Do you avoid having witnesses and intimate friends associating themselves to your request when it concerns appeasing another person? Or do you avoid going around to find any number of people, when necessary, and asking them to graciously intervene as you cast yourself down at another's knees, as you kiss his or her feet, and when you present to this person your children, who still don't know anything related to the failing, so that they also may seek pardon on your behalf? And are you loath to do this in the Church when you beseech God to obtain for yourself the assistance of the holy people, a people among whom there is no reason for shame except not to confess since we are all sinners? Here the most praiseworthy are the most humble, the most righteous are those who most despise themselves.

II.x.92. May Mother Church weep for you; may it wash away your sin with its tears; may Christ see you mourning so that he can say to you, "Blessed are they who mourn, for they will rejoice."[13] Christ loves it when many people offer their prayers for one person. [. . .] 934

II.x.95. There are those who believe that penance can be done repeatedly. These "deliver themselves to debauchery in Christ." For if they would seriously undertake penance, they would not believe it could be repeated a second time. Just as there is only one baptism, so there is only one penance, at least in regard to what takes place in public. We are to repent of our sins everyday, but penance in this case concerns lesser sins; in the former case the practice of penance pertains to sins that are greater. 935

53-*H*. On Abraham†

This work, containing two books, dates from 387. Book II appears to be based on homilies given to the newly baptized.

II.v.22. May we always be with him [Christ]; may we never depart from his temple, from his word. May we always read the Scriptures, meditate, pray, so that his word may always be working within us. Daily going to church or praying at home, may we begin and conclude our day with him. May each day of our entire life and the course of each day find its beginning and ending in him; just as it is salutary to believe in God and to be initiated in him from the beginning of life, so we must always persevere. [. . .] 936

II.xi.79. The Law commands that boys be circumcised on the eighth day—certainly by a mystical precept—because it is the Day of the Resurrection. The Lord Jesus arose on the Lord's Day. Therefore, if the Day of 937

13. Matt 5:4; Luke 6:21.

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 1, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 (Vienna, 1897) 579ff.

the Resurrection finds us circumcised and set free from the remains of sin, washed of all filth, cleansed from bodily sins, so if you depart this world cleansed, you will rise cleansed. [. . .] The Church was redeemed at the price of Christ's blood. Therefore those who believe, whether Jew or Greek, should know that they are to be circumcised from sin in order to attain salvation. Both family members and foreigners, both the righteous and the sinner, all are to be circumcised unto the forgiveness of sins so that sin no longer is at work, for no one ascends to the kingdom of heaven unless through the sacrament of baptism. Nor will righteousness appear above if one has forsaken righteousness at the end of life. Therefore Paul says, "You have been purchased at a price; do not become slaves to humans."[1] These are contrary since slavery is contracted through sin, and sin is remitted at a price.

938 II.XI.81. Well indeed does the Law command that infant males be circumcised at a very early age, also those of slaves, because just as sin exists from infancy so there is circumcision from infancy. No time should be without protection because no time is without sin. An infant is to be summoned back from sin that it not be defiled by the contagion of idolatry, that it not grow accustomed to adoring idols and kissing images, to dishonoring the parental home, to offending against righteousness. Likewise so that he not become proud, that he not seem righteous to himself, Abraham was commanded to be circumcised before he reached a more mature age. Neither an elderly person nor a proselyte nor the infant of a slave is exempted because every age is subject to sin, and therefore the sacrament is appropriate for every age.

939 II.XI.84. [. . .] "Unless one is born again of water and the Holy Spirit, one cannot enter the kingdom of God."[2] There are no exceptions here, not even infants; not even those prevented by some necessity. Perhaps due to some unrevealed exemption, these may escape punishment; yet I do not know whether they can attain the honor of the kingdom. [. . .]

53-I. Hexameron†

The *Hexameron,* dated after 389, is a set of nine sermons on the six days of creation. This series was given during Holy Week: the first, third, and fifth days each having two sermons (one for the morning, the other for the afternoon), whereas only one sermon appears for the second, fourth, and sixth days.

940 V.XII.36 [. . .] Can anyone having human feelings not be ashamed to conclude the day without the ceremonial singing of the psalms? Not even

1. 1 Cor 7:23. 2. John 3:5.

† Translated from CSEL 32.1. This homily was apparently preached during a service on Thursday evening.

the smallest bird fails to anticipate the beginning of the day and night with its usual devotion of singing sweet songs.

V.XXIV.90. The time has come when we ought to end our discourse. Now we should rather be silent or shed tears; it is a time during which the forgiveness of sins is celebrated. That mystical cock also crows for us in our rites just as the cock of Peter crowed in our sermon. May Peter, who so fittingly wept for himself, also weep for us, and may the holy face of Christ turn toward us. May the passion of the Lord Jesus come upon us, the passion that daily forgives our sins and brings about the work of pardon. 941

V.XXIV.91. The good Lord does not desire to send away you who are fasting lest someone collapse on the road. Consider what he said, "I take pity on this crowd because they have been with me for three days and have no food, and I do not wish to send them away fasting lest they faint on the way."[1] Mary had these words in mind when she refused to make preparations for the meal.[2] How much more should we consider that there are only a few who live by the word of God and that what people want is bodily refreshment. Certainly more exactly than what has happened during the past three days is what we propose for the day to come. 942

53-J. Commentary on Psalm 118 (119)†

This is a collection of twenty-two homilies, each homily commenting on one of the twenty-two stanzas of Psalm 118 (119). The work is dated between 386 and 390.

VIII.48. [. . .] At midday you should enter the church where hymns are sung and where the sacrifice is offered. Prepare yourself so that, under [God's] protection, you may eat the Body of the Lord Jesus which requests divine reconciliation and eternal protection. [. . .] The evening office urges us never to forget Christ. Going to bed, you are not able to forget the Lord who has nourished the hungry with the goodness of his Body. [. . .] 943

XIX.32. [. . .] Each morning hurry to the church. Bring with you the first fruits of your godly devotion. [. . .] How delightful it is to return to your everyday affairs having begun the day with hymns and canticles, and with the Beatitudes which are found in the Gospel. [. . .] 944

53-K. Explanation of David the Prophet††

XII.43. [. . .] We read that "with great power and with outstretched arm"[1] God freed his people from the land of Egypt when he had them 945

1. Matt 15:32. 2. See Luke 10:39–40.

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 5, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 62 (Vienna, 1913) 180, 438–39.

†† Translated from *Apologia David*, ed. M. Cordier, SChr 239 (Paris, 1977) 128.

1. 2 Kgs 17:36.

pass through the Red Sea,[2] this being a figure of baptism.[3] If therefore God's great power was a figure of the sacraments, how much more is God's mercy shown in their reality! And so rightly is a multitude of pardons requested here where there is a multitude of sinners.

53-L. On the Mysteries†

According to modern scholarship *On the Mysteries*, once considered of doubtful authenticity, is indeed the work of Ambrose. It has been suggested that the treatise is a compilation of earlier homiletic material, namely, instructions or catecheses given to the newly baptized on the days immediately following their baptism, the work, however, being edited for a general audience. Its date is often given as around 390.

946 I.1. Each day, when the deeds of the patriarchs and the maxims of Proverbs were read, we gave you a moral teaching. My purpose in doing so was that you, formed and instructed by these readings, might become accustomed to follow the way of those who have preceded us, to follow in their path, and to obey the divine commands. Thus, renewed by baptism, you might hold on to a type of life that is fitting for all who have been washed.

947 I.2. Now is the appropriate time to speak of the mysteries and to explain the sacraments. If we would have given information on these before your baptism, at a time when you were not yet initiated, it might have been said that we were engaging in a betrayal rather than in an explanation. And so the light of the mysteries better penetrates among those who are not expecting it than if some explanation had been given them beforehand.

948 I.3. Listen, then, and take in the pleasant odor of eternal life which has been inhaled by you through the gift of the sacraments. This is what we pointed out when, celebrating the mystery of the opening, we said to you, "Ephphatha, that is, Be opened"[1] so that all who were about to come to grace might know what was being asked of them and might recall what they replied.

949 I.4. This is the mystery Christ celebrated in the Gospel passage we read to you concerning his healing of the deaf mute. Christ touched the man's mouth because he was healing a person who was deaf and dumb, someone who was a man: on the one hand, Christ wanted to open the mouth at the sound of his own voice; on the other hand, in the case of a man, touching was fitting although this would not be true for a woman.

950 II.5. After this the Holy of Holies [the baptistery] was opened up for you; you entered into the sanctuary of rebirth. Recall what was asked

---

2. See Exod 14:15–31. 3. See 1 Cor 10:1–2.

† Translated from *De sacramentis; de mysteriis; nouvelle édition*, ed. B. Botte, SChr 25 bis (Paris, 1961).

1. Mark 7:34.

of you; remember your answer. You renounced the devil, his works, the world with its excesses and pleasures. Your words are kept not in the tomb of the dead but in the book of the living.

II.6. It was there that you saw the deacon,[a] you saw the priest; you saw the bishop.[b] Do not consider their external appearances but the grace of their ministries. In the presence of angels you said, as is written, that "the lips of a priest guard knowledge, and people seek the Law from his mouth, for he is the angel of the all-powerful Lord."[2] We cannot be mistaken; we cannot deny it; it is the angel who announces the kingdom of Christ and life eternal. Do not judge according to his appearance but according to what he does. Consider what he has given you; value what he has done; acknowledge the position he holds. 951

II.7. And having entered so that you might encounter your enemy whom you believe should be renounced face to face, you turn toward the east since those who renounce the devil turn toward Christ in order to look directly at him. 952

III.8. What did you see? Certainly water, but not only water. You saw the deacons ministering there as well as the bishop posing questions and consecrating. First of all, the apostle taught you not to "look at what you are able to see but at what you cannot see, for what can be seen is temporary, but what cannot be seen is eternal."[3] Elsewhere you have come to know that "ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they be, are understood and seen through what he has made."[4] This is why the Lord himself says, "Even though you do not believe me, believe my works."[5] Believe that the divine is present there. You believe in his action but not in his presence? But what is the origin of this action unless it is preceded by his presence? 953

III.9. Consider, moreover, how old this mystery is and how it is prefigured in the origin of the world. In the very beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, the *spirit*, he says, "swept over the waters."[6] Does he who swept over the waters not work over the waters? But what should I say? He was working. As to his presence, he swept over. Was not the one who was sweeping over also at work? Know that he was active from the world's very creation since the prophet tells us that "by the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their power by the breath of his mouth."[7] Both depend on a prophetic witness: he swept along and he worked. Moses says that he swept along; David testifies that he was at work. 954

III.10. Here is additional testimony. All flesh was corrupted by its iniquities. "My spirit," God says, "will not remain in mortals because they are flesh."[8] By this God shows that spiritual grace is driven away by bodily 955

a. Ambrose uses the word *levita* for deacon.

b. Ambrose uses the phrase *summus saceerdos* for bishop.

2. Mal 2:7. 3. 2 Cor 4:18. 4. Rom 1:20. 5. John 10:38. 6. Gen 1:2. 7. Ps 33:6. 8. Gen 6:3.

impurity and by the stain of more serious sin. God, therefore, desiring to repair what was given, caused the flood and commanded that Noah, who was a just man, go up into the ark. When the flood waters were receding, Noah first released a raven; it did not return. Then he released a dove which, as we read, returned with an olive branch.[9] You see water; you see the word; you look at the dove. And you doubt the mystery?

956 III.11. It is water into which the flesh is immersed so as to wash away all bodily sin. All shame is buried there. The wood is that on which the Lord Jesus was hung as he suffered for us. It was under the form of a dove that the Holy Spirit descended, as you learned in the New Testament, to breathe into you peace of soul and tranquility of mind. The raven is the figure of sin which departs and does not return, provided that watchfulness and the example of the just also persevere in you.

957 III.12. There is also a third testimony, for the apostle teaches that "our ancestors were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all of them were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea."[10] And then Moses himself says in his canticle, "You sent your spirit and the sea covered them."[11] Notice that the figure of holy baptism is already prefigured in this crossing by the Hebrews in which the Egyptian perished whereas the Hebrew escaped. What other teaching do we receive each day in this sacrament unless that sin is swallowed up and error is destroyed while righteousness and innocence continue on intact.

958 III.13. You hear that our ancestors were under a good cloud which cooled the fire of bodily passions—a good cloud protecting those whom the Holy Spirit has visited. Finally the Spirit came upon the Virgin Mary and the power of the Most High overshadowed her[12] when she begot redemption for the human race, a miracle prefigured by Moses. If the Spirit was prefigured, is the Spirit not truly present when Scripture tells you that "the Law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth have come through Jesus Christ."[13]

959 III.14. Marah was a bitter fountain into which Moses cast a piece of wood, and the fountain became sweet.[14] For water without mention of Christ's cross is useless for future salvation; but when water is consecrated by the mystery of the saving cross, then the water is altered for use as a spiritual bath and a saving drink. Therefore just as Moses, namely, the prophet, threw some wood into the fountain, so does the priest place into this fountain the mention of the Lord's cross, and the water becomes sweet with grace.

960 III.15. Do not believe, then, only with your bodily eyes. What is not seen is really seen since the object of human sight is what is temporal, whereas what cannot be seen is eternal, the eternal not being viewed by human eyes but by the spirit and the soul.

---

9. See Gen 8:6–11. 10. 1 Cor 10:1–2. 11. Exod 15:10. 12. See Luke 1:35. 13. John 1:17. 14. See Exod 15:23–25.

III.16. Finally, may the reading from Kings, which we have just heard, 961
instruct you.[15] Naaman was a Syrian afflicted with leprosy, and no one was able to make him clean. Then a young girl from among the captives said that in Israel there was a prophet who could cleanse him from the infection of leprosy. It is said that Naaman, taking silver and gold, went to the king of Israel. The king, when he learned the reason for Naaman's coming, tore his garments and said that this was, as it were, a test since what was being asked of him did not depend on his royal power. But Elisha told the king that he had sent the Syrian to him so that Naaman would know that God was dwelling in Israel. And when Naaman arrived, Elisha ordered him to plunge himself seven times into the Jordan River.

III.17. Then Naaman began to reflect that the rivers of his own country 962
had better waters, waters in which he often bathed without ever being purified of his leprosy. Remembering this, he did not obey the prophet's commands. And yet, being advised and persuaded by his own servants, he consented and immersed himself. Immediately Naaman was made clean, and he understood that cleansing happens not by water but by grace.

III.18. Now learn who the "young girl from among the captives" is. She 963
is the young congregation of the Gentiles, that is, the Church of the Lord, the Church previously humiliated by the captivity of sin when it still did not possess the freedom of grace, at whose counsel this foolish people of the Gentiles heard the prophetic word which it long doubted. Then, however, once it came to believe it should obey, it was washed of all contagion of vices. Before being cured, Naaman doubted. You, however, are already cured and consequently should have no doubts.

IV.19. For this reason you have already been told not to believe only 964
what you have seen lest you also might say, "Is this the great mystery which 'no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived?'"[16] I see water which I am accustomed to seeing every day. Can water purify me, water into which I often descended without ever being made clean? From this understand that water without the Spirit does not cleanse.[17]

IV.20. You have read, therefore, that the three witnesses in baptism are 965
one: water, blood, and Spirit[18] because if you remove one of them the sacrament of baptism exists no longer. What is water without the cross of Christ unless an ordinary element without any sacramental effect? Likewise, without water there is no mystery of rebirth: "no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and the Spirit."[19] Even catechumens believe in the cross of the Lord Jesus with which they are signed, but unless one has been baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, he or she can receive neither the forgiveness of sins nor the gift of spiritual grace.

---

15. See 2 Kgs 5:1–14. 16. 1 Cor 2:9. 17. See John 3:5. 18. See 1 John 5:8. 19. John 3:5.

966 IV.21. And so this Syrian immersed himself seven times in the Law; you, however, have been baptized in the name of the Trinity. You confessed the Father—recall what you did—you confessed the Son, you confessed the Spirit. Retain the order of things. In this faith you died to the world; you arose for God; and as if entombed in that element of the world [water], being dead to sin you were revived unto life eternal. And so believe that the water is not without any effect.

967 IV.22. This is why you were told, "The angel of the Lord went down at certain times into the pool, and the water was stirred up; whoever stepped in first after the stirring of the water was cured of whatever infirmity afflicted that person."[20] This pool, in which one person was healed each year, was in Jerusalem, yet no one was healed till the angel came down into it. As a sign this had taken place the water was set in motion for the benefit of unbelievers. They had a sign; you have faith. For them an angel descended, for you it is the Holy Spirit. For them a creature was moved; for you Christ, the very master of creation, is at work.

968 IV.23. At that time one person was cured; now all are healed; or, to be sure, one person—the Christian people—is healed. In some there is a deceitful water.[21] Baptism conferred by those lacking faith does not cleanse; it pollutes. The Jews baptize pitchers and cups[22] as if inanimate things are capable of receiving blame or grace. You, however, baptize your own cup, one that is human, one in which your good works shine, in which the splendor of your grace glitters. This pool is also a figure so that you might believe that divine power descends into it.

969 IV.24. Furthermore, the paralytic was expecting a man. Who was this man unless the Lord Jesus born of a virgin, at whose coming no longer does the shadow heal each person one after the other, but the truth heals all at once? Awaited was the descent of Christ concerning whom God the Father said to John the Baptist, "He on whom you see the Spirit descend and abide is the one who baptizes with the Holy Spirit."[23] It is concerning Christ that John the Baptist gave testimony, saying, "I saw the Spirit descending like a dove and remaining on him."[24] And why did the Spirit come down like a dove? Only to enable you to see and recognize that the dove sent forth by Noah, the just man from the ark,[25] was an image of this dove and thus so that you might recognize the type of the sacrament?

970 IV.25. Perhaps you might say, "Since the dove that was sent forth was a true dove and what descended here is 'like a dove,' how can we say that the former is a likeness and that here we have the truth since according to the Greeks it is written that the Spirit descended "in the likeness of a dove"?[26] But what is so true as the divinity which remains forever? The creature is unable to be the truth but is a likeness which is easily broken and changed. At the same time, the simplicity of the baptized should not

---

20. John 5:4. 21. See Jer 15:18. 22. See Mark 7:4, 8. 23. John 1:33.
24. John 1:32. 25. See Gen 8:8. 26. Luke 3:22.

be in likeness but should be true. Therefore the Lord also says, "Be wise as serpents and innocent as doves."[27] And so it is right that the Spirit descends like a dove in order to remind us that we should be as simple as doves. But we also read, in regard to Christ, that form is to be taken for the truth: "being born in human form."[28] And in regard to God the Father, "You have never seen his form."[29]

v.26. Is it still possible that you can doubt when the Father clearly calls 971
out to you in the Gospel, saying, "This is my Son in whom I am well pleased"?[30] When the Son upon whom the Holy Spirit showed himself as a dove calls out? When the Holy Spirit who descended like a dove cries out? When David cries out, "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of majesty thunders, the Lord over many waters"?[31] When Scripture tells you that at Jerubbaal's prayer fire descended from heaven,[32] and when in response to the prayer of Elias, fire was sent to consecrate the sacrifice?[33]

v.27. Do not consider the merits of persons but the functions of the 972
priests. And if you examine merits, just as you carefully regard Elias, also examine the merits of Peter or Paul who handed on to us this mystery which was received from our Lord Jesus. Visible fire was sent to them so that they might believe; for those of us who believe, what was at work was an invisible fire. For them it was a figure; for us it is to be an incitement. Therefore I believe that the Lord Jesus is present, invoked as he is by the prayers of the priest, the Lord Jesus who said, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them."[34] How much more does he deign to make himself present where the Church is, where the mysteries are found.

v.28. Then you went down [into the water]. Recall what you responded, 973
namely, that you believe in the Father; you believe in the Son; you believe in the Holy Spirit. Your answer was not that you believe in a greater, in a lesser, and in a last. But by the same guarantee of your voice you are obliged to believe in the Son just as you believe in the Father, to believe in the Spirit just as you believe in the Son, with this one exception that you profess that it is necessary to believe in the cross of the one and only Lord Jesus.

vi.29. After this you went up to the priest. Consider what happened 974
next. Was it not as David says, "Like precious oil on the head, running down upon the beard, on the beard of Aaron"?[35] Solomon also speaks of this oil, "Your name is a spreading perfume; therefore the maidens loved you and were drawn to you."[36] How many souls that have been renewed today have loved you, Lord Jesus, as they say, "Draw us after you, let us run to the scent of your garments"[37] so that they might breathe in the odor of the Resurrection.

---

27. Matt 10:16. 28. Phil 2:7. 29. John 5:37. 30. Matt 3:17. 31. Ps 29:3. 32. See Jdt 6:21. 33. See 1 Kgs 18:38. 34. Matt 18:20. 35. Ps 133:2. 36. Cant 1:3. 37. Cant 1:4.

975 VI.30. Understand why this was done: "The wise have eyes in their head."[38] This is why it runs down upon his beard; it is upon the grace of youth. It runs down the "beard of Aaron" so that you might become a "chosen race,"[39] priestly and precious. For we are all anointed with spiritual grace to form the kingdom of God and the priesthood.

976 VI.31. You came up from the pool. Recall the Gospel reading where our Lord Jesus washed the feet of his disciples and when he came to Simon Peter, Peter said, "You will never wash my feet."[40] Peter did not understand the mystery, and so he refused this service, believing that the lowly state of the servant would be made more burdensome if he patiently allowed the master to serve him. The Lord answered him, "Unless I wash your feet, you will have no part with me." Hearing this, Peter said, "Lord, not only my feet but also my hands and my head." The Lord answered, "One who is washed needs only to wash the feet to be completely clean."[41]

977 VI.32. Peter was clean, and yet he still should have had his feet washed since he had the sin that came from the first man when the serpent tripped him up and led him into error. Therefore Peter's feet were washed in order to remove hereditary sins. Our own are remitted through baptism.

978 VI.33. At the same time understand that the mystery itself is carried out by humble service. For the Lord says, "If I, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also should wash each other's feet."[42] For since the author of salvation has redeemed us through his obedience, how much more should we, his servants, offer the service of humility and obedience.

979 VII.34. Then you received the white garments as a sign that you have laid aside the covering of sin and put on the pure garments of innocence. It was concerning these that the prophet said, "Sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."[43] According to both the Law and the Gospel, the person who has been baptized is purified: according to the Law since Moses sprinkled the blood of a lamb with a bouquet of hyssop;[44] according to the Gospel since Christ's garments were as white as snow[45] when he showed, as the Gospel says, the glory of his resurrection. The person whose sin has been taken away has become whiter than snow. And so the Lord said through Isaiah, "Though your sins be like scarlet, I will make them white like snow."[46]

980 VII.35. The Church, having put on these garments through "the waters of rebirth,"[47] says in the Canticle of Canticles, "I am dark and beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem."[48] Dark by reason of our frail human condition, beautiful by reason of grace; dark because I am composed of sinners, beautiful because of the sacrament of faith. Looking at these garments, the daughters of Jerusalem in amazement say, "Who is this who comes

38. Eccl 2:14. 39. 1 Pet 2:9. 40. John 13:8. 41. John 13:9–10. 42. John 13:14. 43. Ps 51:7. 44. See Exod 12:22. 45. See Matt 17:2. 46. Isa 1:18. 47. Titus 3:5. 48. Cant 1:5.

up being made white?"[49] She was dark; how is it that she has suddenly become white?

VII.36. For even the angels doubted when Christ arose. Likewise the heavenly powers when they saw flesh ascending into heaven. Then they said, "Who is this king of glory?" And when some others were saying, "Lift up the gates, you princes, be lifted up, O eternal doors, and the king of glory will enter," others doubted and said, "Who is this king of glory?"[50] Also in Isaiah you will find the powers of heaven having misgivings as they said: "Who is this that comes from Edom? The crimson of his garments is from Bozrah. He is beautiful in his white robe."[51] 981

VII.37. Christ, however, seeing his Church in white garments—for whom, as you can read in the Book of Zechariah the Prophet, he put on "filthy clothes"[52]—or the soul made clean and washed by the bath of rebirth says, "How beautiful are you, my love, how very beautiful; your eyes are like those of a dove."[53] It was in the likeness of a dove that the Holy Spirit came down from heaven. As we already said, your eyes are beautiful because the Spirit descended like a dove. 982

VII.38. And further on, "Your teeth are like a flock of shorn ewes which have come up from the washing, all with twins, and not one of them is barren. Your lips are like a scarlet thread."[54] This is not ordinary praise. First, because of the delightful comparison with the shorn sheep. Goats, as we know, graze in high places without danger; without fear they take their food in precipitous places. Then, once they have been shorn, they are relieved of what is not necessary. The Church is compared to a flock of these since the Church, in itself, possesses the virtues of many souls who because of the bath must put aside superfluous sins, offer to Christ the mystic faith and the grace of a moral life, both speaking of the cross of the Lord Jesus. 983

VII.39. It is in these that the Church is beautiful. And so the Word God says to her, "You are completely beautiful, my love; there is no flaw in you"[55] because sin has been swallowed up. "You come here from Lebanon, my bride; you come here from Lebanon. You will come and pass from the beginning of faith."[56] Because, renouncing the world, she passed through time, she has come to Christ. And again the Word God says to her: "How beautiful and pleasant you are, O loved one, in your delights. Your figure is like a palm tree, your breasts like clusters of grace."[57] 984

VII.40. The Church responds to him: "O that you were like my brother, who nursed at my mother's breasts? Finding you outside, I would kiss you and none would despise me. I would lead you and bring you into the house of my mother and into the chamber of the one who gave me birth. You will teach me."[58] Do you notice how she, delighted with the gift of grace, desires to reach the inner mysteries and consecrate all her feelings 985

49. Cant 8:5. 50. Ps 24:7–8. 51. Isa 63:1. 52. Zech 3:3. 53. Cant 4:1. 54. Cant 4:2–3. 55. Cant 4:7. 56. Cant 4:8. 57. Cant 7:7–8. 58. Cant 8:1–2.

to Christ? She is still searching; she is still arousing love and asking that love be stirred up for her by the daughters of Jerusalem[59] with whose aid—that is, with that of the faithful souls—she desires that the spouse be roused to love her ever more richly.

986 VII.41. So the Lord Jesus—invited by the devotion of so great a love, by its beautiful elegance and grace since no sins defile those who have been washed—says to the Church, "Set me as a seal on your heart, as a seal on your arm,"[60] namely, you are beautiful, my beloved; you are totally beautiful; you lack nothing.[61] Place me like a seal upon your heart so that your faith may shine in the fullness of the sacrament. May your works also shine and manifest the image of God in whose likeness you were created. May your love not be diminished by persecution, a love which deep water cannot hinder or rivers engulf.[62]

987 VII.42. Recall, then, that you received the spiritual seal: "the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of piety, the spirit of holy fear,"[63] and retain what you have received. God the Father signed you; the Lord Christ strengthened you; and, as the reading from the apostle taught, "he gave the Spirit into your hearts as a pledge."[64]

988 VIII.43. The people, washed and rich with these adornments, hasten to Christ's altar as they say, "And I shall go to the altar of God who gives joy to my youth."[65] The remains of the old error having been put aside and having renewed their youth like that of an eagle,[66] the people hasten to the heavenly feast. And seeing the holy altar all arranged, they cry out, "You prepare a table before me." These are the people David has speaking when he says: "He feeds me. There is nothing I shall want. He has me lie down in green pastures; he leads me beside still waters." He continues: "Even though I walk in the shadow of death, no evil will I fear for you are with me; your rod and your staff comfort me. You have prepared a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you have anointed my head with oil. How good is your cup that inebriates me."[67]

989 VIII.44. Let us now consider this lest perhaps someone seeing visible things—since what is invisible is neither seen nor capable of being understood by human eyes—perhaps may say: "God rained down manna upon the Jews, he rained down quail; whereas this is what he prepared for his beloved Church, 'What eye has not seen, nor has ear heard, nor has it entered the human heart what God has prepared for those who love him.'"[68] Therefore, so that no one can say this, we wish to show with the greatest of care that the Church's sacraments are older than those of the synagogue and are more excellent than manna.

---

59. See Cant 5:8. 60. Cant 8:6. 61. See Cant 4:7. 62. See Cant 8:7. 63. Isa 11:2–3. 64. See 2 Cor 1:22; 2 Cor 5:5. 65. Ps 43:4. 66. See Ps 103:5. 67. Ps 23:5, 1–2, 4–5. 68. 1 Cor 2:9.

VIII.45. The reading from Genesis which we heard teaches us that the 990
sacraments are older. The synagogue has its origin in the Law of Moses, but Abraham was much earlier. He conquered his foes, found his nephew, and enjoyed his victory. Then Melchizedek met him and brought out the things that Abraham received with respect.[69] It was not Abraham who brought these out but Melchizedech who is introduced as being "without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days nor end, but like the Son of God" of whom Paul says to the Hebrews that he remains a "priest forever," who in Latin is called the "king of righteousness, the king of peace."[70]

VIII.46. Do you not recognize who this is? Can someone be a king of 991
righteousness when he is hardly righteous? Can someone be a king of peace when he is hardly peaceful? As divine he is without a mother because he was begotten by God the Father from the same substance with the Father. He is without a father according to his incarnation because he was born of a virgin. Having neither beginning nor end, he is the beginning of all things, "the first and the last."[71] Therefore the sacrament you received is not a human gift; it is a divine gift brought by him who has blessed Abraham, the father of faith, by him whose grace and deeds you admire.

VIII.47. It is a proven fact that the Church's sacraments are older; now 992
learn that they are more powerful. It is indeed wonderful that God rained down manna on the fathers and that they were nourished with this daily food. This is why it is written, "Mortals ate of the bread of angels."[72] Yet all who ate that bread in the desert are now dead. On the other hand, the food you receive, "this living bread that comes down from heaven,"[73] furnishes the means of eternal life, and those who eat it "will live forever"[74] since it is the Body of Christ.

VIII.48. Consider which is more excellent: the bread of angels or the 993
Body of Christ which certainly bestows life? The manna came down from heaven; this from above the heavens. The former was of heaven; the latter is of the Lord of the heavens; the former was exposed to corruption when kept for a second day; the latter is safe from all corruption since those reverently tasting it will not be able to undergo corruption.[75] For them water flowed from a rock, for you blood flows from Christ. Water satisfied them for an hour; blood washes you forever. The Jew drinks and is thirsty; when you drink, you can no longer thirst. The former was in shadow; the latter is in truth.

VIII.49. If what you admire is a shadow, how great is that whose 994
shadow you admire? Hear that what took place among the fathers is a shadow: "They drank from the rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ. Yet God was not pleased with most of them, and they were struck down in the desert. Now these things took place as a figure for us."[76] You

69. See Gen 14:14–18. 70. Heb 7:2–3. 71. Rev 1:17; 22:13. 72. Ps 78:25.
73. See John 6:50. 74. John 6:51. 75. See John 6:50. 76. 1 Cor 10:4–6.

have come to know the things that are more excellent: for light is stronger than shadows; truth is stronger than figure; the body of the Creator is stronger than manna from heaven.

995 IX.50. Perhaps you might say: "I see something else. How can you allege that I will receive the Body of Christ?" This is what it remains for me to prove. Therefore we will use a great many examples to prove that the question here is not what nature has produced but what the blessing has consecrated, the power of the blessing being greater than that of nature because nature itself is changed by the blessing.

996 IX.51. Moses, who was holding a rod, threw it down, and the rod became a serpent. He seized the tail of the serpent, and it reverted to the nature of a rod.[77] And so you see that by the grace of the prophet nature was changed twice, into that of a serpent and into that of a rod. The Egyptian rivers flowed with streams of pure water. Suddenly blood began to burst forth from the veins of the springs; nor was there any drinkable water in the rivers.[78] Once again, when the prophet prayed, blood ceased flowing and the nature of water returned. The Hebrew people were completely encircled, with the Egyptians besieging them on one side, the sea hemming them in on the other side. Moses lifted up his rod; the waters separated and hardened into something like walls so that between them there was a path on which to travel.[79] The Jordan, contrary to its nature, returned to its source of origin.[80] Is it not evident that the nature of the sea's waves and the course of the river were altered? The people of the fathers were thirsty; Moses touched the rock and water flowed from it.[81] Did not grace work in a way superior to that of nature so that the rock could produce something its very nature did not have? The Marah was a most bitter stream, so much so that thirsty people could not drink from it. Moses threw a stick of wood into its water and the nature of its water laid aside its bitterness which grace, suddenly poured in, calmed.[82] At the time of Elisha the prophet it happened that one of his sons lost the head of his axe, and it immediately sank. He who had lost the axe sought help from Elisha who also threw some wood into the water, and the axe head rose to the surface.[83] Certainly we know that this was contrary to nature: by nature iron is heavier than water, which is a liquid.

997 IX.52. We notice, then, that grace can do more than nature can do; and yet till now we have only considered the blessing of a prophet. If a human blessing is capable of changing the nature of something, what are we to say about that divine consecration wherein our Lord and Savior's very words are at work? For the sacrament you receive is the result of Christ's word. If the word of Elijah was powerful enough to call down fire from heaven,[84] would not Christ's word have the power to change the nature

77. See Exod 4:3–4. 78. See Exod 7:19–21. 79. See Exod 14:21–22. 80. See Josh 3:16. 81. See Exod 17:1–7. 82. See Exod 15:22–25. 83. See 2 Kgs 6:5–6. 84. 1 Kgs 18:38.

of the elements? You have read in regard to the works of the whole world, "For he spoke, and they came to be; he commanded and they were created."[85] Cannot Christ's word, which was able to make from nothing what was not, change what is into something it is not? For it is no less difficult to give a new nature to things than to change their nature.

IX.53. But why are we using arguments? Let us use examples and establish the truth of the mystery by means of the mysteries of the Incarnation. Is it possible that the ordinary course of nature preceded the birth of the Lord Jesus from Mary? If we are seeking the natural way things happen, a woman usually has a child after a bodily encounter with a man. Consequently it is evident that it is beyond the order of nature for a virgin to give birth. And the body we make is that born of a virgin. Why do we here seek the order of nature in Christ's body since the Lord Jesus was born of a virgin, namely, not according to nature. Certainly the true body of Christ was crucified and buried. Certainly, then, it is the sacrament of his Body. 998

IX.54. The Lord Jesus himself says, "This is my Body." Before the blessing by the heavenly words it is called something else; after the consecration the Body is signified. Jesus himself said that it was his Blood. Before the consecration it is called something else; after the consecration it is called Blood. And you say "Amen," namely, "It is true." May your heart within confess what your mouth says; may your soul feel what your word expresses. 999

IX.55. Therefore it is by these sacraments that Christ nourishes his Church; through them the very being of the soul is strengthened; and, seeing that it is constantly progressing in grace, he says to it: "How beautiful are your breasts, my sister, my bride. How beautiful they have become from wine. The fragrance of your garments goes beyond that of all perfumes. Your lips make honey flow. Honey and milk are under your tongue; the scent of your garments is like the scent of Lebanon. A garden locked is my sister, my bride, a garden locked, a fountain sealed."[86] Here he shows that the mystery should remain sealed among you so that it not be violated by the works of a bad life and by the loss of chastity, that it not be divulged to those for whom it is not fitting, that it not be spread among unbelievers by garrulous talk. Therefore take good care of your faith so that the integrity of your life and of your silence remains unspotted. 1000

IX.56. This is why the Church, observing the depth of the heavenly mysteries, repels violent wind storms and invites the sweetness of springtime grace; knowing that its garden cannot displease Christ, it calls upon its spouse, saying: "Awaken, O north wind, and come, O south wind! Blow upon my garden that its fragrance may be wafted about. Let my brother go down into his garden and eat its choicest fruits."[87] For the Church has good and fruitful trees whose roots have been watered by the sacred 1001

85. Ps 33:9. 86. Cant 4:10–12. 87. Cant 4:16.

fountain and which have shot up with a growth of new fecundity in order to produce good fruits: all this so that they now not be cut down by the prophet's axe but be made to grow by the fullness of the Gospel.

1002 IX.57. Then the Lord, pleased with their fertility, responds, "I entered my garden, my spouse and my bride; I gathered my myrrh with my spices; I have eaten food with my honey; I have drunk my drink with milk."[88] Understand, faithful one, why I spoke of food and drink. Just as you have read that the Lord said he is with us in prison,[89] so there is no doubt that he eats and drinks with us.

1003 IX.58. And so the Church, seeing so much grace, exhorts its children, exhorts those close to it, to assemble for the sacraments. It says, "Eat, my friends, and drink, and be drunk, my brothers."[90] What we eat, what we drink, the Holy Spirit expresses to you elsewhere through the prophet who says, "Taste and see the goodness of the Lord. Happy are those who take refuge in him."[91] Christ is in this sacrament because it is the Body of Christ, and yet this is not bodily but spiritual food. The apostle also says about this type, "Our fathers ate the spiritual food and drank the spiritual drink."[92] For the body of God is a spiritual body; the body of Christ is the body of the divine Spirit because Christ is the Spirit, as we read, "The spirit before our face is Christ the Lord."[93] And in the Letter of Peter we read, "Christ died for you."[94] This food, therefore, strengthens our heart, and this drink "gladdens the human heart"[95] as the prophet recalls.

1004 IX.59. Having received everything, may we know that we have been born again. May we not ask: "How were we born again? Did we enter into the womb of our mother and then were reborn?[96] I do not see nature at work here." But nature is not at work here where there is the excellence of grace. Finally, the natural workings of nature do not always result in birth. We confess that Christ the Lord was born of a virgin, and thereby we deny the order of nature. For it was not from a man that Mary conceived, but she received from the Holy Spirit in her womb; as Matthew says, "She was found to be with child through the Holy Spirit."[97] If, then, the Holy Spirit coming upon the virgin brought about the conception and performed the work of generation, there should be no doubt that the Spirit, coming upon the font or upon those who present themselves for baptism, has truly brought about rebirth.

53-M. On the Sacraments

Like its companion work, *On the Mysteries*, these six catechetical lectures to the recently baptized were once thought not to be authentic. Today, however, they are generally held to be by Ambrose and are usually considered as dating from about the same time as *On the Mysteries*. Some

88. Cant 5:1. 89. See Matt 25:36. 90. Cant 5:1. 91. Ps 34:8. 92. 1 Cor 10:3–4. 93. Lam 4:20, LXX. 94. 1 Pet 2:21. 95. Ps 104:15. 96. See John 3:4. 97. Matt 1:18.

believe that these six homilies may well be a rough draft of Ambrose's instructions, the text written down either by Ambrose himself or by another person at a time after the lectures were actually given. Especially noteworthy here is Ambrose's highly allegorical approach to Scripture. Although somewhat disjointed and repetitious, these instructions give much more information about Christian initiation at Milan than we find in *On the Mysteries.*

53-M-1. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS ONE†

1.1. I will now explain the sacraments you have received. It was not 1005
appropriate for me to have done so earlier since, for the Christian, faith comes first. This is why at Rome the name "faithful" is given to the baptized; this is why it was by faith and not works that our father Abraham was justified.[1] And so you have accepted baptism. You have believed. It would be wrong for me to judge otherwise since you would not have been called to grace unless Christ deemed you worthy of it.

1.2. What, then, did we do on Saturday? It was the "opening," to be 1006
sure. These mysteries were celebrated when the bishop[a] touched your ears and nostrils. But what is the meaning of all this? In the Gospel our Lord Jesus Christ, when the deaf mute was presented to him, touched the man's ears and mouth: the ears because the man was deaf, the mouth because he was dumb. And Jesus said, "Ephphetha."[2] The Latin for this Hebrew word is *adaperire* [to open]. This is why the bishop touched your ears, namely, so that they might be open to all he would be saying to you.

1.3. But, you ask, why the nostrils? Since the man was dumb, Christ 1007
touched his mouth so that the man, unable to talk about the heavenly sacraments, might receive from Christ the ability to speak. In the Gospel account it was a man, but here women are baptized. And the purity of the servant is not as great as that of the Lord—what comparison can there be since the one forgives sins whereas, for the other, sins are forgiven?—therefore, out of respect for the grace given by his action and office, the bishop touches the nostrils and not the mouth. Why the nostrils? So that using the words of the holy apostle you might say, "we are the aroma of Christ before God,"[3] and so that the fullness of faith and devotion might be in you.

11.4. Then we proceeded to the font. You entered and were anointed. 1008
Think about those you saw and about what you said. Do so carefully. A deacon[b] came to receive you; also a presbyter. Like an athlete of Christ you were anointed as if you were preparing for an earthly contest. You agreed

† All catecheses are translated from *De sacramentis; De mysteriis; nouvelle édition,* ed. B. Botte, SChr 25 bis (Paris, 1961) 60ff.

a. Ambrose uses the phrase *summus sacerdos* for bishop.

b. Ambrose uses the word *levita* for deacon.

1. See Rom 4:1–22. 2. Mark 7:34. 3. 2 Cor 2:15.

to fight your opponent. The person who struggles has what is hoped for. Where there is a struggle, there is the crown.[4] You struggle in this world, but you are crowned by Christ—you receive a crown for struggling in this world since, although the reward is found in heaven, what merits this reward is found here upon the earth.

1009 11.5. What was your response when you were asked, "Do you renounce the devil and his works?" What did you answer? "I do renounce them." What was your reply when you were asked, "Do you renounce the world and its pleasures?" "I do renounce them." Remember what you said and never renege on the guarantee you have given. If you give your bond to someone, you are held liable so that you may receive that person's money. You are strictly bound, and even if you seek to avoid your obligation, the money-lender holds you responsible. If you protest, you go before a judge where you are convicted by the guarantee you have made.

1010 11.6. Think of the place where you promised or think of those to whom you promised. You saw a deacon, and yet he is a minister of Christ. You saw him serving at the altar. Your guarantee, therefore, is held not on earth but in heaven. Think of the place where you received the heavenly sacraments. Wherever the body of Christ is found, there also the angels are to be found: "Where the body is, there the eagles will be,"[5] as you read in the Gospel. Where the body of Christ is, there also are the eagles who are accustomed to fly so that, fleeing earthly things, they strive for those of heaven. Why do I say this? Because all those on earth who announce Christ are also angels and seem to be called to take the place of angels?

1011 11.7. And how? Just listen. John the Baptist, although born of a man and a woman, is also an angel [messenger]: "Behold, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way before you."[6] Here is still another proof. The prophet Malachi said that "the lips of a priest guard knowledge, and people seek the Law from his mouth, for he is the angel of the all-powerful God."[7] This was said so that we might proclaim the glory of the priesthood, not that anything be attributed to our own personal merits.

1012 11.8. So you have renounced the world; you have renounced the age in which we live. Be watchful. Whoever owes money always carefully looks over the bond. And you who are to keep faith with Christ, keep the faith which is much more valuable than money. Faith is an eternal possession whereas money is temporal. Furthermore, always remember what you promised: be more cautious. If you keep your promise, you will also keep your guarantee.

1013 111.9. Then you came closer. You saw the font, and you saw the bishop presiding there. I have no doubt that there came into your mind what Naaman the Syrian was thinking. Even though he was purified, at first he doubted. And why? Listen, for I will tell you.

---

4. See 1 Cor 9:24–25. 5. Matt 24:28. 6. Matt 11:10. 7. Mal 2:7.

III.10. You entered; you saw the water; you saw the bishop; you saw the deacon. Perhaps, I fear, someone said, "Is this all there is?" Certainly this is all, for all innocence is there, all righteousness, all grace, all holiness. You saw what you were capable of seeing with your bodily eyes and with your human way of viewing things. You did not see what they effect but only what can be seen. What is not perceived is indeed greater than what is perceived because "what you can see is temporary, but what you cannot see is eternal."[8] 1014

IV.11. Therefore let us say first—remember the guarantee of my word and demand its execution—we admire the mysteries of the Jews which were given to our ancestors: first, the age of their sacraments and then their holiness. But I assure you, the Christian sacraments are older and more godly than those of the Jews. 1015

IV.12. What is more extraordinary than the passage of the Jewish people through the sea, and so we can now speak of baptism. Yet the Jews who did so all died in the desert.[9] On the other hand, those who pass through this font, namely, from earthly to heavenly things—there is a passage here and therefore a pasch, namely, the passage of the baptized from sin to life, from fault to grace, from stain to holiness—such do not die but rise. 1016

V.13. Naaman, therefore, was a leper.[10] A female slave said to Naaman's wife, "If my lord wishes to be made clean, let him go to the land of Israel and find there someone who can take away his leprosy." The slave told this to her mistress, and the mistress in turn related it to her husband Naaman, who passed it on to the king of Syria. The king of Syria sent Naaman, as one of his esteemed subjects, to the king of Israel. When the king of Israel heard that Naaman was sent to him in order that Naaman be cleansed of leprosy, the king tore his garment. Then Elisha the prophet said to him, "Why did you tear your garment, as if there were no powerful God capable of cleansing a leper? Send him to me." The king did so and, when Naaman arrived, the prophet said, "Go down into the Jordan, immerse yourself, and you will be cured." 1017

V.14. Naaman began to reflect on this and said, "Is this all? I came from Syria into Judea, and I was told, 'Go to the Jordan, immerse yourself, and you will be cured.' As if there were no better rivers in my own country!" His servants said to him, "Lord, why do you refuse to do what the prophet told you to do? Do it and see what happens." So Naaman went into the Jordan, immersed himself, and came out cured. 1018

V.15. Now what does this mean? You have seen water, and yet not all water cures, only that containing the grace of Christ. There is a difference between an element and its sanctification, between an action and its efficacy. Action takes place with water; efficacy comes from the Holy Spirit. Water does not cure unless the Holy Spirit has descended and sanctified 1019

8. 2 Cor 4:18. 9. See John 6:49, 58. 10. 2 Kgs 5:1–14.

this water. You have read that when our Lord Jesus Christ instituted the rite of baptism, he went to John, who said to him, "I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?"[11] Christ answered him, "Allow it now; for it is proper for us in this way to fulfill all righteousness."[12] Notice that all righteousness is established in baptism.

1020 v.16. Why, then, did Christ descend unless that flesh be purified, the flesh he took upon himself from our condition? Christ had no need for sins to be washed away since he "committed no sin,"[13] but we need this washing since we remain subject to sin. Therefore if the rite of baptism has been instituted for us, then this rite has been given for our faith.

1021 v.17. Christ descended; John who baptized stood by; and behold the Holy Spirit came down like a dove. A dove did not descend, but it was "like a dove." Remember what I said: Christ assumed flesh, not something "like flesh" but true flesh; Christ has truly taken on flesh. The Holy Spirit descends from heaven not as a real dove but in the likeness of a dove. This is what John saw and believed.

1022 v.18. Christ descends; the Holy Spirit also descends. Why did Christ descend first and only afterwards did the Holy Spirit do so, whereas in the usual rite of baptism the water is sanctified before the person who is to be baptized goes down into it? For as soon as the bishop enters there, he performs an exorcism over the creature water; then he gives an invocation, praying that the font be sanctified and that the eternal Trinity be present there. Christ descended first, to be followed by the Holy Spirit. And why? Not that the Lord Jesus seem, as it were, to have had the need for the mystery of sanctification, but that he himself might sanctify and that the Spirit also might sanctify.

1023 v.19. Christ, therefore, descended into the water, and the Holy Spirit descended like a dove. Also, God the Father spoke from heaven.[14] And so the Trinity was present there.

1024 vi.20. According to the apostle there was a figure of this baptism in the Red Sea: "All our ancestors were baptized in the cloud and in the sea."[15] And he added, "These things happened to them as a figure."[16] As in a figure for them but in truth for us. Moses was holding a stick; the Jewish people were completely encircled: the Egyptian with his army was approaching on one side; on the other side the Hebrews were cut off by the sea. They could neither cross the sea nor return to face the enemy. And so it was that they began to complain.

1025 vi.21. Take care not to be bothered by the fact that they were heard. Even though the Lord heard them, yet they were not faultless since they complained. When you are repressed, believe that you will escape. Do not complain. Ask, pray, and do not murmur.

---

11. Matt 3:14. 12. Matt 3:15. 13. 1 Pet 2:22. 14. See Matt 3:16–17. 15. 1 Cor 10:2. 16. 1 Cor 10:11.

VI.22. Moses, holding a stick, led the Hebrew people at night by means 1026
of a column of light, during the day by means of a column of a cloud.[17] What is the fire unless it is the truth because the truth sheds a visible and clear light? What is the column of light unless it is Christ the Lord who has banished the darkness of unbelief and has poured into the human heart the light of truth and grace? But the column of a cloud is, to be sure, the Holy Spirit. The people were in the sea, and the column of light went before them; then came the column of a cloud as if it were an overshadowing by the Holy Spirit. You see that in the Holy Spirit and in water Christ has displayed a type of baptism.

VI.23. At a time when the mysteries of the Jews certainly did not exist, 1027
a type of baptism can also be found in the flood.[18] And so if the rite of baptism thus came first, you can see that the Christian mysteries are older than those of the Jews.

VI.24. But for now, in light of my weak voice and the constraints of time, 1028
it suffices for today merely to have tasted the mysteries at the holy font. Tomorrow, if the Lord allows me to speak at length, I will treat the topic more fully. It is necessary that you, my holy ones, have attentive ears and even more readily disposed minds so that you can retain what I can gather from the Scriptures that are read and what I desire to impress on you so that you may have the grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity to whom belongs the everlasting kingdom from the ages, now, and forever and ever. Amen.

53-M-2. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS TWO

I.1. Yesterday we began our explanation of how baptism is prefigured 1029
in the flood. But what is the flood unless that in which the just person is saved for nurturing righteousness, that in which sin dies? For this reason the Lord, seeing human sin proliferate, saved only the just man together with his descendants, while commanding the water to cover the mountain tops. And so all corruption of the flesh perished in that flood, whereas the family and image of the just man alone remained.[1] What is this flood unless it is baptism in which all sins are washed away, in which only the spirit and grace of the just are revived?

I.2. There are many kinds of baptism, but there is only "one baptism,"[2] 1030
as the apostle says. And why? The pagans possess baptisms, but these are not baptisms. There are washings, but these cannot be baptisms. The flesh is washed, but sin is not washed away. Indeed, sin is even contracted because of this washing. The Jews had baptisms; some were superfluous whereas others were a figure. And the figure itself assists us because it is a messenger of the truth.

17. See Exod 13:21. 18. See 1 Pet 3:21.
1. See Gen 7:17–23. 2. Eph 4:5.

1031 II.3. What was read yesterday? You heard that "an angel went down at a certain time into the pool," and as often as the angel went down, "the water was stirred up; whoever stepped in first after the stirring of the water was cured of whatever infirmity afflicted that person."[3] This represents the figure of our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come.

1032 II.4. But why an angel? Because Christ is the "angel of great counsel."[4] At a "certain time" because the angel waited till the last hour in order to overtake the day and even to prolong it. And so each time the angel went down, the water was moved. Perhaps you will say, "Why doesn't the water move now?" For this reason: signs are for those who do not believe; faith is for those who do.[5]

1033 II.5. Whoever was the first to go down into the water was cured of all infirmity. But what does "first" mean? Does it refer to time or to dignity? You can understand it both ways. If "first" concerns time, whoever went down first was the first to be cured, namely, the Jewish people rather than the Gentiles. If "first" refers to dignity, the first who went down is whoever had fear of God, zeal for justice, the grace of love, love of purity. This person was the first choice to be healed. Yet at that time only one person was made well, and this was in figure. How much greater is the grace of the Church by which all who go down are cured.

1034 II.6. But consider the mystery. Our Lord Jesus Christ came to the pool; many sick people were lying there, certainly a place where only one person was cured. Then Jesus says to this paralytic, "Go down." The paralytic answers, "I have no one" [to put me into the pool].[6] See where you were baptized. From where does baptism come if not from the cross of Christ, if not from the death of Christ. This is the whole mystery: he has suffered for you. In him you have been redeemed. In him you have been saved.

1035 II.7. "I have no one," the paralytic says. He says this because "death came through a human being and the resurrection through a human being."[7] Those who did not believe that our Lord Jesus Christ took flesh from a virgin were not able to go down and be cured. But the man who said "I have no one" was awaiting the "mediator between God and humankind,"[8] namely, the man Jesus; he was awaiting the one of whom it is said, "And the Lord will send a man who will save him."[9] For this reason he deserved to be cured since he believed in the one to come. Yet it would have been better and more perfect if he believed that the one he was hoping for had already come.

1036 III.8. Now consider the details. We said that a type was anticipated in the Jordan when Naaman the leper was purified. Was not the young girl from among the captives an image of the Church? Did she not represent its form? The pagans were held captive. They were prisoners. I do not speak of a captivity imposed by some hostile people, but I speak of a more

3. John 5:4. 4. Isa 9:5, LXX. 5. See 1 Cor 14:22: 6. John 5:6–7. 7. 1 Cor 15:21. 8. 1 Tim 2:5. 9. Isa 19:20, LXX.

terrible captivity when the devil, with his own, imposes a cruel power and subjects the necks of sinners to their captivity.

III.9. There you have one baptism; a second is in the flood. You have a 1037
third kind when our ancestors were baptized in the Red Sea. A fourth kind is found when the water was stirred up in the pool. Now I ask whether you should believe that the Trinity is present in this baptism by which Christ baptizes in his Church?

IV.10. And so the Lord Jesus in the Gospel says to the apostles, "Go 1038
therefore baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[10] This is what the Savior said.

IV.11. Now tell me, Elias called down fire from heaven, and fire came 1039
down.[11] Elisha called upon the Lord's name, and the head of the axe, which was submerged, rose to the surface of the water. This is another type of baptism. Why? Because before baptism every person, like the head of the axe, is pressed upon and submerged. But once baptized, this person is raised up not as the head of an axe but like a lighter type of wood from a fruit tree. There is, consequently, a second figure here. The pieces of wood were cut with an axe. The handle fell from the axe, namely, the iron head went down into the water. The son of the prophet did not know what to do; all he knew was to beseech the prophet Elisha and ask for a remedy. Elisha then threw some wood into the water, and the head of the axe rose to the surface.[12] And so you see that all human infirmity is eased through the cross of Christ.

IV.12. There is another example, even though we are not following the 1040
sequence of events. For who can grasp everything that Christ did, as the apostle said?[13] When Moses was in the desert the people, being thirsty, came to the pool of Marah where they wanted to have something to drink. As soon as Moses took some water, he sensed the water's bitterness and was unable to drink it. So he threw some wood into the pool, and the water, which had been bitter, became sweet.[14]

IV.13. What is the meaning of this except that every creature subject to 1041
corruption tastes like bitter water to everyone? Even if the water is sweet for a time, even if it is pleasing for a time, it is bitter since it cannot take away sin. As soon as you drink it, you thirst; as soon as you taste the sweetness of the liquid, you again taste its bitterness. So the water is bitter. But once it has received the cross of Christ, the heavenly sacrament, it begins to be sweet and pleasant. Rightly is it sweet since it removes sin. If, then, such baptisms are so great in figure, then how much greater is the power of true baptism.

V.14. Now consider this. The bishop comes, says a prayer at the font, in- 1042
vokes the name of the Father, the presence of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and uses heavenly words. The words are heavenly because they are the

10. Matt 28:19. 11. See 1 Kgs 18:38. 12. See 2 Kgs 6:5–6. 13. See John 21:25. 14. See Exod 15:22–25.

words of Christ who says that we are to baptize "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[15] If, then, the Trinity becomes present at human words, how much more is the Trinity present where the heavenly word is at work? Do you wish to be certain that the Spirit descends? You have heard that the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove. Why in the likeness of a dove? So that unbelievers may be called to faith. In the beginning a sign was necessary; later on fulfillment was necessary.

1043 v.15. Yet there is more. After the death of our Lord Jesus Christ the apostles came together in one place and were at prayer, it being the day of Pentecost. Suddenly there was a loud noise, like a violent wind, and there appeared divided tongues, as it were of fire.[16] What does this mean unless the descent of the Holy Spirit who desires to reveal himself in a material way to unbelievers, namely, materially by means of a sign, spiritually by means of a sacrament? It is, therefore, a manifest proof of his coming; but we are offered the privilege of faith because in the beginning there were signs for unbelievers; we, however, who already live in the fullness of the Church, are to seize the truth not by means of a sign but by faith.[17]

1044 VI.16. Let us now examine the meaning of baptism. You came to the font; you went down into it; you saw the bishop; you saw the deacons and the presbyter there. Now what is baptism?

1045 VI.17. In the beginning the Lord our God made us immortal so that, provided we did not sin, we would not die. Man, however, sinned, became subject to death, and was ejected from Paradise.[18] But the Lord, desiring that his benefits endure and that all the snares of the serpent be destroyed by him, and also desiring to abolish whatever was harmful, first passed sentence on humankind, "You are dust, and unto dust you shall return";[19] and so we became subject to death. This was a divine sentence, unable to be undone by our human condition. Nonetheless, a remedy was given so that we might be able to die and then rise again. And why? So that what previously condemned us might now benefit us. What is this if not death? You ask how can this be because when death occurs, it puts an end to sin. For when we die, we have assuredly ceased sinning.[20] So it seems that the sentence was being carried out since humankind, which had been created to live forever on condition that it not sin became mortal. Yet, so that God's favor might continue without interruption, humankind died, but Christ initiated resurrection in order to restore the heavenly benefit that was lost through the serpent's deceit. Both were for our benefit: death brings sin to an end, and the resurrection transforms our nature.

1046 VI.18. Nevertheless, so that the devil's deceit and snares not prevail in this world, baptism was devised. Hear what Scripture—or rather God's Son—says about it: the "Pharisees," who did not want to receive John's

15. Matt 28:19. 16. See Acts 2:1–3. 17. See 1 Cor 14:22. 18. See Gen 3:17–23. 19. Gen 3:19. 20. See Rom 6:7.

baptism, "rejected God's plan."[21] Therefore baptism is designed by God. How great is the grace where God's plan is at work.

VI.19. Listen, now. So that the devil's hold on this world might be bro- 1047
ken, a way was found to have a living person die and to have that living person rise again. But what does it mean to be alive? It means living with the life of the body since this person can come to the font and be plunged into it. Where do we obtain water if not from the earth? Therefore the divine sentence is satisfied without the numbness brought by death. The fact that you are baptized serves the sentence: "You are dust, and unto dust you shall return."[22] Once the sentence has been carried out, there is room for the heavenly kindness and remedy. Water thus comes from the earth. On the other hand, our human situation does not allow us to be covered by the earth and then to rise up from it. Consequently, earth does not wash; water does. And so the font is like a tomb.

VII.20. You were asked, "Do you believe in God the almighty Father?" 1048
You responded, "I believe." And you were bathed, namely, buried. A second time you were asked, "Do you believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and in his cross?" You responded, "I believe," and you were immersed—you were buried with Christ, for those who are buried with Christ rise with him. A third time you were asked, "Do you also believe in the Holy Spirit?" You answered, "I believe," and you were immersed a third time so that the triple confession might forgive the numerous lapses of the past.

VII.21. Finally, may I give you an example. During the Lord's passion 1049
the holy apostle Peter seemed to have fallen out of human weakness. To take away and repair this denial, Peter was thrice asked by Christ whether he loved him. Peter then said, "Lord, you know that I love you."[23] Peter responded for a third time in order to be forgiven a third time.

VII.22. This is how the Father forgives sin, how the Son forgives sin, and 1050
how the Holy Spirit forgives sin. Do not marvel that we have been baptized in one name, namely, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit";[24] Christ spoke of only one name because there is only one substance, one divinity, and one majesty. This is the name of which it is said, "By this name we must be saved."[25] In this name you have all been saved; you have been restored to the grace of life.

VII.23. And so, as you heard in today's reading, the apostle declares, 1051
"All who have been baptized were baptized into the death of Jesus."[26] But what is meant by "into the death"? It means that just as Christ died, so you also are to taste death; just as Christ has died to sin and lives for God, so you also have died to the former attractions of sin through the sacrament of baptism and have risen through the grace of Christ. So there is a death, but it is not a real bodily death but a likeness. For when you are bathed, you take upon yourself the likeness of death and burial; you

21. Luke 7:30. 22. Gen 3:19. 23. John 21:15–17. 24. Matt 28:19. 25. Acts 4:12. 26. Rom 6:3.

receive the sacrament of the cross since Christ hung on the cross and his body was nailed to it. So you are crucified with him; you are joined to Christ; with nails you are attached to our Lord Jesus Christ so that the devil cannot separate you from him. May these nails of Christ hold you, whom the weakness of the human condition attempts to pull away.

1052 VII.24. You were bathed. You approached the bishop. What did he say to you? He said, "God, the almighty Father, who gave new birth through water and the Holy Spirit and who forgave your sins, anoints you unto everlasting life." See unto what you were anointed: as he says, "unto everlasting life." Do not prefer the present life to everlasting life. If, for example, an enemy accosts you and wants to harm your faith, and if this person threatens to kill you so that you are not able to follow the right path, take care as to your decision. Do not opt for a life into which you were not anointed; rather, choose a life into which you were anointed so that you choose eternal life over temporal life.

53-M-3. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS THREE

1053 I.1. Yesterday we spoke about the font whose appearance somewhat resembles that of a tomb. Into the font we are received and plunged as we express our belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Then we emerge, namely, we are restored to life. You receive the myron—the chrism—upon your head. And why upon the head? Because, according to Solomon, the head is the seat of a wise person's senses.[1] Wisdom lacking grace is lifeless; but where wisdom has received grace, the work of the wise person becomes perfect. This is called regeneration.

1054 I.2. What is regeneration? In the Acts of the Apostles you will find a verse that is recited with Psalm 2: "You are my Son, today I have begotten you."[2] Seemingly this refers to the Resurrection, for this is how the holy apostle Peter[a] interpreted it in the Acts of the Apostles: when the Son rose from the dead, the voice of the Father was heard to say, "You are my Son; today I have begotten you."[3] This is why Christ is also called the "first-born from the dead."[4] And so, following the apostle's interpretation,[5] if Christ's resurrection was a regeneration, so this resurrection from the font is also a regeneration.

1055 I.3. But what do you say about going down into water? Are you somewhat confused here? Do some doubts remain? We read, "May the earth bring forth vegetation, and may it produce seed-bearing fruit."[6] Likewise, in regard to the water you also read, "May the water bring forth animals and so animals were born."[7] These existed at the beginning of creation, but it was reserved for you that water regenerate you for grace just as it brought life to these other creatures. Imitate the fish which has obtained

---

a. It was really Paul and not Peter who was speaking.

1. See Eccl 2:14. 2. Acts 13:33. 3. Ibid. 4. Col 1:18. 5. See Rom 6:3–11. 6. Gen 1:11. 7. Gen 1:20.

less favor, and yet it should cause you to be amazed. It is in the sea, and it is above the waters. The fish is in the sea, and it swims above the billows. A storm with its harsh-sounding winds rages at sea, but the fish swims on. It does not sink because it is accustomed to swimming. So for you this world is the sea. It has various currents, large waves, furious winds. You also are to be a fish so that the waves of this world may not submerge you. Rightly does the Father say to the Son, "Today I have begotten you,"[8] namely, when you redeemed the people, when you called them to the kingdom of heaven, when you carried out my will, you proved that you are my Son.

1.4. What happened after you came up from the font? You heard the 1056
reading. The bishop tucked up his garments—although the presbyters did likewise, it was the bishop who began this service—it was, I say, the bishop who washed your feet after he pulled up his garments. But what about this mystery? You have heard, haven't you, that the Lord after washing the feet of the other disciples came to Peter, who said to him, "You are going to wash my feet?"[9] What Peter meant here was, "Are you, Lord, going to wash the feet of a servant? Are you who are without stain going to wash my feet? Will you, the creator of the heavens, wash my feet?" Elsewhere you find that the Lord went to John, and John said to him, "I need to be baptized by you, and do you come to me?"[10] I am a sinner and you have come to the sinner so that you, who are sinless, may—as it were—put off your sins. You see the fullness of justice;[11] you see humility; you see grace; you see holiness. He says, "Unless I wash your feet, you will have no part with me."[12]

1.5. We are aware that the church at Rome does not practice this custom, 1057
even though we follow Rome's example and customs in every respect. Nevertheless, Rome does not have the washing of the feet; perhaps it fell into disuse because of the large numbers of people being baptized. Yet there are some who try to offer excuses by saying that this is not to be done in the course of the mystery, not at baptism, not at the time of regeneration; and yet, they say, the feet of a guest may be washed. One is a matter of humility; the other concerns sanctification. Listen now. In short, the washing is a mystery and a sanctification: "Unless I wash your feet, you will have no part with me."[13] I say this not to criticize others but to point out what I am doing here. In all matters I wish to follow the Roman church, and yet we also are gifted with good sense. What is done elsewhere for the best of reasons, we will also do here for the best of reasons.

1.6. It is the apostle Peter whom we follow; we cling to his devotion. 1058
What does the Roman church respond to this? Yes, it is indeed the apostle Peter who gives authority to my claim, Peter who was the bishop of the Roman church. Peter himself said, "Lord, not only my feet but also my

8. Ps 2:7. 9. John 13:6. 10. Matt 3:14. 11. See Matt 3:15. 12. John 13:8. 13. Ibid.

hands and my head."[14] Look at Peter's faith. His initial refusal came from humility; his subsequent acquiescence came from his fervor and faith.

1059 I.7. Since Peter had spoken of hands and head, the Lord replied, "One who is washed needs only to wash the feet to be completely clean."[15] Why did the Lord say this? Because all sin is washed away in baptism. Sin, therefore, recedes, but feet are washed because Adam was tripped up by the devil whose poison was spread beneath his feet. The reason for the washing is so that sanctification may give greater protection to that place where the serpent lays in wait and so that he may not be able to trip you up again. You wash the feet in order to wash away the serpent's poison. Doing so also benefits our own humility if we are not ashamed to do in mystery what we are ashamed to do by way of showing homage.

1060 II.8. Next comes the spiritual sealing which you heard about in today's reading. For after what took place at the font it remains to perfect all that has been done. This happens when the Holy Spirit is poured forth at the invocation by the bishop: "the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of piety, the spirit of holy fear."[16] These are, as it were, the seven virtues of the Spirit.

1061 II.9. Certainly all virtues relate to the Spirit, but these virtues are—so to speak—the cardinal, principal ones. For what is as important as piety? As knowledge of God? As fortitude? As counsel of God? As holy fear? Just as fear of the world is a weakness, so holy fear is great strength.

1062 II.10. These seven virtues are given when you receive the consignation. As the holy apostle says, because our Lord's wisdom has many forms and "the wisdom of God has many forms,"[17] so the Holy Spirit, who possesses a wide variety of virtues, has many forms. Thus God is called the "God of virtues,"[18] and this can be applied to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. Such, however, could be the topic of another discourse, one given at a future time.

1063 II.11. What happens next? You were able to approach the altar. Doing so, you can now see what previously you could not see. It is the mystery you read about in the Gospel—I presume you have read about it or at least certainly heard about it. A blind man, in order to be cured, presented himself to the Savior who, by word and speech only, cured others and by his command restored sight to the blind. And yet in the Gospel of John—John more than others saw the great mysteries, called attention to them, and explained them—we find this mystery prefigured in the man who was blind. Certainly all the evangelists, all the apostles, were holy, the betrayer being the sole exception. Yet Saint John, who was the last one to write a Gospel and doing so as if he were a dear friend sought out and chosen by Christ, has proclaimed the eternal mysteries with a more powerful trumpet. What he says is a mystery. Others—Matthew, Luke, Mark—relate that the blind

14. John 13:9. 15. John 13:10. 16. Isa 11:2. 17. Eph 3:10. 18. Ps 80:4, 7, 14, 19.

man was cured. But only John says, "He made some mud, wiped it on the man's eyes, and said to him, 'Go to Siloam.' Then rising, he went and washed, and when he came back he could see."[19]

11.12. Also think about the eyes of your heart. With your bodily eyes 1064
you see what is corporeal. But sacramental things you were still unable to see with the eyes of the heart. So when you inscribed your name, he took some mud and smeared it on your eyes. And the meaning of this? That you have admitted your sins, examined your conscience, done penance for your sins, namely, you acknowledged the lot of the human race. For even though people coming for baptism do not confess sin, nonetheless, by this very fact they confess all their sins since they request baptism in order to be justified, that is, to pass from sin to grace.

11.13. Don't think this is a waste of time. There are some, and I know at 1065
least one of them, who when we say, "At your age you have a greater obligation to be baptized," would reply: "Why should I be baptized? I have no sin. Have I ever committed a sin?" People like this have no mud because Christ did not smear any on them, that is, Christ did not open their eyes. For no human being is sinless.[20]

11.14. Those who seek refuge in the baptism of Christ recognize that they 1066
are human. So it is that Christ smeared mud upon you, namely, modesty, prudence, awareness of your frailty, and said to you, "Go to Siloam." But what is Siloam? "It means," John says, "sent,"[21] namely, go to the font in which the cross of Christ is preached; go to the font in which Christ redeems the sins of all.

11.15. You went there; you washed; you came to the altar; you began 1067
to see what you did not see previously, that is, your eyes were opened through the font of the Lord and through the preaching of the Lord's passion. Formerly you seemed to be blind in your heart, but now you begin to see the light of the sacraments. Therefore, most beloved, we have reached the altar. But since time does not allow, we cannot begin a full explanation, this topic requiring a more extensive treatment. What I said today is enough. Tomorrow, the Lord willing, we will treat the sacraments themselves.

53-M-4. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS FOUR

1.1. In the Old Testament it was customary for the priests to enter the 1068
outer tabernacle frequently. However, only once a year did the high priest go into the inner tabernacle. Evidently this is what Paul the apostle is explaining to the Hebrews as he recalls the provisions of the Old Testament, for the inner tabernacle contained manna, Aaron's rod which had withered and afterwards blossomed, as well as the altar of incense.[1]

19. John 9:6–7. 20. See Job 14:4, LXX; Rom 3:23. 21. John 9:7.

1. See Heb 9:2–7.

1069 I.2. What is the purpose of this? That you might understand what this inner tabernacle is, that tabernacle into which the priest led you, the tabernacle into which once each year the high priest was accustomed to enter, namely, into the baptistery where Aaron's rod, formerly dry, has blossomed.[2] You were dry and began to blossom in the flowing water of the font. Through sin you dried up because of your sins and misdeeds, and yet, "planted by streams of water,"[3] you already begin to bear fruit.

1070 I.3. But perhaps you say, "What did it mean to the people if the priest's rod became dry and then blossomed again?" Are not the people a priestly people? To whom did Peter the apostle say, "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation"?[4] Each of you is anointed for the priesthood, anointed for the kingdom, but it is a spiritual kingdom and a spiritual priesthood.

1071 I.4. The inner tabernacle also contains the altar of incense, which customarily burns with a good odor. And so you also are the sweet fragrance of Christ; no stain of sin is in you, no odor of serious error.

1072 II.5. After this you approached and came near the altar. The angels were looking on and saw you approaching. They saw this human condition, formerly stained with the dark squalor of sin, suddenly begin to shine brightly. They also asked, "Who is this coming up from the wilderness all clean?"[5] The angels also marvel. And to what extent? Listen to Peter the apostle who says that "the angels long to look at"[6] what has been given to us. Also, "No eye has seen," he says, "no ear has heard what God has prepared for those who love him."[7]

1073 II.6. Then acknowledge what you have received. David the holy prophet saw this grace in a figure and desired it. And to what extent? Listen once again, "Cleanse me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow."[8] Why? Because snow, although white, quickly darkens with dirt and is spoiled. The grace you have received, provided you preserve it just as you have received it, will certainly continue to last forever.

1074 II.7. And so you came, full of desire since you saw so much grace. With desire you came to the altar in order to receive the sacrament. Your soul says, "I shall go to the altar of God who gives joy to my youth."[9] You laid aside the old age of sin, and you clothed yourself with the youthfulness of grace. This is what the heavenly sacraments give you. Again, listen to what David says, "Your youth is renewed like the eagle's."[10] You became a good eagle, seeking heaven and loathing the things of the earth. Good eagles encircle the altar, since "where the body is, there the angels will gather together."[11] The altar represents the body, and the Body of Christ is on the altar. You are eagles, renewed by being cleansed from sin.

---

2. See Num 17:8. 3. Ps 1:3. 4. 1 Pet 2:9. 5. Cant 8:5. 6. 1 Pet 1:12. 7. 1 Cor 2:9. 8. Ps 51:7. 9. Ps 43:4. 10. Ps 103:5. 11. Matt 24:28.

III.8. You have approached the altar; you have directed your attention to 1075
the sacraments placed on it, and you marveled at what you saw although it is something common and familiar.

III.9. Perhaps someone might say: "God granted the Jews such a great 1076
grace; God rained down manna from heaven upon them.[12] What more has God given to his faithful ones? What more has been given to those to whom he has promised more?"

III.10. Listen to what I have to say. The Christian mysteries are older 1077
than the Jewish mysteries; the Christian sacraments are older than those of the Jews. In what way? Just listen. When did the Jews begin to exist? Certainly at the time of Judah, the great-grandson of Abraham, or if you wish to understand it differently—at the time of the Law, that is, when they merited to receive "God's Law." And so from Abraham's great-grandson they were called Jews at the time of saintly Moses. God then rained down manna upon the disgruntled Jews. But for you the figure of these sacraments came earlier, at Abraham's time when he gathered together the 318 household retainers, went off in pursuit of his enemies, and rescued his nephew from captivity. Then he returned victorious. The priest Melchizedek met him and offered bread and wine.[13] Who had the bread and wine? Not Abraham. But who, then? It was Melchizedek. And so Melchizedek is the source of the sacraments. Who is this Melchizedek whose name means "king of righteousness, king of peace"?[14] Who is this king of righteousness? Who, then, is this king of righteousness unless it is the righteousness of God? Who is the peace of God, the "wisdom from God"?[15] It is he who could say, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you."[16]

III.11. And so, first of all, understand that the sacraments you receive 1078
are older than the sacraments claimed by the Jews as their own, and that the Christian people began to exist before the Jews did so: we existed in God's plan; they existed in name.

III.12. So Melchizedek offered bread and wine. Who is Melchizedek? 1079
"Without father," they say, "and without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but like the Son of God."[17] This is what the Epistle to the Hebrews says. "Without father," it says, and "without mother." The Son of God was born by divine generation, without a mother because he was born from God the Father alone. And again, he was born without a father since he was born of a virgin. He was not begotten of male seed, but he was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, coming forth from the virgin's womb. Melchizedek, being in all things like the Son of God, was also a priest since Christ also is a priest of whom it is said, "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek."[18]

---

12. See Exod 16:13–15. 13. See Gen 14:14–18. 14. Heb 7:2. 15. 1 Cor 1:30. 16. John 14:27. 17. Heb 7:3. 18. Ps 110:4; Heb 7:17.

1080 IV.13. Who, then, initiated the sacraments if not the Lord Jesus? The sacraments came from heaven since all purpose[19] comes from heaven. It is a great and divine miracle that God rained down manna from heaven and that the people ate without toiling for their food.

1081 IV.14. Perhaps you say, "My bread is ordinary bread." But such bread is bread before the sacramental words; only after the consecration does the bread become the Body of Christ. Let us prove this. How is it possible that bread becomes the Body of Christ? By whose words does the consecration take place? By whose expressions? Those of the Lord Jesus. Whatever is said before this, is said by the priest: one praises God, one prays to God, one petitions for the people, for kings, for others; but when it comes to bringing about a venerable sacrament, the priest uses not his own words but those of Christ. And so the word of Christ brings about the sacrament.

1082 IV.15. What is this word of Christ? Certainly the word by which all things were created. The Lord commanded that the heavens be made, that the earth be made, that the seas be made, that every creature be born. Consequently you see how efficacious is Christ's word. If there is such great power in the word of the Lord Jesus so that what lacked existence comes into being, how much more efficacious it is for changing what already exists into something else. The heavens did not exist; there was no sea, no earth. But listen to David as he says, "He spoke and it was made; he commanded and it was created."[20]

1083 IV.16. To answer your question: before the consecration it was not Christ's body, but after the consecration it is—I say to you—the Body of Christ. He spoke and it was done; he commanded and it was created. You yourself existed, but you were an old creature; after your consecration you began to be a new creature. You wish to know to what extent this creature is new? "Whoever," he says, "is in Christ is a new creation."[21]

1084 IV.17. Hear, then, how Christ's word is wont to change every creature and how it changes, when he so desires, the laws of nature. You ask how. Just listen. Our first example will be that of Christ's birth. A human being ordinarily comes into existence from a conjugal relationship between a man and a woman. But because the Lord wished, because he chose this mystery, it was from the Holy Spirit and the virgin that he was born, namely, the "one mediator between God and the human race, Christ Jesus."[22] You see, then, that contrary to the laws and order of nature a man was born of a virgin.

1085 IV.18. Here is another example. The Jewish people, attacked by the Egyptians, were cut off by the sea. At God's command Moses touched the waters with his rod, and the waters parted,[23] certainly not as nature is accustomed to do, but according to the grace of heavenly power. Another

19. See Luke 7:30. 20. Ps 33:9; see Ps 148:5. 21. 2 Cor 5:17. 22. 1 Tim 2:5. 23. See Exod 14:21.

example. The people, being thirsty, came to a spring which was bitter. Moses threw a piece of wood into the spring, and the spring, formerly bitter, became sweet, that is, it changed its nature and received the sweetness of grace.[24] A fourth example. The iron head of an axe fell into the water and, true to its nature as iron, sank to the bottom. Elisha cast a stick into the water and immediately the iron head rose up to the water's surface.[25] Obviously this went contrary to the very nature of iron since iron is heavier than water.

IV.19. And so from this do you not understand how much is brought about by the heavenly word? If this word has an effect on an earthly spring, if it has an effect on other things, does it not have an effect on the heavenly sacraments? You know, then, that the bread is changed into the Body of Christ and that the wine, which with water is poured into the cup, becomes Blood by means of the heavenly consecration. 1086

IV.20. But perhaps you say, "I don't see anything resembling blood." But the likeness is there. For just as you have assumed the likeness of death, so you also drink the likeness of the precious Blood in order that no horror of blood be there and that the price of redemption take effect. And now you know that what you receive is the Body of Christ. 1087

V.21. Do you wish to be convinced that the consecration takes place by means of the heavenly words? Listen to what the priest says: "Make this offering for us approved, spiritual, acceptable. It is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ who on the day before he suffered took bread into his holy hands, looked upward toward heaven, to you, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, and giving thanks, he blessed it and gave it to his apostles and disciples, saying, 'Take and eat of this, all of you; for this is my Body which shall be broken for many.'"[26] 1088

V.22. Listen carefully now. "In like manner he also took the cup after the meal, on the day before he suffered; he looked upward to heaven, to you, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, and giving thanks, he blessed it and gave it to his apostles and disciples, saying, 'Take and drink of this, all of you; for this is my Blood.'"[27] Notice that the evangelist is the source of all the words up to "take" the body or the blood; from there on the words are those of Christ, "Take and drink, all of you, for this is my Blood." 1089

V.23. Notice each detail. "On the day before he suffered," it says, "he took bread into his holy hands." Before it is consecrated, it is bread; but once Christ's words are added, it becomes the Body of Christ. Finally, hear him as he says, "Take and eat, all of you, for this is my Body." Before Christ's words are spoken, the cup is full of wine and water; but once his words are said, it becomes the Blood that redeemed the people. Notice the many ways Christ's word can change things. Furthermore, the Lord Jesus 1090

24. Exod 15:23–25. 25. See 2 Kgs 6:5–6. 26. See Matt 26:26–28; Luke 22:19–20; 1 Cor 11:23–25. 27. Ibid.

himself has affirmed that we are to receive his Body and Blood. Are we to doubt the authority of his faith and of what he affirms?

1091 v.24. Now return with me to the theme of my catechesis. It was indeed a great and venerable happening that manna rained down upon the Jews from heaven. But just think about it. Which is greater, manna from heaven or the Body of Christ? Surely it is the Body of Christ, who created heaven. Whoever ate the manna has died; whoever eats this Body will receive the forgiveness of sins and will never die.[28]

1092 v.25. Therefore it is not insignificant that you say "Amen," recognizing in spirit that you receive the Body of Christ. When you went up to receive, the priest said to you, "The Body of Christ," and you replied "Amen," namely, "it is true." What your tongue confesses, may your heart hold fast. Know that this sacrament was preceded by its figure.

1093 v.26. Next, acknowledge how great a sacrament it is. Notice what he says, "As often as you do this, you do it in memory of me until I return."[29]

1094 v.27. And the priest says: "Therefore we call to mind his most glorious passion, his resurrection from hell, and his ascension into heaven. We offer you this spotless sacrifice, this spiritual sacrifice, this unbloody sacrifice, this holy bread and the cup of eternal life. We beseech and pray that you accept this offering upon your altar on high through the hands of your angels, just as you deigned to accept the gift of your just son Abel and the sacrifice of Abraham our Father and what the high priest Melchizedek offered to you."

1095 v.28. What, then, does the apostle say to you each time you receive? "As often as we receive, we proclaim the death of the Lord."[30] If we proclaim his death, we proclaim the forgiveness of sins. If each time that his blood is poured out, it is poured out for the forgiveness of sins, then I should always receive it so that the Lord may always forgive my sins. Since I always sin, I should always have a medicine.

1096 v.29. Today we have gone on as far as possible in our explanation. But tomorrow and Saturday we will say something about the Lord's Prayer and about the order of prayer, doing so as best we can. May our Lord God keep you in the grace that he gave you, and may he deign to enlighten more fully the eyes that have been opened through his only-begotten Son our King and Savior, our Lord God, by whom and with whom he has praise, honor, glory, magnificence, power, with the Holy Spirit, from the ages, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

53-M-5. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS FIVE

1097 1.1. Yesterday's instruction went as far as the sacraments of the altar, and we learned that a figure of these sacraments had preceded them at the time of Abraham when saintly Melchizedek, "having neither beginning

28. See John 6:49–50. 29. See 1 Cor 11:26. 30. Ibid.

of days nor end of life,"[1] offered sacrifice. Listen to what Paul the apostle said to the Hebrews. Where are those who say that the Son of God is of time? It is said that Melchizedek had neither beginning of days nor end of life.[2] If Melchizedek had no beginning of days, could Christ have had such a beginning? But the figure is not greater than the reality. You see, then, that he is "the first and the last,"[3] the first because he is the source of all things, the last not because he will have an end but because he completes all things.

1.2. We have said that the cup and bread are placed on the altar. What is poured into the cup? Wine. And what else? Water. Yet you say to me, "But why did Melchizedek offer wine and bread? Why is water mixed with wine?" Here is the reason. 1098

1.3. First of all, what is the meaning of the figure which preceded at the time of Moses? When the Jewish people were thirsty and were complaining because they were unable to find water, God commanded Moses to touch the rock with his staff. Moses did so and the rock issued forth the greatest amount of water.[4] As the apostle says, "They drank from the rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ."[5] The rock was not immoveable since it followed the people. And you drink so that you may follow Christ. Look at the mystery. Moses, that is, the prophet, with his staff, that is, the word of God: with God's word the priest touches the rock, water flows, and God's people drink. The priest touches the cup, water abounds in the cup, it flows for eternal life,[6] and God's people, who have obtained divine grace, drink from it. 1099

1.4. This is what you learned. Yet there is even more. During the Lord's passion when the great Sabbath was approaching some individuals were sent to beat Jesus or the thieves because they were still alive. Upon arriving, they found that our Lord Jesus Christ was already dead. Then one of the soldiers with his lance pierced our Lord's side, from which water and blood flowed forth.[7] Why water? Why blood? Water in order to cleanse; blood in order to redeem. Why from the side? Because where grace originates, there guilt originates. Guilt came through a woman, grace through our Lord Jesus Christ.[8] 1100

11.5. You approached the altar. The Lord Jesus Christ calls you or your soul or the Church as he says, "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth."[9] Do you wish to apply this to Christ? Nothing could be more appropriate. Do you want to apply it to your soul? Nothing could be more agreeable. 1101

11.6. "Let him kiss me." He sees that you are cleansed of all sin because your sins have been washed away. This is why he judges you to be worthy of the heavenly sacraments. This is why he invites you to the heavenly banquet. "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." 1102

1. Heb 7:3. 2. Ibid. 3. Rev 1:17; see 22:13. 4. See Exod 17:1–6. 5. 1 Cor 10:4. 6. See John 4:14. 7. See John 19:31–34. 8. See John 1:17. 9. Cant 1:2.

1103 11.7. Yet because of what follows, your soul or the human condition or the Church speaks, seeing itself purified from all sins and worthy of approaching Christ's altar—for what is Christ's altar unless the image of Christ's body? Seeing the wonderful sacraments, it says, "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth," that is, let Christ kiss me.

1104 11.8. Why? "Because your breasts are better than wine,"[10] that is, your thoughts, your sacraments are better than wine. This wine, although having a sweetness, a charm, a pleasing taste, contains a worldly joy, whereas in you is found spiritual happiness. And so it is already Solomon who introduces the wedding between Christ and his Church, or between the spirit and the flesh, or between the spirit and the soul.

1105 11.9. And he adds, "Your name is perfume poured out; therefore the maidens love you."[11] Who are these maidens unless all the souls who have shed the old age of this body, all who have been renewed by the Holy Spirit?

1106 11.10. "Draw us after you, let us run after the scent of your garments."[12] Listen to what he says. You cannot follow Christ unless Christ draws you after him. Furthermore, to convince you of this he says, "When I am lifted up, I will draw all things to myself."[13]

1107 11.11. "The king has brought me into his chamber"[14]—the Greek has "into his storeroom" or "into his pantry" where there are good drinks, where there are good perfumes, the sweetest honeys, various fruits, where there are dishes of many kinds, so that your meal be composed of many delights.

1108 111.12. So you approached the altar; you received the Body of Christ. Hear again what sacraments you have received. Listen to what holy David says. Under the action of the Spirit he foresaw these sacraments. He rejoiced and said that he lacked nothing. Why? Because those who have received the Body of Christ will never experience hunger.[15]

1109 111.13. How often have you heard Psalm 22 [23] without understanding it? See how well it applies to the heavenly sacraments. "The LORD is my shepherd, I shall not want. He makes me lie down in green pastures; he leads me beside still waters; he restores my soul. . . . Even though I walk through the darkest valley, I fear no evil; for you are with me; your rod and your staff—they comfort me."[16] The rod is sovereign power; the staff is suffering, that is, Christ's eternal divinity but also his bodily suffering. The one has created; the other has redeemed. "You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows."[17]

---

10. Ibid. 11. Cant 1:3. 12. Cant 1:4. 13. John 12:32. 14. Cant 1:5, LXX; see 1:4 in Vulgate. 15. See John 6:35. 16. Ps 23:1–4, New Revised Standard Version Bible: Catholic Edition. 17. Ps 23:5, New Revised Standard Version Bible: Catholic Edition.

III.14. And so you approached the altar; you received the grace of 1110
Christ; you received the heavenly sacraments. The Church rejoices at the redemption of many and takes spiritual delight to see close by its family dressed in white. You can find this in the Canticle of Canticles.[18] In its joy the Church calls upon Christ; it has prepared a feast which appears worthy of the heavenly feast. This is why the Church says, "Let my brother descend into his garden and gather the fruits of its trees."[19] But what are these fruit trees? You became dry wood in Adam, but now through Christ's grace you shoot up like fruit trees.

III.15. Willingly has the Lord Jesus received, and with heavenly gra- 1111
ciousness he has responded to his Church, "I have descended," he says, "into my garden. I have gathered myrrh with my spices; I have eaten my bread with my honey. I have drunk my wine with my milk. My brothers," he says, "eat and drink."[20]

III.16. "I have gathered my myrrh with my spices." But what is this 1112
gathering? Know the vineyard, and you will know the gathering. "You brought a vine," he says, "out of Egypt,"[21] that is, God's people. You are the vineyard; you are the gathering. You are planted, as it were, as a vineyard. You are the gathering. You produce fruit. "I have gathered myrrh with my spices," that is, unto the sweet odor, the sweet odor you have received.

III.17. "I have eaten my bread with my honey." You see that there is no 1113
bitterness in this bread; it is full of sweetness. "I have drunk my wine with my milk." You see that this kind of joy is not polluted by any stain of sin. In fact, each time you drink, you receive the forgiveness of sins and are inebriated in spirit. This is why the apostle says, "Do not get drunk with wine, but be filled with the Spirit."[22] Those inebriated with wine stagger and sway; those inebriated by the Spirit are rooted in Christ. Therefore excellent is the drunkenness that effects sobriety of the soul. This concludes our brief review of the sacraments.

IV.18. What remains is the topic of prayer. Do not think that knowing 1114
how to pray is of little importance. The holy apostles said to the Lord Jesus, "Lord, teach us to pray as John taught his disciples." Then the Lord said this prayer. "Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil."[23] Notice the brevity of the prayer, how it contains all the elements of prayer. How pleasing is its first phrase.

IV.19. You did not dare to look up toward heaven; you lowered your 1115
eyes toward the earth and suddenly you received Christ's grace; all your sins were forgiven. From bad servants you became good children.

---

18. See Cant 8:5, LXX. 19. Cant 4:16, LXX. 20. Cant 5:1. 21. Ps 80:9. 22. Eph 5:18. 23. Luke 11:1–4; Matt 6:9–13.

Presume not, then, on what you yourself do but on the grace of Christ. As the apostle says, "By grace you have been saved."[24] This is not presumption but faith. To announce what you have received is not arrogance but devotion. Therefore lift up your eyes to the Father who begot you by the bath, to the Father who redeemed you through his Son, and say, "Our Father." This is a good yet moderate presumption. Like children, you call him Father, but you do not desire anything special. He is the special Father of Christ alone, and for us he is a Father in common since he begot Christ alone whereas he created us. You, then, are to say through grace "Our Father" in order to merit to be God's child. Commend yourself to the care and consideration of the Church.

1116 IV.20. "Our Father in heaven." But what does "in heaven" mean? Listen to what the Scripture says, "High is the Lord above all the heavens."[25] And everywhere you find that the Lord is in the highest heavens, as if the angels were not also in the heavens, as if the dominations were not also there. They are in the heavens of which it is said, "The heavens tell the glory of God."[26] Heaven is the place where sin has ceased, where shameful crimes are struck down, where there is no wound of death.

1117 IV.21. "Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name." What is to be made holy? As though we were to hope that he be made holy who said, "You shall be holy because I am holy,"[27] as if our praise could increase God's holiness. No, but may God be made holy in us so that his holiness may reach us.

1118 IV.22. "Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come." As though God's kingdom were not eternal. Jesus himself says, "I was born for this,"[28] and you say to the Father, "Your kingdom come," as if it has not come. Yet God's kingdom arrived when you obtained grace. For he himself says, "The kingdom of God is within you."[29]

1119 IV.23. "Your kingdom come. Your will be done on earth as in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread." All things, both in heaven and upon earth, were made peaceful by the blood of Christ.[30] Heaven was made holy; the devil was cast down from there. The devil is active in that place where is found the man whom he deceived. May your will be done, namely, may there be peace on earth just as there is peace in heaven.

1120 IV.24. "Give us this day our daily bread." Recall what I said to you when I was explaining the sacraments. As I told you, what is present before the words of Christ is called bread. But once Christ's words have been pronounced, no longer is it said to be bread, but it is called the Body. Why, therefore, do we say "our bread" in the Lord's Prayer which follows immediately afterwards? Certainly the Lord said bread; yet he said *epioúsios*, namely, "substantial." Bread does not enter the body but rather the bread of eternal life which strengthens the substance of our soul. Therefore in

24. Eph 2:5. 25. Ps 113:4. 26. Ps 19:1. 27. Lev 19:2. 28. John 18:37. 29. Luke 17:21. 30. See Col 1:20.

Greek it is called *ἐπιούσιος*. In Latin, however, this bread is called daily bread because the Greeks refer to tomorrow as *τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν*. And so both the Latin and the Greek seem useful. The Greek uses one word to express both meanings; the Latin speaks of it as daily.

IV.25. If this bread is daily bread, why should you receive it only once a year as the Greeks in the East customarily do? Receive daily so that it can profit you daily. Live in such a way that you deservedly receive each day. Whoever does not merit to receive each day does not merit to receive after a year's wait. Thus saintly Job daily offered a sacrifice for his sons lest they perhaps had sinned either in heart or in word.[31] And so you hear it said that as often as the sacrifice is offered, the Lord's death, resurrection, and ascension are signified, as well as the forgiveness of sins. And you do not receive this bread of life daily? Whoever is wounded requires medicine. Our wound is that we are subject to sin; our medicine is the heavenly and venerable sacrament. 1121

IV.26. "Give us this day our daily bread." If you receive [the Eucharist] each day, then for you daily is today. If Christ is for you today, then he rises for you daily. How? "You are my Son; today I have begotten you."[32] Therefore it is today when Christ rises. As Paul the apostle says, "Yesterday and today he is."[33] Elsewhere he says, "The night has passed; the day approaches."[34] The night of yesterday has passed; the day of today comes near. 1122

IV.27. Here is what follows. "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." What is a debt except sin? So if you had not accepted the money of a stranger lending with interest, you would not be in want, and for this reason sin is imputed to you. You had money with which you should have been born rich. You were rich, created as you were in God's image and likeness.[35] You lost what you had, namely, humility. When you arrogantly desire to take vengeance, you have lost your money, making yourself nude like Adam. From the devil you received a debt that was not necessary. And for this reason you, formerly free in Christ, were in debt to the devil. The enemy held your bond, but the Lord crucified and erased it by means of his blood.[36] He removed your debt and restored you to freedom. 1123

IV.28. Rightly, therefore, does the Lord say, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." Listen closely to what you say, "As I forgive, so you forgive me." If you forgive, you make yourself suitable for being forgiven. But if you do not forgive, how do you make it fitting for God to forgive you? 1124

IV.29. "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Listen to what he says, "Do not lead us into a temptation" that we cannot resist. He does not say, "Do not lead us into temptation," but like an athlete he 1125

31. See Job 1:5. 32. Ps 2:7. 33. Heb 13:8. 34. Rom 13:12. 35. See Gen 1:26–27. 36. See Col 2:14.

wishes a test that human nature can endure; he desires that each person be delivered from evil, that is, from the enemy, from sin.

1126 IV.30. Furthermore, the Lord, who took away your sin and forgave your transgressions, is capable of guarding you and of protecting you from the snares of the devil your adversary so that the enemy, who customarily brings about sin, may not surprise you. But those who commit themselves to God do not fear the devil, "for if God is for us, who is against us?"[37] So to God be praise and glory from the ages, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

53-M-6. *ON THE SACRAMENTS.* CATECHESIS SIX

1127 I.1. Just as our Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God—not by grace as we are but as being the Son of God born from the very substance of the Father—so it is Christ's true flesh, as Christ himself said, which we receive. It is Christ's true blood which is our drink.[1]

1128 I.2. Yet you might perhaps say—as did Christ's disciples when they heard his words "Whoever does not eat my flesh and drink my blood will not abide in me and will not have eternal life"[2]—"How can this be? Certainly I see something that looks like blood, but I do not see real blood."

1129 I.3. First of all, I already told you that Christ's word acts so that it can change and transform the general laws of nature. I also told you that when Christ's disciples did not believe his words—hearing him say that he would give his flesh to eat and his blood to drink—they turned away.[3] It was Peter alone who said, "You have the words of eternal life; to whom shall I go?"[4] So that many might not say the same thing due to a certain fear of blood and in order to retain the grace of redemption, you receive the sacraments in likeness, but you receive the grace and power of Christ's true nature.

1130 I.4. "I am," Jesus says, "the living bread that has come down from heaven."[5] Flesh, however, does not come down from heaven. In other words, he took his flesh from a virgin on earth. In what way, therefore, does bread descend from heaven, and how is it living bread? Because our Lord Jesus Christ holds in common both divinity and a body, and you, receiving the flesh, share in the food of his divine nature.

1131 II.5. You have, then, received the sacraments. You have a full grasp of everything. You were baptized in the name of the Trinity. In all that we have done the mystery of the Trinity is seen. Wherever the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are, there is one action, one sanctification, even if there seem to be some distinct traits.

1132 II.6. How is this? God anointed you, and the Lord marked you with a seal and sent the Holy Spirit into your hearts.[6] You have, therefore,

---

37. Rom 8:31.

1. See John 6:56. 2. John 6:53–54. 3. See John 6:61–62. 4. John 6:68. 5. John 6:41. 6. See 2 Cor 1:21–22.

received the Holy Spirit into your hearts. There is more. Just as the Holy Spirit is in your hearts, so Christ is also in your hearts. And how? In the Canticle of Canticles you find Christ saying to his Church, "Set me as a seal on your heart, as a seal on your arm."[7]

II.7. Therefore God has anointed you; Christ has marked you with a 1133
seal. How? Because you have been marked with the sign of his cross, with the sign of his suffering. You received this sign so that you might resemble him, so that you might rise again unto his image, so that you might live as an example of one who is crucified to sin and who lives for God. And your old self, once it was submerged in the font, has been crucified to sin but has risen for God.[8]

II.8. Elsewhere you find this in particular: it is God who has called you,[9] 1134
whereas in baptism it is with Christ that you were crucified in a special way,[10] and then there is something special when you receive the spiritual seal. You see that there is a distinction of persons; nonetheless, the whole mystery of the Trinity is linked together.

II.9. What did the apostle next say to you when you heard the reading 1135
two days ago? "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of services, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who is at work in all of them in each person."[11] The apostle says that God is active in all of them. But as to the Spirit of God, you heard it read that "one and the same Spirit distributes to each one individually just as he chooses."[12] Listen to the Scripture which says that the Spirit divides as the Spirit so desires and not as commanded. The Spirit, then, has divided grace for you as the Spirit wills and not as ordered to do so, and especially because the Spirit of God is the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit Paraclete himself.

II.10. The Arians believe that they diminish the Holy Spirit if they call 1136
him the Spirit Paraclete. But what is the Paraclete unless a consoler? As if one had not also read that the Father is the "God of consolation"?[13] You see that they think the Holy Spirit is lessened by what proclaims the power of the eternal Father with tender affection.

III.11. Listen now as to how we are to pray. Prayer has many qualities. 1137
It is important to know where you should pray—this is not a minor detail. The apostle says, "I desire, then, that men should pray everywhere, lifting up pure hands without anger or argument."[14] And the Lord says in the Gospel, "Whenever you pray, go into your room, close the door, and pray to your Father."[15] Isn't there a contradiction here? The apostle says, "Pray everywhere" whereas the Lord says, "Pray within your room." Yet there is no contradiction. We will settle this question first. Then we will learn about how to begin prayer; the order in which to divide prayer; what

7. Cant 8:6. 8. See Rom 6:4–6, 10. 9. See Gal 1:6. 10. See Rom 6:6. 11. 1 Cor 12:4–6. 12. 1 Cor 12:11. 13. 2 Cor 1:3. 14. 1 Tim 2:8. 15. Matt 6:6.

should be added; how to conclude prayer; and then for whom you should pray.

1138 III.12. First, where to pray. Paul seems to say one thing, the Lord another. But could Paul ever teach anything contrary to the precepts of Christ? Certainly not. And why not? Because Paul is not an adversary of Christ; he is an interpreter of Christ. Paul says, "Imitate me as I imitate Christ."[16] And so? You can pray everywhere, and you can always pray in your room. Your room is everywhere. Even if you find yourself among the pagans, among the Jews, you have your secret room everywhere. This room is your spirit. Even if you find yourself with other people, nonetheless, you have your hidden and secret room within you.

1139 III.13. "When you pray, go into your room." Well does he say "go into" so that you do not pray like the Jews of whom it was said, "This people honors me with their lips; their heart, however, is far from me."[17] And so may your prayer come forth not only from your lips. Give it all your attention; enter into the quiet place of your heart; enter there completely. May the one you wish to please not find you negligent. May God, seeing that you pray from the heart, deign to hear you praying from the heart.

1140 III.14. "When you pray, go into your room." Elsewhere you can read, "Come, my people, enter your rooms; hide yourselves for a little while till the Lord's anger has passed."[18] The Lord said this through the prophet. But in the Gospel the Lord says, "Whenever you pray, go into your room, close the door, and pray to your Father."

1141 III.15. What does "close the door" mean? What door do we have? Understand that you have a door which you should close when you pray. Would that women understood this. As you already heard, saintly David taught you this when he said, "Set a guard over my mouth and a door to close my lips."[19] Elsewhere there is another door of which Paul the apostle speaks, "For me," he says, "a door will be opened for the word so that we might proclaim the mysteries of Christ."[20] This means that when you pray, you are not to cry out in a loud voice, nor pray in all directions, nor broadcast your prayer throughout the people. Pray secretly, by yourself, being confident that God, who sees all and hears all, can hear you in secret. "Pray to your Father in secret, for your Father who sees in secret"[21] hears your prayer.

1142 IV.16. Let us ask what benefit derives from praying in secret rather than praying aloud? What reason is there for doing so? Listen to this example taken from ordinary life. If you ask something of a person who has good hearing, you don't find it necessary to shout; rather, you speak in a normal tone. But if you ask something of a deaf person, do you not speak more loudly so that this individual can hear you? Accordingly, those who shout believe that this is the only way God can hear them; so when they petition

16. 1 Cor 4:16; 11:1. 17. Isa 29:13; Matt 15:8. 18. Isa 26:20. 19. Ps 141:3. 20. Col 4:3. 21. Matt 6:6.

God in this manner, they diminish God's power. On the other hand, those who pray silently give proof of their faith and acknowledge that God scrutinizes "reins and hearts,"[22] and hears their prayer even before it escapes their lips.

IV.17. Therefore consider this: "I wish that men pray everywhere." Why 1143
did Paul say "men"? Obviously prayer is common to both women and men. I find no reason for this except perhaps that the holy apostle spoke of men lest women, making use of this and misunderstanding "everywhere," begin to cry out everywhere even though we cannot endure having them do so in church.

IV.18. "I wish that men," that is, those who can obey this precept "pray 1144
everywhere, lifting up holy hands." But what is the meaning of "lifting up holy hands"? Does it mean that when you pray you should show the Lord's cross to the pagans? Surely the cross is a sign for courage, not for shame. However, you can pray by lifting up all that you do—not by making gestures. If you wish to lift up your hands, lift up hands that are pure through innocence. Do not lift them up everyday. Doing so once, it is not necessary for you to do so again.

IV.19. "I wish that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without 1145
anger or argument." Nothing is more true. It is said that "anger brings ruin also to those who are wise."[23] So in every possible circumstance Christians are to restrain their anger as best they can, especially when they come to pray. So that indignation not trouble your soul, so that the fury of anger not hinder your prayer, dispose yourself for prayer; and when you approach, your heart is at peace. Why are you upset? Has your servant done something wrong? You pray so that your own wrongs be pardoned, and you are indignant at another! This, then, is the meaning of "without anger."

V.20. Let us now consider disappointment in prayer. Very often someone 1146
engaged in business comes to pray: an avaricious person thinking about money; another thinking about profit; another about honors; still another about what he or she wants. And each believes that God hears the prayer. Therefore when you pray, take care that you prefer divine things to those that are human.

V.21. The apostle Paul desires that women pray without flaunting their 1147
ornaments or pearls.[24] However, the apostle Peter says that the grace of a woman is very important, for her good conduct can change her husband's disposition; so the disbeliever can be turned to the grace of Christ.[25] Such is the influence of a woman's seriousness, purity, and good conduct: she calls her husband to faith and to fervor, something the words of a prudent man often accomplish. And so a woman, he says, should not find her adornment in braiding her hair or in ornaments, but in prayer which

22. Ps 7:9. 23. Prov 15:1, LXX. 24. See 1 Tim 2:9. 25. See 1 Pet 3:1.

arises from a pure heart, where is found the hidden character of the heart which is always rich in God's sight.[26] You have, therefore, the means to be rich. Your riches in Christ are purity and chastity; your ornaments are faith, fervor, and mercy. These are the treasures of justice, as the prophet recalls.[a]

1148 v.22. Now, how should you begin your prayer? Listen carefully. Suppose you wish to request something of a person and you begin as follows, "Give me this; here is what I am requesting." Would not your prayer appear to be presumptuous? Thus you should begin your prayer by praising God, beseeching the almighty God for whom all things are possible, the God who desires to grant what you ask. Petition follows, as the apostle taught when he said, "First of all, then, I urge that prayers, supplications, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made."[27] The first part of a prayer should, therefore, contain praise of God; the second, supplication; the third, intercession; the fourth, thanksgiving. You should not begin your prayer like a famished person who speaks of food in order to obtain some, but begin your prayer by praising God.

1149 v.23. Those who speak wisely have the following method for making a judge well-disposed toward them: they begin by praising him so that his decision will be favorable. Then, little by little, they request that the judge hear them patiently. Third, the object of their petition is made, namely, what is it that they are requesting. Fourth[b] . . . just as the prayer began with praise of God, it is necessary to conclude by praising and thanking God.

1150 v.24. You can find this in the Lord's Prayer: "Our Father in heaven."[28] God is praised because he is proclaimed as Father; the glory of paternal love is in him. The God who is praised dwells in heaven and not upon the earth. "Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name," that is, may God make holy his servants. God's name is made holy within us when people are proclaimed to be Christians. Therefore "hallowed be your name" expresses what is hoped for. "May your kingdom come." Here we petition that Christ's kingdom be in all. If God reigns in us, then the adversary can find no room there. Guilt does not reign, sin does not reign; but virtue reigns, modesty reigns, fervor reigns. Then: "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread." This is the greatest of all the requests. "And forgive," he says, "our debts as we forgive our debtors." Each day receive [the Eucharist?] so that each day you may receive forgiveness of your debt. "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." What comes next? Listen to what the priest says: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ in whom you possess and with whom you possess

---

a. The phrase "treasures of justice" (*thesauri iustitiae*) is not found in the Bible.

b. There is probably something missing in the text.

26. See 1 Pet 3:3–4. 27. 1 Tim 2:1. 28. Matt 6:9.

honor, praise, glory, majesty, power, with the Holy Spirit from the ages, now and always, forever and ever. Amen."

v.25. A further point.[c] Even though there is only one book of the Psalms 1151
of David that contains the qualities of prayer we have spoken about above, nonetheless most often these qualities can be found even in one psalm, for example, Psalm 8 which begins as follows: "O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is your name in all the earth." This is the beginning of the prayer. Then comes the entreaty: "Because I will see the heavens, the works of your fingers," namely, I will see the heavens, "the moon and the stars which you have established." He does not say, "I will see the heaven" but rather "I will see the heavens where grace begins to grow white with heavenly splendor." The prophet promised that these heavens will be given to those who merit the Lord's heavenly grace. "The moon and the stars which you have established": the moon being the Church, the stars being the Church's children who shine with the light of heavenly grace. Then notice his petition: "What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them? You have made them little less than the angels; you have crowned them with glory and honor; you have made them masters of the works of your hands." The thanksgiving follows. "You have placed all things under their feet, all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field,"[29] and so on.

v.26. We have taught you—doing so to the utmost of our ability—what 1152
we perhaps have not really learned, and we have expressed it as best we are able. May your holiness, formed by priestly teaching, strive to retain what it has received. In this way may your prayer be acceptable to God and your offering be as a pure victim. May God always recognize in you his sign so that you also may obtain the grace and the rewards of virtue through our Lord Jesus Christ to whom is honor, glory, praise, eternity, from the ages, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

53-N. An Explanation of the Creed[†]

Although the authenticity of this homily to those preparing for baptism was long disputed, many today consider it a genuine work of Ambrose.

1. Till now we have been celebrating the scrutinies. The object of a scru- 1153
tiny is that uncleanness not adhere to anyone's body. Through exorcism holiness not only of the body but also of the soul is sought and applied. Now is the time and the day to hand over the *symbolum* [the creed], which

c. Dom Botte, the editor of the text from which this translation has been made, surmises that this section is incomplete (SChr 251 bis:153).

29. Ps 8:1–7.

† Translated from *De sacramentis; De mysteriis; nouvelle édition*, ed. B. Botte, SChr 25 bis (Paris, 1961) 46–47.

is a spiritual seal, the object of our heart's meditation, and a safeguard that is always present. It is truly a spiritual treasury.

1154 2. First, we should consider the reason for its name. In Greek it is called *symbolum*, in Latin *conlatio* [a bringing together]. Bankers especially are accustomed to speak of a *symbolum* when they bring together their money, and the sum gathered from what each brings is kept whole and inviolate so that no one tries to defraud another or the transaction itself. Thus among bankers themselves it is the custom that if someone commits fraud, that person is rejected as a defrauder. Therefore the holy apostles, coming together, composed a summary of the faith so that we might briefly understand the lineage of our faith. Brevity was necessary so that it always be remembered and kept in mind. I know that especially in parts of the East one has added to what was originally handed down by our ancestors, some as if by fraud, others out of zeal—heretics by fraud, Catholics out of zeal. [. . .]

53-O. Duties of the Clergy†

Perhaps of homiletic origin, the three books of the *Duties of the Clergy*, dating between 371 and 391, are meant to illustrate the difference between Christian and pagan morality.

1155 I.L.239. [. . .] In days past a lamb or a calf was offered. Now it is Christ who is offered, offered as a man and as one who suffered. Now, as a priest, he offers himself so that our sins be forgiven. Here he does so in an image but there in truth where he intercedes for us as our advocate with the Father.

1156 I.L.249. As you well know, ministry is to be seen as something unimpaired and pure, not violated by any conjugal act. Do you not know this, you who have received the gift of holy ministry with pure bodies, unsullied modesty, and never having engaged in the marital act? I mention this because in many distant places there are those who upon entering the ministry or the priesthood itself acknowledge having children. This they defend by saying that they are following an old custom, one whereby the sacrifice was offered only at intervals of several days. Yet the people themselves observed continence for two or three days before they could approach the sacrifice without stain as we read in the Old Testament, "they wash their garments."[1] If such attention was paid to what was a figure, then how much more is to be paid to what is true! Learn, O priest and deacon, the meaning of washing your garments whereby you show that your body is pure for celebrating the sacraments. If the people were forbidden to approach the offering unless they had washed their garments,

† Translated from *Ambrose: De officiis*, vol. 1, ed. I.J. Davidson (Oxford, 2001) 255, 261, 263.

1. Exod 19:10.

do you, if unclean in both mind and body, dare to intercede for others? To minister to others?

53-P. On the Patriarchs†

Scholars do not agree as to whether this work, whose redaction took place after 390, has a homiletic origin.

9.38. [. . .] The Lord Jesus was poor so that he might free us from want, 1157
as the apostle teaches, "Although he was rich, he became poor for your sake so that by his poverty you might become rich."[1] His poverty enriches; the hem of his garments cures;[2] his hunger satisfies; his death gives life; his burial brings resurrection. Therefore he is a rich treasury, he whose bread is rich, indeed rich since whoever eats this bread will never experience hunger.[3] He gave this bread to his apostles so that they might share it with a believing people,[4] and today he gives to us the bread which he, the priest, daily consecrates using his [Christ's] own words. Therefore this bread becomes the food of the holy ones. [. . .]

53-Q. Commentaries on Twelve Psalms of David††

The homilies in this collection date from the latter years of Ambrose's life.

Psalm 1. 9. [. . .] What is more pleasing than psalmody? As David 1158
so very well says, "Praise the Lord because psalmody is a good thing; may joyful and fitting praise be given to our God."[1] Truly psalmody is a blessing of the people; it is praise of God, the approbation by the people, the applause of all, the language of the whole world, the voice of the Church, the melodious confession of faith, the full devotion of approval, the gladness of freedom, the cry of happiness, the sound of joy. It appeases anger, renounces anxiety, alleviates grief. It is protection for the night, guidance for the day, a shield against fear, a feast of holiness, an image of tranquility, a pledge of peace and harmony. It is like a lyre issuing forth one sound from diverse and different voices. A psalm echoes at day's beginning; it resounds at day's close. Although the apostle commands women to be silent in church,[2] they do well to sing the psalms. Doing so in church is delightful for every age, fitting for each sex. Doing so the elderly, having put off the rigor of old age, sing; the mature who are sad respond with cheerful hearts; the young sing without harming

† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 2, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.2 (Vienna, 1897) 146–47.

1. 2 Cor 8:9. 2. See Matt 9:20–22; 14:34–36. 3. See John 6:35. 4. See Matt 15:36.

†† Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 6, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 64 (Vienna, 1919) 7ff.

1. Ps 147:1. 2. See 1 Cor 14:34.

themselves by licentiousness; adolescents sing without danger to their tender age, without any fear of being tempted to pleasure; young women sing psalms without harm to their modesty; little girls without forsaking their innocence sing a hymn to God with the sweetness of a moderated voice. Doing so, children eagerly desire to understand; in psalmody the young enjoy practicing whereas in other things they refuse to spend much time doing so; singing is more productive than rigid instruction. How much effort is undertaken in church so that there is silence when the lessons are read! If one person is chattering, all are disturbed; yet when a psalm is read, it produces silence for itself; all are singing and yet no one is disturbed. Kings without the arrogance of power echo the psalms; David took pleasure in being seen doing so. Emperors sing the psalms; the people rejoice in psalmody; individuals vie with one another in singing the psalms so that all may profit. Psalms are sung both at home and outside the home. Easily understood, they are retained with pleasure. The psalms unite those who disagree, bring together those who are at odds, and reconcile those who have been offended. For who cannot be pardoned when it is one voice that goes forth to God? Surely it is a great body of unity when a number of people are united into one choir. The lyre has various strings, but there is a harmony of sound. Even with very few strings do a musician's fingers often make mistakes, but when the people sing, the artist, the Spirit, does not know how to err. Psalmody is the place of nightly work, the payment for daily relaxation, the method for instructing beginners, the support of those who are perfect, the activity of the angels, the military service of heaven, a spiritual offering. Psalms and rocks are related to each other: when psalms are sung, rock-like hearts are softened; we see those who are harsh in tears, those without mercy weeping.

1159 Psalm 1. 10. In psalmody doctrine contends with grace. What we joyfully sing together is instruction so that we may learn. What is forcefully commanded does not last; however, what we receive in an agreeable manner, once it is infused into our hearts, usually does not disappear. Does this not happen to you when you sing the psalms? In the psalms I read a song for the beloved one,[3] and I am excited with desire for holy love; in the psalms I recognize the wine-presses of the divine mystery, the kindness of those revealing; I review the witnesses of the resurrection, the obligations of promises; in the psalms I learn how to avoid sin; I learn not to be ashamed to do penance for sins. So great a king, so great a prophet has roused me by his example so that either I take pains to diminish the sin I have committed or I take care not to commit sin.

1160 Psalm 36. 65. [. . .] Those who pray are redeemed if they dutifully direct their thoughts to their prayers and are constant in prayer. May they

3. Ps 45.

anticipate the day, may they use the night, may they hasten to greet the early morning sun so that through Christ the sun rising over the earth may shine upon them. Those who sing the psalms are redeemed; those who are encouraged to do so are redeemed.

Psalm 38. 25. [. . .] The discourses of the prophets contain a shadow 1161
of what we now celebrate in the Church. The shadow is found in the flood, in the Red Sea, when our others were baptized in the cloud and in the water, in the rock from which water flowed forth and followed the people.[4] Does not the sacrament of this most holy mystery have a shadow? Is not water from the rock a shadow, as it were, of Christ's blood which followed the fleeing people so that they might drink and not thirst,[5] so that they might be redeemed and not perish? But the shadow of the night and of the darkness of the Jews has already departed; the day of the Church has arrived. Now we see what is good through an image, and we preserve the good things of the image. We see the high priest approaching us; we see and hear him offering his blood for us; as priests we follow in order to offer the sacrifice for the people; even though rightly weak, we are honorable in the sacrifice. Even though Christ is not now seen to be offering, yet he offers on earth because his body is offered. Certainly in us he is seen to offer, he whose word makes holy the sacrifice that is offered. [. . .]

53-R. Sermons

53-R-1. SERMON ON THE DEATH OF SATYRUS[†]

Satyrus was the brother of Ambrose. The text actually combines two homilies given in 378, one preached during the funeral itself and the other seven days later.

1.43. What, then, should I say concerning his respect for divine worship? 1162
Before he was initiated into the more perfect mysteries, he was on a ship which, being dashed upon rocky shallows, was in danger of being broken up by waves coming in from all sides. Fearing not death but rather that he might depart this life without the mystery, Satyrus asked those whom he knew were initiated to give him the divine sacrament of the faithful, not so he could curiously look upon hidden things but to strengthen his faith. Wrapping it in a cloth which he placed around his neck, he jumped into the water. Not needing a board shaken loose from the ship's structure on which to float till he could be rescued, he sought only the arms of faith. Thus believing that he was sufficiently protected and kept safe in this way, he sought no further assistance.

4. See 1 Cor 10:1–4. 5. See John 4:13.

[†] Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 7, ed. O. Fallers, CSEL 73 (Vienna, 1955) 232–33.

53-R-2. SERMON ON THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN[†]

Valentinian II, one of the two Western emperors, was assassinated at Vienne in May 392 when he was only twenty years old. His body was returned to Milan, where Ambrose preached this sermon.

1163 10. Blessed are they who, even when advanced in years, have corrected their error; blessed are they who, even when death is at hand, have turned from vices. "Blessed are they whose sins are covered"[1] because it is written, "Cease from evil, do good, and you will live forever."[2] Therefore whoever—no matter at what age—ceases to sin and turns to better things will obtain the forgiveness of past sins, which have been confessed with a penitential spirit or have been rejected with the desire to amend. Yet in obtaining this pardon one shares in the fellowship of many, for there are many who in old age can call themselves back from the dangers of youth; rare, however, is the one who while a youth has carried the heavy yoke with restrained sobriety. [. . .]

1164 51. I hear you lamenting that he [Valentinian II] had not received the sacrament of baptism. Now tell me, what else do we have if not the desire, if not the request? For a long time he desired to be initiated so that upon arriving in Italy he would be initiated, and just recently he indicated that he desired to be baptized by me. Consequently for various reasons he thought I should go to him. And so does he not have the grace he desired, the grace he requested? Because he asked, he received. And so it is said, "By whatsoever death a just man shall be overtaken, his soul shall be at peace."[3]

1165 52. [. . .] Grant, I pray, to your servant Valentinian the gift he so desired, the gift he requested while in good health, while he was physically strong and unimpaired. If, afflicted with sickness, he had postponed it, yet he would not be completely lacking your mercy, he who was cheated by the swiftness of time and not by his own desire. [. . .]

1166 53. If you are disturbed that the mysteries [of initiation] were not solemnly celebrated, remember that neither martyrs if they are catechumens are crowned since they are not crowned unless they have been initiated. But if the martyrs are washed in their own blood [baptized], so his righteousness and desire have washed him also.

1167 56. With your hands offer the holy mysteries; with pious affection may we request his repose. Celebrate the heavenly sacraments; with our offerings may we escort the soul of our son. My people, "lift up your hands to the holy place"[4] with me so that at least by this service we might repay him for the good he has done. I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers, but I will suffuse his spirit with the odor of Christ. Others may scatter

---

[†] Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 7, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 73 (Vienna, 1955) 335ff.

1. Ps 32:1. 2. Ps 37:26. 3. Wis 4:7. 4. Ps 134:2.

lilies by the basketfuls; Christ is our lily, and with this lily I will bless his remains; with this lily I will commend his favor. [. . .]

53-S. Letters

The ninety-one extant letters of Ambrose (no. 23 is spurious) treat numerous aspects of ecclesial life in Milan and elsewhere. They are collected into ten books; according to some this collection is the work of Ambrose himself.

53-S-1. LETTER 8 (39). TO FAUSTINUS[†]

1. I knew that you would be experiencing great grief upon the death of your sister. [. . .] 1168

4. Therefore I believe she should not so much be mourned as accompanied with prayers, and I think you should not lament her with your tears but rather commend her soul to the Lord by your prayers. 1169

53-S-2. LETTER 62 (19). TO VIGILIUS[††a]

2. [. . .] Mesopotamia lies in the East and is bounded by the Euphrates and the Tigris, the two largest rivers in that area. They have their origins in Armenia and flow, though by different routes, into the Red Sea. The word "Mesopotamia" stands for the "Church." It is the Church that waters the souls of the faithful with the great streams of wisdom and justice, granting them the grace of sacred baptism, typified by the Red Sea and the washing away of sins. Accordingly, instruct the people to seek the bonds of marriage not from among strangers but from the Christian household. [. . .] 1170

53-S-3. LETTER 75A (21A). TO ANYSIUS AGAINST AUXENTIUS[†††a]

34. They [the Arians] also claim that the people were misled by singing my hymns. Clearly I do not deny this.[b] Nothing is more powerful than such sublime song, for what is more powerful than proclaiming the Trinity, than having all the people giving praise each day with their voices? Eagerly do all strive to confess the faith and know how to proclaim in 1171

[†] Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 10.1, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 82.1 (Vienna, 1968) 66, 68. The enumeration of these letters generally follows that given in CSEL, with numbers found in parenthesis being those according to PL 16.

[††] Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 10.2, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 82.2 (Vienna, 1968) 122.

a. Vigilius: bishop of Trent 385–405.

[†††] Translated from *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. 10.3, ed. M. Zelzer, CSEL 82.3 (Vienna, 1968) 105.

a. Anysius: the bishop of Alonika in Greece. Auxentius: the Arian bishop of Dorostoruno in Moesia.

b. Namely, the fact that people were singing Ambrose's hymns.

verse the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. In this way all, who hardly were able to be pupils, became teachers.

53-S-4. LETTER 76 (20). TO MARCELLINA, THE SISTER OF AMBROSE†

1172 4. On the following day, which was Sunday, after the readings and the homily, and once the catechumens had been dismissed, I was handing over the creed to some of the *competentes*[a] in the basilica's baptistery. There I received news that some court officials had been sent from the palace to the Portiana basilica where they were hanging cloth draperies. Furthermore, I was told that some of the people were going there. I, however, remained at my post and began to celebrate Mass [*missam*].

1173 5. While offering, I learned that a certain Castulus, who according to the Arians was a priest, had been seized by the people, passers-by encountering him in the street. I began to weep most bitterly and to pray during the offering that [God] might provide help so that no one's blood be shed on behalf of the Church, or at least that my blood be shed not only for the welfare of my own people but also for that of the ungodly. [. . .]

53-S-5. LETTER 77 (22). TO MARCELLINA, HIS SISTER††

1174 1. Since I desire that nothing occurring here during your absence escape your knowledge, you should be aware that the bodies of certain martyrs have been discovered.

1175 When about to dedicate a basilica, many began to say to us with one voice: "Dedicate a basilica as you did in Rome." I replied, "I will do so if I find any relics of the martyrs." Immediately I experienced a strong feeling that something was about to happen.

1176 2. Need I use many words? The Lord looked upon us with favor. Terrified were the clerics whom I ordered to remove the earth found before the chancel of Saints Felix and Nabor.[a] I discovered suitable signs. When we called in some of those upon whom hands were to be imposed, the power of the holy martyrs became so evident that while I was still silent one woman was seized and thrown forward toward the holy tomb. We found two men [Gervasius and Protasius[b]] of wonderful stature as was customary in days past. Their bones were all perfect; there was much blood. Throughout those two days a large group of people gathered. In short, we put everything in its place. Evening approaching, we transferred everything to the basilica of Fausta. Here an all-night vigil was held, and

† Translated from CSEL 82.3, 109–11.

a. *Competentes*: members of the catechumenate preparing for baptism at the next Paschal Vigil.

†† Translated from CSEL 82.3, 126–28, 134.

a. Felix and Nabor: early Milanese martyrs, perhaps of African origin.

b. Gervasius and Protasius: the protomartyrs of Milan who probably died in the late second century.

hands were imposed on some. On the following day we carried these relics into the basilica called Ambrosian. A blind man was cured during the transferral.

3. This is the sermon I then preached to the people. "In light of the very large and unprecedented number of you who have gathered and the gifts of divine grace which has shown forth in the holy martyrs, I confess that I judged myself unequal to this task, unable to express in words what we can hardly grasp with our minds or understand with our eyes. [. . .] 1177

13. "May these victorious victims ascend to the place where Christ is the victim. But he who suffered for all is upon the altar; they who are redeemed by his passion lie under the altar. I have already appointed this place for myself since it is right that a priest rest where he is accustomed to offer. But I yield the right side to the holy victims, this place being destined for the martyrs. Therefore may we deposit the most holy relics, carry them to their worthy dwelling places, and celebrate the whole day with faithful devotion." 1178

53-S-6. LETTER (63). TO THE CHURCH AT VERCELLI[†a]

65. How I resisted ordination! But finally, being compelled, I at least attempted to have my ordination delayed, but what was prescribed gave way to popular pressure. By their decision the bishops of the West approved my ordination; those in the East did likewise. [. . .] 1179

66. But if other churches pay such great attention to the ordination of a priest, how much care is to be exercised in the church of Vercelli where two things seem to be demanded of the bishop: monastic self-control and church discipline? Eusebius of happy memory was the first bishop in western lands to bring these together: while living in the city he both obeyed monastic regulations and governed the church with the sober fasting. Much assistance is given to the grace of the priesthood if the bishop obliges young men to practice abstinence and to observe the rule of purity, and—even if they reside in the city—to reject urban practices and conduct. 1180

53-T. Hymns

Called the "Father of Western Hymnody," Ambrose not only promoted hymn singing at Milan but also composed numerous hymn texts. Popular in nature and easy to remember, they were written in iambic dimeters (eight syllables) grouped in verses of four lines each. By the seventh century a large corpus of hymns written in this style had come into use, all called "Ambrosian." Recent scholarship seems to agree that at least four of the texts ascribed to Ambrose are certainly authentic, testimony being found in the writings of Augustine (WEC 3:98). Moreover, other scholars

[†] Translated from PL 16:1206–7. Not found in CSEL 82.

a. Vercelli: located in northwest Italy, west of Milan.

attribute even more hymn texts to the bishop of Milan, e.g., the *Splendor paternae gloriae.*

53-T-1. *AETERNE RERUM CONDITOR*[†]

Reference to this morning hymn is found in Augustine's *Corrections* 1.21. In the Roman Breviary it was long used at Sunday Lauds from the octave of the Epiphany to the first Sunday in Lent and from the Sunday nearest the first day of October till Advent. In the present Ambrosian liturgy it is sung at every Matins.

1181 Eternal Lord the world that made,
Who hides the day in night's black shade
And fixes hour on hour, that we
May never faint or weary be.

Hark to the herald of the morn,
Who vigil through the dark has borne,
Still separating night from night,
To travellers a pledge of light.

The day star hears, and at the call
Looses the sky from night's grim thrall,
While roaming bandits at the word
From mischief cease and sheathe the sword.

His ringing notes the sailors cheer,
The angry waves less would appear;
And he on whom the Church is built
When the cock crew confessed his guilt. [. . .]

53-T-2. *DEUS CREATOR OMNIUM*[††]

Augustine refers to this evening hymn in his *Confessions* IX.XII.32 (WEC 3:2515). It appears at Vespers in the present Ambrosian Liturgy of the Hours.

1182 God who all things did create
And the heavens dost moderate,
Who doth clothe the day with light,
With benefit of sleep the night.

Which may our weakened senses make
Able new toils to undertake,
And all our minds from anguish ease
And our distempered griefs appease.

[†] Translation from Wright (1928), 186.

[††] Translation (modified) from Wright (1928), 185.

Day sinks; we thank thee for thy gift,
  Night comes; to thee again we lift
Our prayers and vows and hymns, that we
  Against all ills defended be.

Thee let our inmost hearts acclaim,
  Thee let our tuneful voices name,
To thee our chaste affections cling,
  Thee sober reason adores as king. [. . .]

53-T-3. *JAM SURGIT HORA TERTIA*†

This hymn on Christ's death on the cross is attested by Augustine in his *De natura et gratia* 63. It begins Terce on Sunday in the present Ambrosian Liturgy of the Hours.

Behold the hour of terce draws nigh 1183
  When Christ went to the cross to die.
Let no proud thoughts distract our mind
  That shall in prayer in solace find.

The heart where Christ is all in all
  Shall ne'er be led by sense in thrall,
But by continual prayer within
  In depths the Holy Ghost shall win.

This is the hour that once did send
  To sin's old lethargy its end.
Death's realm his victory must own;
  The crimes of earth are overthrown.

From hence by grace of Christ began
  A time of happiness for man;
And on the churches from the sky
  Was shed the faith of verity. [. . .]

53-T-4. *INTENDE QUI REGIS ISRAEL*††

Augustine in Sermon 372 quotes this Christmas hymn, which in the Roman Liturgy is sung before Christmas during the Office of Readings in the Liturgy of the Hours.

Listen, all who rule Israel, 1184
  all who sit above the Cherubim,
appear before Ephraim,
  awaken your power and come.

† Translation from Wright (1928), 181.

†† Translation of verses two, three, and four by J.M. Neale (1818–66).

O come, Redeemer of the earth,
  and manifest thy virgin birth.
Let every age in wonder fall:
  such birth befits the God of all.

Begotten of no human will
  but of the Spirit, Thou art still
The Word of God in flesh arrayed,
  the promised fruit to man displayed.

The Virgin's womb that burden gained,
  its virgin honor still unstained.
The banners there of virtue glow;
  God in his temple dwells below.

54. FILASTER OF BRESCIA

Filaster (Philaster) became bishop of Brescia in northern Italy toward the end of the fourth century. Before his ordination he was a wandering preacher; as bishop he attended the anti-Arian synod of Aquileia in 381. Otherwise, little is known of his life. He died ca. 397.

CPL nos. 121ff. * Altaner (1961) 432 * Altaner (1966) 369 * Bardenhewer (1908) 430–31 * Bardenhewer (1910) 373–74 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:481–85 * Labriolle (1947) 1:432–34 * Labriolle (1968) 297–300 * Quasten 4:130–33 * Steidle 152 * Tixeront 234–35 * CATH 4:1277–78 * DHGE 16:1473–74 * DPAC 1:1357–58 * DTC 12.2:1398–99 * EC 5:1291–92 * EEC 1:323–24 * EEChr 1:426 * LTK 3:1279 * ODCC 1273–74 * PEA (1991) 9:783

54-A. Book of Heresies[†]

Written between 385 and 391, the *Diversarum haereseon liber* or *Liber de haeresibus* lists a total of 156 heretics, 28 from Jewish times, 128 from the Christian era. The author utilized previous works of this genre, and his treatise was in turn used by Augustine (WEC 3:**98-Q**). Filaster's writing is far from faultless: for example, he fails to distinguish between heresy and schism; and among the heretics he places certain Old Testament protagonists as well as various doctrinal statements with which he disagreed.

1185 LXXVII. (49). Other heretics are the so-called Aquarians. In the heavenly sacraments they offer water, something the Catholic and apostolic Church is not accustomed to do.

1186 CXL. (112). 1. There are certain heretics who cast doubt upon the day of our Lord and Savior's Epiphany, a day celebrated on the VIII ides of

[†] Translated from *Eusebii Vercellensis Episcopi Quae Supersunt*, ed. V. Bulhart, CCL 9 (Turnhout, 1957) 249, 304, 312.

January [6 January]. They say that they are to celebrate only the Lord's birth on the VIII calends of January [25 December], and are not to celebrate the Epiphany, forgetting that under the law and according * * * the Savior in the flesh so brought himself to perfection that he was born and then appeared on the VIII calends of January in order to show himself to the Magi twelve days later * * * in the temple, so that what was true would not be hidden but would be adored by the Magi.

CXL. (112). 2. A yearly series of four major feasts has been established 1187
for our salvation: the first feast is the day on which Christ was born; then there is the day on which he appeared, namely, the twelfth day afterwards; then [after] the day on which he suffered, namely, the Pasch; then the day close to Pentecost on which he ascended into heaven, this indeed being the completion of the victorious One.

CXL. (112). 3. Whoever ignores one of these days is neglectful and can 1188
also have doubts concerning the other days, lacking as they do the fullness of truth since such are without the diverse joys that four times a year spring up to us from Christ the Lord, namely, the day of his birth; then the day on which he appeared; third, the day on which he suffered, rose, and was seen; and fourth, the day on which he ascended into heaven.

CXL. (112). 4. Generally we always and joyfully celebrate these days 1189
throughout the year; we observe them, all of them, keeping them inviolate. Some believe that the Epiphany is the day of baptism; others that it is the day of the transfiguration on the mountain.

CXLIX. (121). 3. The Church celebrates four fasts during the year: first, a 1190
fast at Christ's birth;[a] then at the Pasch;[b] the third at the Ascension;[c] and the fourth at Pentecost. A fast is observed at the birth of our Lord and Savior; in like manner for forty days prior to the Pasch; also at the ascension into heaven on the fortieth day after the Pasch; then for ten days till Pentecost or afterward [*aut postea*].

CXLIX. (121). 4. This was done by the apostles who after the ascension 1191
fasted and prayed[1] when, as written, they merited to obtain at Pentecost the fullness of the Holy Spirit, and when, already equipped with heavenly arms and all previous doubts having been laid aside, they hastened to become invincible teachers and glorious martyrs of the Lord.

CXLIX. (121). 6. Others, however, believe the fast should be observed ac- 1192
cording to the four seasons of the year. [. . .]

---

* * * = corrupt text.

a. Some understand *in natale* as indicating a fast previous to Christmas; others as a fast during the Christmas season.

b. Some understand *in pascha* as indicating a forty-day fast between Easter and the Ascension; others as indicating forty days of fasting before Easter.

c. Certain manuscript traditions read "*in Epiphania*," which would certainly be out of sequence here.

1. See Acts 1:14; 14:23.

55. SIRICIUS, POPE

Elected bishop of Rome in 384, Siricius is especially noted for expanding papal power and authority by stressing the bishop of Rome's primacy over and responsibility for all other churches. He was a friend of Ambrose (WEC 2:53), who eclipsed him in popularity, influence, and literary skills.

Presiding over Roman synods (386 and again in 390–92), Siricius did not hesitate to condemn heretics, for example, the Priscillianists (a heretical group very influential in Gaul) and the monk Jovinian (d. ca. 405), who denied among other things the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary.

Siricius died on November 26, 399.

CPL no. 1637 * Altaner (1961) 415–16 * Altaner (1966) 355 * Bardenhewer (1908) 444 * Bardenhewer (1910) 385 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:591–92 * Bautz 10:530–31 * Labriolle (1947) 2:687 * Quasten 4:580–81 * Steidle 146 * Tixeront 276 * CATH 14:128–29 * CE 14:26–27 * DCB 4:696–702 * DPAC 2:3239 * DTC 14.2:2171–74 * EC 11:756–57 * EEC 2:782–83 * EEChr 2:1064 * LTK 9:631 * NCE 13:258–59 * NCES 13:166–67 * ODCC 1506

J. Janini, *S. Siricio y las Cuatro émporas: una investigación sobre las fuentes de la . . .* (Valencia, 1958). * P.H. Lafontaine, "Remarques sur le prétendu rigorisme pénitentiel du pape Sirice," RUO 28 (1958) 31–48. * P.H. Lafontaine, *Les conditions positives de l'accession aux ordres dans la première législation ecclésiastique (300–492)* (Ottawa, 1963).

55-A. Letters

Among this pope's seven letters that have come down to us, the one to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona in Spain, written in 385, is historically the most important. The Spanish bishop earlier sent a set of questions to Pope Damasus (WEC 2:52), the predecessor of Siricius, but the letter arrived only after the pope's death in 384. So in a set of fifteen replies to fifteen questions, Siricius, once secretary to Damasus and now bishop of Rome, responded. This letter is usually considered the first decretal, namely, a papal letter responding to one or more particular questions.

55-A-1. LETTER 1. TO HIMERIUS†

1193 1. –2. On the first page of your letter you indicated that many who have been baptized by the godless Arians are hastening to the Catholic faith and that some of our brothers wish to baptize them anew. This practice is forbidden by the apostle,[1] prohibited by the canons, and condemned by the council of Ariminum[a] whose general decrees were sent to the provinces by Liberius,[b] my predecessor of happy memory. It is through the

† Translated from PL 13:1133–37, 1142–45.

a. Today the city of Rimini; this synod took place in 359.

b. Liberius: bishop of Rome 352–66.

1. See Eph 4:5.

invocation alone of the seven-fold Spirit and through the imposition of the bishop's hand that we reconcile the Novatians[c] and other heretics to the body of Catholics, as the synod determined and is observed by both East and West. So it is henceforth proper that you not deviate from this path if you do not wish to be separated from us by the synod's decision.

II. –3. There is also the confusion caused by baptizing people whenever it is so desired. This is due to our brother priests who—not because of any authority but by rashness alone—presume to baptize indiscriminately and with no restrictions. They do so, as you say, on Christmas, on the Epiphany, as well as on the feasts of the apostles and martyrs. This is not approved and is to be corrected since among us and among all the churches the law maintains that baptism is to take place only on Pentecost and on the Pasch. These are the only days of the year when the sacraments in their entirety are given to those flocking to the faith; yet this pertains only to the elect who enroll their names forty or more days previously and atone for their sins by means of exorcisms, daily prayers, and fasting. In this way is fulfilled the apostle's command that the old dough is to be cleared out, replaced by new dough.[2] Just as reverence for the Pasch is not to be diminished, so we desire that the water of holy baptism be given with all speed to infants who are still too young to speak out or to those for whom a necessity exists. Our souls will risk destruction if, denying the saving font to those desiring it, someone leaving this world should lose both the kingdom and life itself. Also, those suffering the peril of shipwreck, hostile attack, the uncertainty of siege, or the hopelessness of any type of bodily weakness, and demand to be assisted by the one and only help of belief, at the very time of their request they are to receive the rewards of the desired regeneration. There has been enough error in this matter. All priests who do not wish to be separated from the solidarity of the apostolic rock, upon which Christ built the universal Church,[3] are to observe the above rule. 1194

III. –4. At the end of life pardon of sins is not to be denied to apostates, namely, to those who separate themselves from the Body of Christ. You also added that some Christians, becoming apostates—something terrible to hear—were profaned by worshiping idols and by the pollution of sacrifices. We order that these be separated from Christ's Body and Blood through which, not long ago, they were redeemed by being reborn. And if perhaps they begin to grieve, they are to do penance for the rest of their lives; at the end they may be granted the grace of reconciliation because, as the Lord has said, we do not desire the death of the sinner but that he or she convert and live.[4] 1195

IV. –5. As to marriage, you asked whether a man may marry a woman who is engaged to someone else. In no way is this to happen because the 1196

c. Novatians: members of a rigorous schismatic community in Rome.

2. See 1 Cor 5:7. 3. See Matt 16:18. 4. See Ezek 18:32.

blessing given by the priest to the engaged woman is, when violated in any way, considered by the faithful to be a type of sacrilege.

1197 v. –6. It was not improper for you, beloved, to believe that you should consult the apostolic see as to those who, having performed acts of penance, return like dogs and swine to their former vomit and pigsties; once again they long for the sword-belt, for pleasures of the theater, for new marriages, and for prohibited romances whose acknowledged incontinence is shown by the offspring born after absolution. Since these can no longer rightly do penance, we decree that they can be present within the church but only to pray with the faithful. They can also be present for the celebration of the holy mysteries even though they are unworthy of them. However, they are excluded from sharing at the table of the Lord's Supper. In such a way, reproached by at least this restriction, they reprove their own sins and provide an example to others in that they are separated from their evil desires. Since their fall was due to human weakness, we desire that as they begin their journey to the Lord they may be strengthened by a gift for the journey [*Viaticum*] through the grace of Communion. We believe that such an arrangement is also applicable to women who after doing penance have attached themselves to such uncleanliness.

1198 IX. –13. Those who from infancy are vowed to serve the Church are to be baptized before the years of puberty and be associated with the ministry of readers. At the onset of adolescence such a person is to become an acolyte and subdeacon, remaining so till his thirtieth year and provided he lives in an upright fashion, having one wife who was a virgin at the time of their marriage when a public blessing was given by the priest. Afterwards he may advance to the diaconate if he first proves himself worthy and excels in continence. On condition that he has laudably served as a deacon for more than five years, he may go on to the priesthood. Then, after ten years, he can be ordained bishop if throughout these years he has demonstrated integrity of faith and life.

1199 X. –14. An older person who is called to pursue a higher way of life and wishes to leave the lay state for that of a cleric will not attain the fruit of his desire unless at baptism he is immediately enrolled among the readers or exorcists; it must be evident that he either had or has one wife, she being a virgin at the time of marriage. Two years after his initiation he can become an acolyte or a subdeacon. After five years he can be promoted to the diaconate if during this time he is judged worthy. Then when the time is at hand and after being chosen by the clergy and people, he can rightly obtain the presbyteral or episcopal office.

1200 XIV. –18. We must also see to it that just as no cleric is to do penance, so no member of the laity after penance and reconciliation is to become a cleric. Although they have been cleansed from the contagion of all sin, nonetheless, those who recently were vessels of vice are not to handle the vessels [*instrumenta*] used during the sacraments.

55-A-2. LETTER 7. TO VARIOUS BISHOPS†

3. [. . .] Indeed we accept and do not reject the wedding vows; we are present for the veiling. Yet we give higher honor to the virgins devoted to God, virgins who are the fruit of such marriages. [. . .] 1201

56. THREE ANONYMOUS SERMONS. *ON PENANCE*

Three sermons, presumably given in Rome on Thursday of Holy Week for the reconciliation of the penitents, have come down to us. Found among the Augustinian corpus, they are nonetheless regarded as the work of a fourth-century Roman archdeacon.

CPL no. 238 * Quasten 4:565

56-A. Sermon 2. On Penance††

I. "This is the acceptable time, the day of salvation."[1] May the tears of the penitents move you, Holy Father, to grant forgiveness to those who desire it through you by him who dwells within you. Indeed they come to him, prostrating before him. They ask the Lord who created them to wipe away what they have done and to restore what he once made. 1202

II. The Lord turns away from sins but not from those who have sinned. May he not look upon those doing evil so that their "remembrance may perish from the earth."[2] But may his eyes always be upon those doing penance, those who are thirsty, "and may he hear their prayers."[3] By means of the body they have sinned, and for this reason they afflict the body. They require punishment for the evil they have done, and so God's merciful pardon is required. They are angry at themselves so that they might placate God, and they punish themselves to avoid his punishment. 1203

III. "As a sacrifice" they offer him "an afflicted spirit"[4] so that he who "resists the proud" and who "gives grace to the humble"[5] may not spurn a "contrite and humble heart."[6] Baptism made them new; may penance heal those who have been wounded. They have not retained what they once professed; may the sins they confessed not be retained. They have not requested freedom; they do not pay off a debt. They have shown mercy; may they be worthy of mercy. They have remitted; may it be remitted to them. They have given; may it be given to them. 1204

IV. The vast amount of earthly evils—evils that burden them in the darkness of their conscience—is shattered by the voice of Christ. By confessing they emerge from the tomb into the light. Release them and allow them to 1205

† Translated from PL 13:1171.

†† Translated from *Eusebii Vercellensis Episcopi Quae Supersunt*, ed. V. Bulhart, CCL 9 (Turnhout, 1957) 358–60.

1. 2 Cor 6:2. 2. Ps 34:16. 3. Ps 34:15. 4. Ps 51:19. 5. Jas 4:6. 6. Ps 51:17.

go, for you have the keys whereby "whatsoever you loose upon earth will be loosed in heaven."[7] By sin their members served the tyrant; now they are restored to the just conqueror. Eyes once deceived by the allurements of sin now pour forth tears.

1206 v. Ears that were receptive to ungodly sounds are now struck by the groaning of those shedding tears for themselves. The tongue that gloried in its perverse freedom is now humbled as it makes its request. Hands once uselessly at work now make supplication as they seek medicine. We see feet that once hastened toward sin now changing their direction. And the whole body, previously guilty of sin, is now seen to be prostrate in tears.

1207 VI. By these outward signs Christ appears as the victor within. The enemy, having been expelled, is in torment. The stronger one, who commanded that those who are bound should be loosed, has snatched away the armor of the strong one. Sorrow is found in the confession of the penitents, and the Lord is close to those who crush the heart. Sorrow like this is medicine, not a penalty. He who said, "Test my heart and my reins,"[8] desired the hand of a physician. Sorrow like this is an enemy of decay, not of salvation.

1208 VII. "God does not desire the death of the sinner but that the sinner live."[9] "Those in good health do not need a physician, but the sick."[10] Therefore Christ did not come "to call the righteous to repentance but sinners."[11] Not that sinners are to rejoice over the fact that they have sinned. Rather, they are to acknowledge their sins by mourning. They are to hate in themselves what God hates so that, saved by God, they might merit to please God. For just as a physician does not simply desire to cure but actually cures a sick person, so Christ is the healer of sin, not the lover of sin.

1209 XIII. They who stand should take care that they fall not.[12] They join their sorrow to the wounds of the penitents so that all may share in a common state of well-being. They prostrate themselves so that they might rise because the penitents themselves do so in order to rise. "God works in all things,"[13] for "God is love."[14] And so may the love of all—the love which more honorably dwells in you—move you so that through your intercession the prayers and lamentations for one's own sins and for the sins of others may be heard by the Lord so that all may share in the same salvation. Although not sharing the same wounds, may all, after experiencing together the same sorrow, rejoice in the fellowship of Christ's body. [. . .]

56-B. Sermon 3. On Penance†

1210 6. All petition that the penitents may receive [forgiveness]; that it may be opened to them; all are sorrowful when the penitents bear their burden; all rejoice when the penitents are healed. [. . .]

---

7. Matt 16:19; 18:18. 8. Ps 26:2. 9. Ezek 33:11. 10. Matt 9:12. 11. Luke 5:32; see Matt 9:12; Mark 2:17. 12. See 1 Cor 10:12. 13. 1 Cor 12:6. 14. 1 John 4:8.

† Translated from CCL 9:362.

57. INSCRIPTIONS

57-A. Epigraph of Saint Tarcisius†

The following inscription, composed by Pope Damasus (WEC 2:52), is found upon the tomb of Tarcisius in the mausoleum of Pope Zephyrinus (198–217).

O Reader, whosoever you are who does read this, know that both those 1211
to whom, after their reward, Damasus dedicated these lines, were equal in merit. The Jews crushed Stephen under a rain of stones when he would have taught them the better way. The faithful levite triumphed over his enemies, snatching from them the palm of martyrdom.

When he carried the holy sacrament of Christ, an impious man 1212
stretched out his hand to take it from him and to expose it to the scorn of unbelievers. Tarcisius preferred to be struck down and to give up his spirit rather than deliver to mad dogs the Body of Christ.

57-B. Epigraph in the Ambrosian Baptistery††

This inscription, often attributed to Ambrose (WEC 2:53) but of uncertain origin, was once found in the baptistery of the cathedral of Saint Tecla in Milan.

This temple of eight niches was built for holy use; 1213
an octagonal font is worthy of this gift.
It was fitting that on this number
the hall of holy baptism
was built, by which true salvation has returned to the people
in the light of Christ rising again.
For he who was freed from the prison
of death frees the dead from their tombs,
frees from every stain of guilt those who confess their sins,
and washes them in the stream of the purifying font.
May they come quickly to this place.
Let those who want to discard the faults of a shameful life
here wash their hearts and bear pure breasts.
Even though in darkness
may one dare to approach,
for one will depart shining whiter than snow.
The holy ones hasten to this place
because no one just is able to shun the waters.

---

† Translation (modified) from I. Schuster, *The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal*, trans. A. Levelis-Marke, vol. 5 (New York, 1930) 56.

†† Translation from S.A. Stauffer, *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 29–30 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1994) 24.

In these [waters] is the reign and purpose of God,
and the glory of [God's] justice.
For what is more divine than this,
that in an instant the sin of a people falls away.

57-C. Epigraph of Flavius Latinus[†]

Flavius Latinus was the bishop of Brescia in northern Italy.

1214 To Flavius Latinus, who was bishop for three years seven months; priest for fifteen years; exorcist for twelve years; and to Latinilla and to Flavius Macrinus, lector; Flavius Paulina, his granddaughter, put this up to his good memory.

57-D. Epigraph of Postumius Eutenion[††]

1215 Postumius Eutenion, a believer, who obtained holy grace the day before his birthday at a very late hour and died. He lived six years and was buried on 11 July, the day of Jupiter on which he was born. His soul is with the saints in peace. [. . .]

GAUL

58. HILARY OF POITIERS

Born of a wealthy pagan family in Poitiers ca. 315, Hilary became a convert and, although married and with a daughter, was elected bishop of Poitiers ca. 353. He soon became one of the leading opponents of Arianism during the fourth century, even being called the "Athanasius of the West."

As bishop of Poitiers Hilary organized resistance against the Arian-leaning Saturinus of Arles and ca. 356 was consequently deposed and exiled by the emperor Constantius to Phrygia in central Asia Minor. During this time of banishment Hilary continued his struggle against Arianism, especially through his literary activity. He returned to his see in 360 and eventually obtained the excommunication of Severinus. Through his theological expositions, exegetical writings, and various hymn texts, he was a central figure in the gradual demise of Arianism in the West.

CPL nos. 427ff. * Altaner (1961) 423–28 * Altaner (1966) 361–66 * Bardenhewer (1908) 402–12 * Bardenhewer (1910) 348–56 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:365–93 * Bardy (1930) 83–87 * Bautz 2:835–40 * Hamell 128–30 * Jurgens 1:372–89 * Labriolle (1947) 1:344–61 * Labriolle (1968) 238–50 * Leigh-Bennett 161–77 * Quasten 4:33–61 * Steidle 188–91 * Tixeront 227–30 * CATH 5:731–34 * CE 7:349–50 * CHECL 302–5 * DCB 3:54–66 * DHGE 24:449–50 * DictSp 7.1:466–99 * DPAC 2:1748–53 * DTC

[†] Translation from J.S. Northcote, *Epitaphs of the Catacombs* (London, 1878) 119.

[††] Translation from E. Ferguson, "Inscriptions and the Origin of Christian Baptism," JThSt, n.s., 30 (1979) 41.

6.2:2388–2462 * EEC 1:381–82 * EEChr 1:527–28 * LTK 5:100–102 * NCE 6:1114–16 * NCES 6:828–30 * ODCC 769–70 * PEA (1991) 5:557–59 * TRE 15:315–22

A.S. Walpole, "Hymns Attributed to Hilary of Poitiers," JThSt 6 (1904–5) 599–603. * A. Wilmart, "Le prétendu 'Liber Officiorum' de s. Hilaire et l'Avent," RB 27 (1910) 500–513. * T. Michels, "The Synodal Letter of Rimini and the Roman Canon," Tra 2 (1944) 486–91. * M. Pellegrino, "La poesia di sant'Ilario di Poitiers," VC 1 (1947) 201–26. * L. Malunowicz, *De voce "sacramenti" apud s. Hilarium Pictaviensem* (Lublin, 1956). * J. Fontaine, "L'apport de la tradition poétique romaine à la formation de l'hymnodie latine chrétienne," RELA 52 (1974) 318–55. * J. Fontaine, "Les origines de l'hymnodie chrétienne latine d'Hilaire de Poitiers à Ambroise de Milan," LMD, no. 161 (1985) 33–74.

58-A. On the Gospel of Matthew†

Probably written between 353 and 355 before Hilary's exile and known by Jerome (WEC 3:145), the thirty-three chapters of this book aim at what the author calls a "deeper" understanding of the Gospel.

2.6. [. . .] At his baptism, when he [Jesus] heard the opening of the heavens, the Holy Spirit was sent and was seen under the visible form of a dove. In this way he was anointed with the anointing of the Father's grace. The voice then spoke from heaven, "You are my Son, today I have begotten you."[1] [. . .] In like fashion [. . .] after the water bath the Holy Spirit descended upon us from the gates of heaven, we were anointed with the anointing of the heavenly glory. [. . .] 1216

58-B. On the Trinity††

Considered Hilary's masterpiece and one of the fourth century's leading treatises against Arianism, this work, which in antiquity was known under various titles, uses Greek thought in defense of Christ's divinity.

VIII.14. It is not in a human or worldly way that we are to speak of the things of God. [. . .] Unless we have been taught by Christ, all that we say in regard to his divine nature within us is foolishness and impiety. Christ himself said, "My flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him."[1] As to the reality of his Body and his Blood, there is no room for doubt. Both the Lord's affirmation and our own faith testify that it is indeed flesh and indeed blood. When the flesh is received and when the blood is taken as drink, they bring it about that we are in Christ and Christ is in us. Isn't this true? [. . .] 1217

† Translated from PL 9:927.

1. Matt 3:17.

†† Translated from *La Trinité. Hilaire de Poitiers*, trans. G.M. de Durand and others, ed. P. Smulderg, SChr 448 (Paris, 2000) 398.

1. John 6:55–56.

58-C. On the Psalms[†]

Although he may have written more commentaries on the psalms, only fifty-six such works admitted as authentic have come down to us. They are usually dated ca. 365. Hilary uses both the LXX and the Latin translations as the basis for his writing.

1218 Psalm 64:12. [. . .] The greatest sign of God's mercy is the Church taking delight in its morning and evening hymns. The day is begun with the prayers of God; it is concluded with the hymns of God. [. . .]

1219 Psalm 118 Zain 6. [. . .] The spirit is not to hand itself over to a dangerous relaxation when it observes the night vigils but is to occupy itself with prayers, supplications, and confession of sins, so that, especially when an occasion to satisfy bodily vices presents itself, then especially these same vices may be subdued by the memory of God's law.

59. SYNODS

59-A. Synod of Arles I (314)[††]

Summoned by Constantine, a large number of western bishops met at Arles on August 1, 314. They discussed the problems brought about by the Donatist schism and issued twenty-two canons on various topics of ecclesiastical discipline.

CPL no. 1776a * Jurgens 1:272–74 * Hefele (1871) 1:180–99 * Hefele (1905) 1.1:275–98 * CATH 1:837–38 * CE 1:727 * DACL 1.2:2914–15 * DCA 1:141–42 * DDCon 1:83 * DPAC 1:364–65 * EC 1:1949–50 * EEC 1:79 * ODCC 105

J.M. O'Donnel, "The Canons of the First Council of Arles, 314 A.D.," diss., Studies in Sacred Theology Series 2, no. 127A (Washington, D.C., 1961). * G. Lusseaud, "Tradition conciliaire de la première église orthodoxe des Gaules: le grand concile d'Arles de 314," PrO 20–21 (1972–73) 56–62. * P. Nautin, "Le canon du Concile d'Arles de 314 sur le remariage après divorce," RSR 61 (1973) 353–62. * E. Vanneufville, "L'Eglise en Provence du Ve au VIIIe siècles," MSR 53, no. 4 (1996) 61–81.

1220 Canon 6. Concerning those who fall sick and wish to believe; they are to receive the imposition of the hand.

1221 Canon 9. Concerning the Africans who follow their own law and again baptize; if any come from heresy to the Church, they will be questioned in regard to the creed, and if it is determined that they were certainly baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit,

---

[†] Translated from *S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictaviensis. Tractatus super Psalmos*, ed. A. Zingerle, CSEL 22 (Vienna, Prague, and Leipzig, 1891) 244, 253. The numeration of the psalms is that of the LXX.

[††] Canons translated from *Concilia Galliae à 314 à 506*, ed. C. Munier, CCL 148 (Turnhout, 1963) 10–13.

then only the hand will be placed on them. But if being questioned on the creed, they do not respond by proclaiming this Trinity, rightly may they be baptized.

Canon 15. Concerning deacons whom we have known to offer [the Eucharist?] in many places; this must never happen again. 1222

Canon 20. Concerning those who take it upon themselves alone to ordain a bishop; no one should presume to ordain unless he has seven other bishops with him, and if this is not possible, there should be no less than three bishops. 1223

Canon 22. Concerning apostates who never present themselves to the Church and who have never sought to do penance and then, once fallen ill, request Communion. This, however, is not to be given them unless they recover and carry out works that are worthy of penance. 1224

59-B. Synod of Valence (374)†

Meeting on July 12, 374, at Valence in southeastern Gaul, the thirty bishops at this interprovincial synod issued four disciplinary canons.

CPL no. 1776a * Hefele (1871) 2:289 * Hefele (1905) 1.2:982 * DCA 2:2010 * DPAC 2:3538 * EEC 2:858 * NCE 14:515 * ODCC 1675

Canon 3. As to those who after the one and holy baptismal bath degrade themselves either by profane sacrifices to the devils or by sinful baths, we have decided that they should be censured as follows: conforming to the Council of Nicaea [WEC 2:71-C], access to satisfaction is not to be denied them nor is the door of consolation to be closed to the tears of these unfortunate ones, and this so that they not despair. They should do penance up to the day of their death but not without the expectation of forgiveness which they should fully hope from the One who alone maintains what is right and yet shows himself so rich in mercy that no person should despair: "God, in fact, does not cause death and does not rejoice in the loss of the living."[1 a] 1225

59-C. Synod of Nîmes (394)††

Although meeting to discuss various doctrinal issues, the twenty bishops who convened in southern Gaul at Nîmes in 394 (more probably) or 396

† Translated from CCL 148:39.

a. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 1 (WEC 2:1270); Ancyra (314) cans. 1–12 (WEC 2:1422–30); Nicaea I (325) cans. 8, 11, 14 (WEC 2:1449, 1451, 1454); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 10–11 (WEC 3:3141–42); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

1. Wis 1:13.

†† Translated from *Conciles gaulois du IVe siècle*, trans. and ed. J. Gaudemet, SChr 241 (Paris, 1977) 126–29.

issued a number of disciplinary norms that remained unknown till their discovery in 1743.

Hefele (1871) 2:402–6 * Hefele (1905) 2:91–97 * DACL 12.1:1322–28 * DDCon 3:198–99 * DPAC 2:2406 * EEC 1:597

L. Lévêque, "Le concile de Nîmes à la fin du IVe siècle," RQH 30 (1881) 549–61.

1226 Canon 2. Likewise, some have indicated that contrary to apostolic discipline something has happened that is unheard of till now. We know not where, but some women appear to have been elevated to the diaconal ministry.[a] Ecclesiastical discipline, as is publicly known, does not permit this practice. May such an ordination, which is contrary to good sense, be considered void, and may no one in the future dare act in this way.

IBERIA

60. PACIAN OF BARCELONA

Little is known of the life of Pacian (d. before 392), bishop of Barcelona and honored by the Church as a saint. It was to Pacian's son, Flavius Dexter, that Jerome (WEC 3:145) dedicated his *On Illustrious Men.* Jerome also says that Pacian's life was more illustrious than his (i.e., Pacian's) words.

Although much of Pacian's writing has been lost, two tracts, one on baptism and the other on penance, have survived as well as three letters to an otherwise unknown Simpronian. An opponent of Novatianism that rejected penance after baptism and a strong proponent of the ecclesial role in the penitential process, Pacian, however, is perhaps best remembered for the adage, "My [first] name is Christian; my surname is Catholic" (Letter 1. To Simpronian IX).

CPL nos. 561ff. * Altaner (1961) 433–34 * Altaner (1966) 369–70 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:401–3 * Bardy (1930) 115–16 * Bautz 6:1423–26 * Hamell 131 * Jurgens 2:141–44 * Labriolle (1947) 1:430–31 * Labriolle (1968) 296–97 * Quasten 4:135–38 * Steidle 197–98 * Tixeront 233 * CATH 10:376–77 * DCB 4:171 * DictSp 12.1:17–20 * DPAC 2:2560–61 * DTC 11.2:1718–21 * EC 9:504–5 * EEC 2:628 * EEChr 2:846 * LTK 7:1255–56 * NCE 10:854 * NCES 10:743–44 * ODCC 1207 * PEA (1894) 18.2:2077–79 * PEA (1991) 9:132

B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums* (Munich, 1928) 144–47. * S. González, "La disciplina penítencial de la Iglesia española en el siglo IV," RET 1 (1940) 339–60. * C. McAuliffe, "The Mind of Saint Pacianus on the Efficacy of the Episcopal Absolution," TS 2 (1941) 19–34. * C. McAuliffe, "Absolution in the Early Church: The View of St. Pacianus," TS 6 (1945)

a. See Nicaea I (325) can. 19 (WEC 2:1456); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 11 (WEC 2:1964); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 100 (WEC 3:3119); Orange I (441) can. 25 (WEC 3:3136); Chalcedon (451) can. 15 (WEC 3:3379); Epaon (517) can. 21 (WEC 4:4577); Dvin (527) can. 17 (WEC 4:4844); Orleans II (533) can. 18 (WEC 4:4600).

51–61. * S. González, *La penitencia en la primitiva iglesia española* (Salamanca, 1950) 73–79. * A. Martínez Sierra, "Teología penitencial de S. Paciano de Barcelona," *Miscelánea Comillas* 47–48 (1967) 75–94. * J.-C. Fredouille, "Du 'De paenitentia' de Tertullien au 'De paenitentiae institutione' du Pacien," REAug 44 (1998) 13–23. * P. Mattei, "Baptême hérétique, ecclésiologie et Siracide 34, 25: Note sur l'influence de Cyprien dans un texte de Pacien de Barcelone," RTL 30 (1999) 180–94.

60-A. On Baptism†

Addressed to the whole community and not just to the catechumens, this sermon relies on the teaching of Paul and on the Gospels, especially the Gospel according to John. Pacian here attests what is known as the doctrine of original sin.

1. My purpose is to show how we are born in baptism and how it renews 1227
us.[1] I will express myself using the Lord's words, brethren, so that you may not believe that I am intoxicated by the elegance of my literary style and so that you can understand the reality of the mystery. Would that I be able to persuade you that I do not desire glory[2] since glory belongs to God alone.[3] What motivates me is the concern I have for you and especially for the catechumens so that we can understand the "scrutiny" that leads to such great happiness. Therefore I will show what paganism was, what faith offers, and who is forgiven by baptism. And if, as I believe, this will penetrate your hearts, you, my brethren, can judge whether till now any preaching has been more beneficial to you. Dearly beloved, learn about the death in which people found themselves before baptism. Certainly you are acquainted with the ancient account of how Adam was assigned to the earth, his origin,[4] how this condemnation imposed on him the law of eternal death,[5] as well as how the same law imprisoned all his descendants.[6] This death reigned over all "from Adam to Moses."[7] Yet through Moses a people[8] was chosen, namely, the descendants of Abraham[9] with the hope that they could observe the commandments of righteousness.[10] During this time all of us were under the bondage of sin[11] so that we were the fruits of death,[12] destined to eat husks and to watch over pigs[13]—namely, unclean works—through the doing of the bad angels; under their domination it was impossible to practice or to know righteousness. The state of slavery itself forced us to obey such masters. How did we obtain freedom from these powers and from this death? Listen carefully.

† Translated from *Ecrits. Pacien de Barcelone*, trans. C. Epitalon and M. Lestienne, ed. C. Granado, SChr 410 (Paris, 1995) 148–65.

1. See Titus 3:5. 2. See John 7:18; 8:50. 3. See John 5:44; Rom 16:27; Eph 3:21; Rev 1:6; Isa 42:8; 48:11. 4. See Gen 3:19. 5. See Gen 2:17; 3:3. 6. See Rom 5:12, 18. 7. Rom 5:14. 8. See Deut 7:6; 10:14–15; 14:2. 9. See John 8:33; Rom 9:7; Gal 3:16, 29. 10. See John 8:34ff. 11. See Rom 3:10; Gal 3:22. 12. See Rom 7:5. 13. See Luke 15:16.

1228 II. After Adam sinned, as I said, the Lord declared, "You are dust and unto dust you will return,"[14] and Adam was condemned to die, a sentence extended to the whole human race, "for all have sinned."[15] Henceforth all are dust by their very nature, as the apostle [Paul] states, "Because through one man sin has entered the world and through sin came death, and so death reached all because all have sinned."[16] Sin therefore rules,[17] and by its bonds we, like captives, were drawn to death,[18] namely, to eternal death.[19] But previous to the Law this sin was not recognized, as the apostle says, "Before the Law there was no sin in the world,"[20] namely, it was not seen; with the coming of the Law sin came to be recognized:[21] it was in fact made apparent so that it could be seen. But to no use, for almost no one obeyed it. In effect the Law was saying, "You shall not commit adultery; you shall not kill; you shall not covet,"[22] and yet covetousness persists[23] together with all the vices. So it was that previously the Law killed sin with a concealed sword;[24] under the Law it brandished the sword. Is there any hope for the human race? Without the Law people perished because they were unable to recognize sin; under the Law they perished because they threw themselves into what they saw. Who could deliver them from the destruction? Listen to the apostle: "Miserable man that I am! Who will free me from this body of death? Grace," he says, "through Jesus Christ our Lord."[25]

1229 III. What is grace? It is the forgiveness of sin, namely, it is a gift.[26] Grace, in fact, is a gift.[27] Thus Christ by his coming and by assuming human nature presented to God a man pure and free from the power of sin.[28] Isaiah says, "The virgin shall be with child and bring forth a son, and you will name him Emmanuel. He will eat curds and honey before he rejects what is bad and chooses what is good."[29] And again in this regard, "He who has not sinned and in his mouth no falsehood has been found."[30] Protected by his innocence Christ undertook in sinful flesh itself the defense of humankind.[31] Immediately the father of sin and disobedience,[32] who once had deceived the first parents,[33] began to make haste, to fume, to fear; he was to be overcome through the repeal of the law of sin[34] through which he subdued or was able to subdue humankind. Arming himself for spiritual battle against the Immaculate One, he first attacked—by means of the ruse he used in Paradise to conquer Adam[35]—the false appearance of greatness. As if being solicitous of heavenly power, he said, "If you are the Son of God, tell these stones to become bread."[36] His hope was that Christ would be ashamed to conceal that he is God's Son or, not wishing

---

14. Gen 3:19. 15. Rom 3:23. 16. Rom 5:12. 17. See Rom 5:21. 18. See Rom 6:16. 19. See Phil 2:8. 20. Rom 5:13. 21. See Rom 7:9. 22. See Exod 20:14; 13:17; Deut 5:18; 17:21. 23. See Rom 7:7ff. 24. See Rom 7:11. 25. Rom 7:24–25. 26. See Rom 7:25. 27. See Eph 2:8. 28. See Eph 5:27; Col 1:22. 29. Isa 7:14–15. 30. Isa 53:9; see 1 Pet 2:22. 31. See Rom 8:3. 32. See John 8:44. 33. See Gen 3:13; 2 Cor 11:3. 34. See Rom 8:2. 35. See Gen 3:1–7; 2 Cor 11:3. 36. Matt 4:3.

to hide this, that Christ would comply with the tempter's orders. But the devil still was not silent; he suggested that if Christ would throw himself down from on high, he would be caught by the hands of the angels whom the Father had ordered to carry him on their shoulders so that he not dash his foot against a stone;[37] the devil hoped that Christ, willing to prove that he was the one to whom the Father had given this order, might do what the tempter was urging. Vanquished at last, the serpent, as if backing off, promised what he snatched from the first man, namely, the kingdoms of the world.[38] The devil hoped that the advocate of humankind,[39] thinking himself a victor since he received the dominion which he was defending, might give in to the dignity of the impious and commit sin. To be sure, in all this the enemy was vanquished[40] and destroyed by the heavenly power[41] as the prophet said when speaking to the Lord, "You have silenced the enemy and the one seeking vengeance, and I will see the heavens, the work of your hands."[42]

IV. The devil should have retreated, and yet he did not stop,[43] for by his 1230
well-known snares he bribed the scribes, the Pharisees, and this whole troop of impious ones as he stirred them up with his madness. After every type of scheme[44] and with deceitful hearts,[45] they—like the serpent[46]—thought they could trick the Lord under the guise of being gracious to him.[47] Stopping at nothing,[48] they—like bandits—attacked him openly[49] and inflicted on him the cruelest of sufferings. Their hope was that the indignity of the treatment he was receiving or that the pain of punishment would lead him to do or say something unjust, and thus he would lose the humanity he had assumed, with his soul being sent to hell.[50] Their only law was to hold him as a sinner: "The sting of death is sin."[51]

Christ, therefore, remained firm: "He committed no sin, and no deceit 1231
was found in his mouth,"[52] as we have said, not even when he was being led away to be punished.[53] Victory is found in this, to be condemned without having sinned.[54] For the devil had received power against sinners, a power he claimed for himself over the Just One,[55] and so the devil himself was conquered[56] by applying to the Just One[57] measures he was not allowed to take by the law he had received. And as the Prophet said to the Lord, "May you be justified in your words and conquer when you are judged."[58] As the apostle says, "The powers having been disarmed, Christ has condemned sinful flesh, nailing this to the cross and revoking the decree of death."[59] For this reason God did not abandon "his soul to the

37. See Matt 4:6; Ps 91:11–12. 38. See Matt 4:8–9. 39. See 1 John 2:1; John 14:16. 40. See 2 Pet 2:19. 41. See 1 John 3:8. 42. Ps 8:3–4. 43. See Luke 4:13, 22; 3:53; John 13:2, 27. 44. See Luke 11:53–54. 45. See Isa 59:13. 46. See Gen 3:1ff. 47. See Luke 20:20ff. 48. See Luke 20:26; 22:2. 49. See Luke 22:47ff. 50. See Ps 16:10; Acts 2:27. 51. 1 Cor 15:56. 52. 1 Pet 2:22; see Isa 53:9. 53. See Isa 53:7; Acts 8:32. 54. See 1 Pet 2:22; 2 Cor 5:21; John 8:46. 55. See 1 Pet 1:19; 2:22. 56. See 2 Pet 2:19. 57. See 1 John 2:1. 58. Ps 51:6. 59. Col 2:15; Rom 8:3; Col 2:14.

nether world and has not allowed his holy one to see destruction."[60] This is why, after treading on the stings of death,[61] Christ came forth on the third day[62] in the flesh,[63] reconciling this flesh with God[64] and conferring eternity upon it once sin had been conquered and removed.

1232 v. Yet if it is Christ alone who has conquered, then what has he brought to others? In short, listen! Adam's sin passed into the whole human race. As the apostle says, "Through one man sin was introduced and through sin death; and so death reached all."[65] It is therefore necessary that Christ's justice pass to the human race and that, just as Adam through sin caused the ruin of his posterity, so Christ by justice gives life to the whole human race. This is what the apostle stresses: "Just as through the disobedience of one all were made sinners, so also by the obedience of one to the word, many are made just; likewise just as sin reigns unto death, so also grace reigns by justice unto eternal life."[66]

1233 VI. Perhaps someone will say to me, "But Adam's sin rightly passed to his descendants since they were born from him. But have we not been born through Christ so that we might be saved by him?" Do not think according to the flesh; you will now see how we are born through the paternity of Christ. In these last times Christ certainly took a soul as well as a body from Mary;[67] it is body that he came to save,[68] that he freed from sin,[69] that he has not consigned to hell,[70] that he has joined to his own spirit,[71] and that he has made his own. This is the marriage of the Lord, his union to one body so that, conforming to this great mystery, the two of them, Christ and the Church,[72] become one body. Christians are born from this marriage; the Spirit of the Lord comes from on high,[73] and immediately heavenly seeds are spread through the substance of our souls and are mixed with them. We develop in the belly of our mother and from her are born, receiving life from Christ.[74] The apostle says, "The first Adam was created a living soul; the last Adam is a life-giving spirit."[75] So it is that Christ gives birth in the Church, doing so through his priests, as the same apostle has said, "It is in Christ that I brought you forth."[76] The seed of Christ,[77] namely, God's Spirit, produces a new person,[78] formed within the mother and received by the hands of the priest at the life-giving font, faith being the maid of honor. However, I do not see how an unbeliever can be received into the Church or how someone who has not received Christ's Spirit can be born of Christ.[79] We must believe, then, that we can be born [spiritually]. This is what Philip says, "If you believe, it is possible."[80] Christ is to be received in order to give birth since the apostle

60. See Ps 16:10; Acts 2:27. 61. See 1 Cor 15:56. 62. See Mark 9:31. 63. See Luke 24:39; 1 Tim 3:16. 64. See Col 1:20, 22; 2 Cor 5:18–19. 65. Rom 5:12. 66. Rom 5:19, 21. 67. See Gal 4:4. 68. See Luke 19:10. 69. See Matt 1:21; Gal 4:31. 70. See Ps 16:10. 71. See 1 Cor 6:17. 72. See Eph 5:31–32; Gen 2:24. 73. See Luke 1:35; John 3:5ff. 74. See 1 Cor 15:22; Rom 8:11. 75. 1 Cor 15:45. 76. 1 Cor 4:15. 77. See 1 John 3:9. 78. See Eph 4:24. 79. See Rom 8:9. 80. Acts 8:37.

says, "To all who have received him he has given the power to become children of God."[81] This can only happen through the mystery of the bath and of the anointing by the bishop. Sins, in effect, are washed away by the bath; by the anointing the Holy Spirit is poured down from on high; both are obtained through the actions and words of the bishop. Thus it is that the whole person is reborn[82] and renewed[83] in Christ, for "just as Christ has risen from the dead, so we will walk in newness of life,"[84] In other words, having abandoned the errors of our former life—the service of idols, cruelty, fornication, lust, and other bodily vices[85]—it is through the Holy Spirit that we follow a new path in Christ, one of faith, modesty, innocence, chastity.[86] "And just as we have borne the image of the earth, let us bear that of heaven"[87] since "the first man, taken from the earth, is earthly; the second, taken from heaven, is heavenly."[88] Beloved, doing this, we will die no more even if our body disintegrates.[89] We will live in Christ just as he himself tells us, "Those who believe in me, even though they die, will live."[90] Finally, on the testimony of the Lord himself[91] we are certain that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the saints live for God; concerning them the Lord says, "All live for him, for God is the God of the living and not of the dead."[92] The apostle says, "For me to live is Christ and to die is a gain; I desire to depart and to be with Christ."[93] Also, "While we are in this body, we are walking apart from the Lord, for we are walking by faith, not by what can be seen."[94]

VII. Beloved, this is what we believe. For the rest, "if it is only in this 1234
life that we place our hope, then we are the most pitiable of all."[95] In this world the life of cattle, of wild beasts and of birds is, as you yourselves see, like our own or even longer. Proper to us is what Christ has given us through his Spirit: everlasting life provided we sin no more. For just as death is acquired through sin and is avoided through virtue, so life is lost through sin and is regained through virtue. "The wages of sin are death; but God's gift is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."[96] Above all, my little ones, remember this: in days past all the pagans, as we mentioned earlier, were handed over to the princes and powers of darkness.[97] Now they are free through the victory of Jesus Christ our Lord.[98] It is Christ, yes Christ, who has redeemed us, "forgiving all our sins," says the apostle, "and destroying the bond of disobedience which stood against us; because he has taken it away, nailing it to a cross, divesting himself of the flesh, he has openly disarmed the powers and triumphed over them."[99] He has freed those who were in fetters and has broken our

81. John 1:12. 82. See John 3:5. 83. See 2 Cor 5:17. 84. Rom 6:4. 85. See Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:22; 5:3–5; Col 3:8ff. 86. See Gal 6:22ff. 87. 1 Cor 15:49. 88. 1 Cor 15:47. 89. See 2 Cor 5:1. 90. John 11:25. 91. See Matt 22:31ff.; Mark 12:26ff.; Luke 20:37ff. 92. Luke 20:38. 93. Phil 1:21, 23. 94. 2 Cor 5:6–7. 95. 1 Cor 15:19. 96. Rom 6:23. 97. See Col 1:13; Eph 5:8ff.; 6:12. 98. See 1 Cor 15:54–57; John 16:33. 99. Col 2:13–15.

bonds, for as David said, "The Lord raises up the down-trodden; the Lord frees prisoners; the Lord gives sight to the blind."[100] And elsewhere, "You have broken my bonds; I will offer you a sacrifice of praise."[101] And so, delivered from our bonds, we gather at the Lord's standard through the mystery of baptism; let us renounce the devil and all his angels,[102] whom we previously served. Freed through Christ's blood and Christ's name,[103] no longer do we work for them. Those who later on, forgetful of themselves and ignoring their redemption, return to the service of these angels and to the "weak and needy elements of the world,"[104] will be bound by the fetters and chains of the past, namely, by the shackles of sin; and for them the "last state has become worse than the first."[105] Not only the devil, acting like a conquered deserter, will bind them still more brutally,[106] but Christ will not be able to suffer for them, "for whoever rises from among the dead will die no more."[107] And so, beloved, we are washed one time only;[108] we are freed one time only; we receive the immortal kingdom one time only.[109] "Happy are those whose iniquities have been forgiven and whose sins have been covered."[110] Courageously hold on to what you have received; conserve it with joy; sin no more;[111] keep yourselves pure and immaculate[112] for the day of the Lord.[113] Grace and infinite rewards are given to those who remain faithful: "Eye has not seen, ear has not heard, nor has it entered the human heart."[114] May you receive your works of righteousness and your spiritual desires. Amen.

60-B. On the Penitents†

In this sermon (*Paraenesis ad paenitentiam*) Pacian addresses himself to those who refuse to admit their sinfulness as well as to sinners who acknowledge their guilt and yet refuse to submit to the penitential discipline of the time.

1235 1. Although I have several times spoken, albeit somewhat disjointedly, on the healing of the penitents, nonetheless, I am mindful of the care shown by the Lord who, for the sake of one lost sheep, did not spare his neck and shoulders[1] by bringing the timid stray back to the flock, now once again made complete.[2] Insofar as I am able, I will attempt to follow so wonderful an example. With my modest talents as a servant I will imitate the Lord's labor and zeal. However, I have only one fear, beloved. It is by pointing out what should not be done that I encourage people to

100. Ps 146:7–8. 101. Ps 116:16–17. 102. See Matt 25:41. 103. See Rom 3:25; 5:9; Eph 1:7; 2:13; Col 1:14; 1 John 1:7. 104. Gal 4:9; see Gal 4:3; Col 2:8, 20. 105. 2 Pet 2:20; see Luke 11:26. 106. See Luke 11:22. 107. Rom 6:9. 108. See John 13:10. 109. See Heb 12:28. 110. Rom 4:7; Ps 32:1. 111. See 1 Cor 15:34. 112. See Col 1:22; 2 Pet 3:14. 113. See 1 Cor 3:13; 1 Thess 5:2. 114. 1 Cor 2:9; see Isa 64:3.

† Translated from SChr 410:118–47.

1. See Luke 15:5. 2. See John 10:16.

sin rather than turn them away from sin. Perhaps it would be better, following the example of Solon the Athenian,[a] to be silent about great sins rather than to warn against them, seeing that the customs of our time have reached such a point that people believe themselves encouraged to do something when it is forbidden. In fact, I think that recently this has been the effect of *The Fawn*[b]—in that the more the festival was thoroughly censured, the more it was observed. Censuring shameful acts, describing and thinking about them, seem not to have repressed dissipation but rather taught it. Unhappy am I! What transgression have I committed? I believe that people would not have learned how to keep the feast of the Fawn if I had not shown them how to do so by criticizing it. Let's admit it! Those who have denied God or those who have been placed outside the Church are irritated by the wound of punishment, indignant that anyone can disapprove of their behavior. [. . .]

11. My brethren, recall that the Lord said, "Reprove the wise and they will love you; reprove the foolish and they will hate you."[3] Also, "Those whom I love I correct and reprove."[4] Therefore I, your brother and your priest, have zealously undertaken this task according to God's will,[5] doing so with mildness and solicitude. Believe that it is a sign of love rather than of strictness. Follow along with good spirits. Do not resist with obstinacy. Additionally, no one should think that this discourse on the penitential institution is directed only to the penitents, and therefore those not belonging to this category may disregard as addressed to others all that I will say, even though this type of clasp designates the discipline of the whole Church. In fact it is necessary to take care that the catechumens do not enter there, that the faithful do not return there; we are to work that the penitents themselves quickly obtain the fruit of their journey. My discourse will proceed as follows. First, I will speak of the classification of sins so that no one can believe that the greatest punishment is applied to all sins without exception. Then I will speak of those faithful who, blushing at the remedy that is fitting for them and wrongly understanding their shame, receive Communion with an impure body and a sullied soul. Very timid before others but greatly impudent before God, with impious hands and sullied mouth they profane the very altar that is feared by the saints and the angels. Third, we will consider those who, having properly confessed and revealed their sins, ignore or reject the remedies of penance and the acts of exomologesis[c] they are to perform. Finally, we will attempt to show as clearly as possible the punishment imposed on those failing to do penance or who do so negligently and thus die with their wounds and

1236

a. Solon: an Athenian lawgiver (638?–559 B.C.).

b. This work by Pacian has been lost.

c. Literally, "confession," yet in early Christianity the term often designates the whole penitential process.

3. Prov 9:8. 4. Rev 3:19. 5. See Matt 18:15–17.

their pride. On the other hand, we will consider what is the crown, the reward of those who wash the stains of their conscience by a confession that is correct and according to the rule.

1237 III. First, as we have said, we will discuss the classification of sinners, carefully examining what is a sin, what is a crime, so that no one think that by reason of innumerable faults, whose shame afflicts all, I, failing to make distinctions, submit the whole human race to the same law of penance. With Moses and the ancients, even the smallest sins and, so to speak, the most minute details, were rolled up in the same streams of evil: those who profaned the Sabbath,[6] those who touched impure objects,[7] those who tasted forbidden foods,[8] those who grumbled,[9] those who with their household walls stained[10] and their garments sullied[11] entered the temple of the highest king, those who, guilty of the same deviations, touched the altar with their hands or grazed it with their garments.[12] It would have been much easier to ascend into heaven or prefer death rather than observe all these things. The Lord's blood[13] has freed us from these and many other vices of the flesh so that we, who have been redeemed from the slavery of the law[14] and dedicated to the freedom of faith, might more easily reach our goal. For this reason the apostle Paul says, "You have been called to freedom."[15] Such freedom consists in this: we are no longer bound to everything that constrained the ancients. A forest of sins, so to speak, is forgiven us, and the clemency of remedies is appointed for us. We are subject to only a few rules, indispensable yet easy for believers to observe and keep. Those failing to observe even these few cannot deny that they truly deserve hell. But let us see what these rules are.

1238 IV. After the Lord's passion the apostles, having examined and discussed everything, sent a letter to the pagans who had become believers. The thought expressed was as follows: "Greetings to the brethren, the apostles, and the presbyters, of Gentile origin, from Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia. We have heard that some who went out from us have troubled you by their words . . ."[16] And further on, "It has seemed both to the Holy Spirit and to us that no other burden should be laid upon you other than these: abstain from meat sacrificed to idols, from blood, and from fornication. You will do well to keep yourselves from these. Farewell."[17] Thus a complete summary of the New Testament. The Holy Spirit, who has accepted many things, has left us these by assigning capital punishment to them. Other sins are cured by the reparation of good works, but these three crimes are to be feared like the breath of a basilisk, like a poisonous cup, like a deadly arrow, for they do not just injure the soul but kill it.

---

6. See Exod 35:2; Num 15:32–36. 7. See Lev 11:24ff.; Num 19:11–16. 8. See Lev 11:4–8; Deut 14:4–21. 9. See Exod 15:24; 16:2–8; 17:2–3; Num 14:2ff. 10. See Lev 11:33ff.; 14:55. 11. See Lev 13:47–59. 12. See Lev 21:16ff. 13. See Rom 5:9; Eph 1:7; 2:13; 1 John 1:7. 14. See Gal 3:13. 15. Gal 5:13. 16. Acts 15:23–24. 17. Acts 15:28–29.

Thus austerity will be redeemed by goodness, harm repaired by apologizing, sadness by joy, severity by kindness, levity by seriousness, falsehood by honesty. Everything, corrected by its opposite, is profitable. But what about the person who shows contempt for God or who has spilled the blood of another? What remedy is available to the fornicator? Can the Lord be appeased by a deserter or by those who have spilled the blood of another so as to preserve their own life? Can God's temple be restored by someone who has profaned it through fornication?[18] These, my brethren, are capital sins; they are deadly sins. Listen now to John and if possible remain confident: "If you know that your brother has committed a sin that is not deadly, pray for him and the Lord will give him life; this only applies to a sin that is not deadly. There is, however, such a thing as a deadly sin, about which I do not say that you should pray."[19]

v. If you will, listen to what is said about each of these in particular. It 1239
was to Moses praying for the blaspheming people that God said, "Should anyone sin before me, I will blot that person out of my book."[20] And on the subject of murder the Lord pronounced this judgment, "Whoever kills by the sword will die by the sword."[21] And as to the fornicator, the apostle says, "Do not profane God's temple which you are; God will destroy whoever profanes his temple."[22] All this, beloved, has been written and engraved in imperishable letters, engraved—I do not say on wax, on papyrus, or on bronze, not with the pen—but in the book of the living God: "Heaven and earth will pass away but not one letter or stroke of a letter will pass away before all these things have come to pass."[23] So is it necessary to die? Numerous are those who, at least in thought, have fallen into these sins; numerous are those guilty of having spilled blood; numerous are the slaves of idols; numerous are the adulterers. I add this: punished are not only the hands that have murdered but also all who give advice leading to the death of another. Likewise falling under the penalty of death are not only those who have burned incense upon impious tables, but also whoever * * * will have destroyed[d] * * *, and also whoever seeks carnal pleasure outside the marriage bed and seeks illicit embraces. Those who do these things after becoming believers will not see God's face. Are those guilty of such great crimes to yield to despair? What have I done to you? Was it not in your power to avoid this? Did no one warn you? Did no one admonish you? Did the Church remain silent? Did the Gospel have nothing to say? Did not the apostles give warning?[24] Did not the priest pray? Why are you so late in seeking help? This must be done when it is possible. This saying is hard,[25] but "those who call you happy lead you into error and destroy the path that you should walk."[26] Whoever flatters

d. The text here is corrupt.

18. See 1 Cor 3:17. 19. 1 John 5:16. 20. Exod 32:33. 21. Matt 26:52. 22. 1 Cor 3:17. 23. Matt 5:18. 24. See 1 Cor 6:9–10; Gal 5:21; Eph 5:5. 25. See John 6:60. 26. Isa 3:12.

evildoers after they have done wrong indicates the way of sin to the innocent.

1240 VI. "And so," one asks, "will we perish? Where is the merciful God who did not invent death and 'who does not rejoice in the death of the living'?[27] Are we, then, to die in our sins?[28] And you, O priest, what will you do? By what gains will you compensate for so many losses to the Church?" Receive the remedy if you are beginning to despair, if you recognize that you are miserable, if you are fearful. The presumptuous person is unworthy of this: "Upon whom shall I look," says the Lord, "if it is not upon the lowly and the afflicted one who trembles at my words?"[29] First, I address you, my brethren, who after having given in to sin reject penance. You are cowardly after shamelessness, full of human respect after sin! You are not ashamed to sin, and yet you are ashamed to acknowledge it! With a bad conscience you touch God's holy things and do not fear the Lord's altar! You approach the hands of the priest under the gaze of the angels and with the boldness of innocence! You insult divine patience! You impose a soiled soul and a profaned body on God, who keeps silent as if he were unknowing. Listen to what the Lord has done, and then to what he has said. When the Hebrew people brought the Lord's ark to Jerusalem from the house of Aminadab the Israelite, Ozas,[30] who inadvertently had touched one side of the ark, was killed even though he did not approach it to take anything. He did so to restrain the ark when it slipped following the misstep of a young bull. So great was the divine reverence due to the ark that it could not tolerate a rash hand, not even a helpful one. This same Lord proclaims and says, "Whoever is pure may eat flesh, and whoever touches the flesh of the sacrifice of salvation and its impurity will disappear from among the people."[31] Do not these things from the past also occur today? Has God ceased to be concerned about our affairs? Or has God, having retreated from the world's view, ceased to look down upon us from heaven? Or is God's patience nothing more than ignorance? "In no way," you say. God still sees what we do, but God especially waits, is patient, allowing time for penance. It is because of Christ that the redeemed do not suddenly perish. Do you, O sinner, understand this? The Lord looks upon you, and you can appease him if you so desire.

1241 VII. Yes, as we admit, forbidding the impure to approach God's table was a past practice. But look through the writings of the apostles and see what is more recent. In his First Letter to the Corinthians Paul says, "Whoever eats the bread or drinks the Lord's cup unworthily will be guilty of the Lord's Body and Blood."[32] Likewise further on, "Those who eat or drink unworthily eat and drink judgment against themselves, not discerning the Body of the Lord. This is why many among you are weak and

27. Wis 1:13; see Ezek 18:32; 33:11. 28. See John 8:24. 29. Isa 66:2. 30. See 2 Sam 6:3–7. 31. Lev 7:20. 32. 1 Cor 11:27.

infirm, and why many are asleep. If you judge us, we will not be judged at all, but when we are judged, we are corrected by the Lord so that we not be condemned with this world."[33] Have you trembled at these words or not? "They will be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord."[34] Can murderers be absolved? Can those who profane the Lord's Body escape this guilt? "Those who eat and drink unworthily eat and drink judgment against themselves."[35] Awake, O sinner, if you have done anything like this. Be afraid from your very depths. "This is why many among you are weak and infirm and why many are asleep."[36] Thus if there is no fear regarding the future, there should at least be fear regarding the present sickness, the present death. "When we are judged, we are corrected by the Lord so that we may not be condemned with this world."[37] Rejoice, O sinner, if at present you are carried away by death or consumed with sickness, so that you not be punished after this age. Understand what a great sin is committed by those who unworthily approach the altar since their remedies are the sufferings of sickness or destruction by death.

VIII. Even if you believe that your soul has no value, spare the people, 1242
spare the priests. The apostle writes, "A little yeast leavens the whole batch of dough."[38] What will you do since the whole batch is corrupted because of you? Because of you will the whole community suffer? Will you live, guilty of the loss of so many souls? Will you be vindicated when the innocent impute to you their condemnation? When the Church declares you to be the source of its ruin? This is what the apostle said to the priest: "Do not lay hands on anyone with haste and do not participate in the sins of another."[39] What will you do after deceiving the priest? After you lead him astray because he is in ignorance or confounding him when his knowledge is incomplete because it is difficult to prove something? Therefore, my brethren, I ask you by the Lord from whom nothing is kept secret,[40] to cease concealing the wounds of your conscience. When reasonable people are sick, they do not fear the doctor even when he cuts or cauterizes the body's private parts. We recall that certain people, not being ashamed of their intimate organs, have allowed these to endure fire, cutting, and stinging powder. What is gained by all this? Is not the sinner fearful? Is not the sinner ashamed to have obtained eternal life at the price of present shame? Will such sinners conceal their badly covered wounds from the Lord who is extending his hand? Can anything shame a person who has offended the Lord? Or is it better for such a one to perish so that you, fearful of shame, will not die without having felt shame? In not making room for shame, you acquire more of the damage suffered by someone for whom it were better to perish in your place. If you are ashamed before your brethren, do not fear those who share your unhappiness. No human body rejoices at the sorrow of one of its members. On the contrary, it feels

33. 1 Cor 11:29–32. 34. 1 Cor 11:27. 35. 1 Cor 11:29. 36. 1 Cor 11:30.
37. 1 Cor 11:32. 38. Gal 5:9; see 1 Cor 5:6. 39. 1 Tim 5:22. 40. See Rom 2:16.

the same sorrow and assists by bringing a remedy.[41] In each the Church is present,[42] and the Church is Christ.[43] This is why those who are not silent about their sins to their brethren, when supported by the Church's tears, are absolved by the prayers of Christ.[44]

1243 IX. I now wish to speak to those who, although rightly and wisely acknowledging their wounds for the sake of penance, know neither what penance is nor what it is that will heal their wounds. They resemble those who discover their wounds and their tumors, and acknowledge them to their doctors who arrive at their bedside, and yet, made aware of the remedies, they neglect what should be applied and reject what they should drink. It is as if one would say, "I am sick. I have a wound, but I do not wish to have my stomach cured!" Listen to what is even more stupid! A second sickness is joined to the first; another wound is added. All sorts of inadvisable medicines are applied; a person drinks dangerous liquids. This is the evil a community endures when new sins are added to old ones. It is thus impetuously hurled down into vice and is tortured by the most deadly decay. What, then, am I to do, being a priest who is constrained to heal? It is late for that. Yet if any of you can endure the knife and the iron, I can still do it. Here is the prophetic scalpel: "Return to your Lord, and at the same time rend your hearts with fasting, tears, and mourning."[45] [. . .]

1244 X. I will still apply fire from the cauterizing iron. See whether you can tolerate it. "In spirit I am with you by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ; you are to hand him over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh so that his spirit might be saved on the day of the Lord."[46] Penitents, what do you say? Where is the destruction of your flesh?[47] During the time of penance are you going to walk with ever more opulence, sated by feasting, made beautiful by the bath, arrayed with elegance? Behold here is someone who once was frugal, somewhat needy, and dirty under a cheap garment but now is well dressed, wealthy, carefully adorned, as if blaming God for not being able to serve him, and reviving one's dying soul through bodily pleasures. Happily we are a people of moderate means. Otherwise we also would do what certain of the well-to-do are not ashamed of: living in a marble house, being weighed down by gold, dripping with silk, gleaming with scarlet. The dusky powder sparkling on our eyebrows, the artificial reddening on our cheeks, the false rouge on our lips! Perhaps you have nothing like this? Yet you do not lack gardens or seaside villas, nor exquisite wines, nor opulent feasts, nor whatever cleans away old age. Thus take action, give thought while you are still alive. My brethren, I can no longer endure it. Daniel with his companions, covered with sackcloth and ashes and also exhausted by fasting,[48] says, "We have sinned; we have committed a crime; we have acted impiously; we have broken

41. See 1 Cor 12:26. 42. See Matt 18:20. 43. See Col 1:24. 44. See Rom 8:34; 1 John 2:1. 45. Joel 2:12–13. 46. 1 Cor 5:3–5. 47. See 1 Cor 5:5. 48. See Dan 9:3.

your precepts and commandments."[49] As to Azariah, the Holy Scriptures say the same: "Standing, Azariah prayed, spoke, and did penance,"[50] together with his companions. David himself says, "Each night I wet my bed; I soak my couch with my tears."[51] As for ourselves, do we do this or anything like it? I will not speak of the surplus we have amassed in trafficking, in doing business, in stealing, in awaiting profits without and pleasures within, in simply doing nothing, in giving nothing to the poor or to one's brethren.[52] We do not even do things that a priest can see or a bishop, witnessing them, can praise: weeping in the presence of the Church, lamenting while clothed in poor garments, fasting, praying, prostrating. If invited to the baths, we refuse this amenity; if invited to a feast, we say, "Affairs like this are for those who are happy, but I have sinned against the Lord and am in danger of perishing for eternity. Of what importance are banquets to me as someone who has offended the Lord?" Furthermore, to grasp the hand of the poor, to ask for the prayers of the widow, to attempt all else rather than to perish. [. . .]

XII. Brethren, remember that among the dead[53] there is no exomologesis; no longer will any opportunity be granted for doing penance since the time for this has ended. Hasten while you are still alive, while you are still on the way with the adversary.[54] Here the fires of this world frighten us and the iron nails of the executioners scare us; compare these to the eternal hands of those who will torture and to the tips of the flames that will never die. I address you, brethren, by the faith of the Church, by my solicitude, by the souls common to all. I entreat you, I beseech you, not to be ashamed of this task, not to be slow in throwing yourself as soon as possible on the appropriate remedies of salvation: to sadden one's spirit by mourning, to wrap the body in sackcloth, to cover it with ashes, to wear it down through fasting, to overcome it with grief, to be assisted by the prayers of many. To the extent that you have not spared punishing yourselves, so God will spare you, "for he is sweet and patient, rich in kindness, and it is he who lightens judgments that have been done out of evil."[55] This I promise. This I pledge if you return to your Father by means of a true satisfaction,[56] without afterwards being led astray,[57] without adding anything to your former sins, and speaking these humble and compassionate words, "Father, we have sinned in your presence; we are no longer worthy to be called your children."[58] As soon as you put distance between yourself and this unclean flock and its pods,[59] then upon your return you will be clothed with a garment, honored with a ring,[60] and the Father will again embrace you.[61] It is the Father who says, "I do not desire the death of sinners but that they return and live."[62] He

1245

49. Dan 9:5. 50. Dan 3:25. 51. Ps 6:7. 52. See Matt 18:35. 53. See Ps 6:6. 54. See Matt 5:25. 55. Joel 2:13. 56. See Luke 15:18. 57. See Luke 15:13. 58. Luke 15:18–19, 21. 59. See Luke 15:15–16. 60. See Luke 15:22. 61. See Luke 15:20. 62. Ezek 18:23; 33:11.

also says, "Will not the one who has fallen rise up, and will not the adversary be converted?"[63] And the apostle says, "God has the power to let him stand."[64] The Apocalypse likewise threatens the seven churches[65] unless they do penance. Obviously it does not threaten those who fail to do penance unless it also pardons the penitent. Furthermore, God says, "Remember from where you have fallen and do penance."[66] And again, "When you return and grieve, then you will be saved and will know where you have been."[67] Do not so despair as to the worthlessness of a person's sinful soul that you believe this person to be of no importance to God, for God desires that none among you be lost.[68] Even the humble and the little ones are to be sought out. If you do not believe such to be true, then pay attention to this. The Gospel relates how a drachma was searched for and, once found, was shown to the neighbors.[69] The little sheep, it relates, is not heavy when placed around the neck of the shepherd.[70] Over a single sinner who does penance the angels in heaven rejoice,[71] and the heavenly choir exults. Yes, O sinner, do not cease to implore! You see where there is rejoicing over your return. Amen.

60-C. Letters

Simpronian apparently had sent Pacian a treatise that defended the Novatian position of rigorism in regard to the forgiveness of sins. Apparently Novatianism was flourishing in Spain at the time. We have Pacian's response in three letters.

60-C-1. LETTER 1. TO SIMPRONIAN†

1246 III. It is my understanding that the Novatians take their name from Novatus[a] or from Novatian.[b] But it is the sect, not the name, that I accuse; nor has anyone reproached Montanus[c] or the Phrygians[d] for their names. "But," you will say, "at the time of the apostles no one was called 'Catholic.'" This may be true, but grant me this: when, after the apostles, heresies appeared and under various names were attempting to tear

63. Jer 8:4. 64. Rom 14:4. 65. See Rev 2–3. 66. Rev 2:5. 67. Isa 30:15. 68. See 2 Pet 3:9. 69. See Luke 15:8–9. 70. See Luke 15:5. 71. See Luke 15:7, 10.

† Translated from SChr 410:170–85.

a. Novatus: a priest who was part of the Novatian (see note b below) community in Carthage.

b. Novatian: a Roman priest (d. 257/258) who, disappointed with the election of Cornelius as bishop of Rome, had himself ordained bishop of this city. In regard to penance, his attitude and that of his followers was one of rigorism, allowing after baptism no pardon for serious sin.

c. Montanus: a second-century founder of a rigorist religious movement whose adherents rejected any leniency in regard to the penitential discipline.

d. Phrygians: followers of the Montanist heresy who lived in Phrygia, which was situated in what is now Turkey.

apart and divide God's dove[1] and queen,[2] did not the apostolic people require its own name? A surname distinguishing the unity of an unspotted people so that the error of some would not tear asunder the members of God's sinless virgin?[3] Was it not necessary that the original source be designated by its own name? Suppose that today I enter a populous city where I discover Marcionites,[e] Apelleites,[f] Cataphrygians,[g] Novatians, and others of the same type, all calling themselves Christians. But by what surname might I recognize the assembly of my own people unless it is called "Catholic"? Come now! Who has bestowed so many names on these other people? Why is it that so many towns, so many nations, each have their own descriptive name? Even those who inquire about the name "Catholic" are ignorant of the origin of their own name should I inquire about this. Where have I received the name "Catholic"? Surely a name that has lasted for so many centuries did not come from a man. The name "Catholic" echoes neither that of Marcion, nor that of Apelles, nor that of Montanus, nor does it originate with any heretical author. The Holy Spirit, whom God sent[4] to the apostles from heaven[5] as the Paraclete[6] and teacher,[7] has taught us many things:[8] reason, as Paul says,[9] and honesty, and, as he also says, nature itself.[10] And so are we to place little value on the authority of the followers of the disciples? That of the first priests? That of blessed Cyprian,[h] the doctor and martyr? Or do we wish to instruct the teacher? Are we more learned than he? Or does our carnal spirit desire to be puffed up with pride in opposition to him whose shedding of noble blood and whose crown of illustrious suffering made him a witness of the eternal God? What about the large number of priests who stand with us in this, priests who are united throughout the world with this same Cyprian in church unity? Why so many venerable bishops, so many martyrs, so many confessors? If these in adopting this name were not qualified authorities for using this name, are we qualified to reject it? Are the fathers to follow our authority? Is the antiquity of the saints to be changed? Will the present age, already corrupted by sin, shave away the grey hairs of apostolic antiquity?

IV. Do not be disturbed, my friend, that my [first] name is "Christian" 1247
and that my surname is "Catholic." The first gives me a name; the second specifies. The first attests to what I am; the second sets me apart. And if it

---

e. Marcionites: followers of Marcion (d. ca. 160), a heretic who rejected the Church of his time as having departed from a more primitive purity.

f. Apelleites: members of a Gnostic sect who believed that salvation came from faith alone.

g. Cataphrygians: an alternative designation for followers of Montanus.

h. Cyprian: bishop of Carthage (WEC 1:27).

1. See Cant 6:9. 2. See Ps 45:10. 3. See 2 Cor 11:2. 4. See John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7. 5. See John 14:26. 6. Ibid. 7. Ibid. 8. See 1 Pet 1:12. 9. See Rom 2:14–15. 10. See 1 Cor 11:14.

is necessary to explain the word "Catholic" and on the basis of the Greek, giving it a Latin translation, "Catholic" signifies "one throughout" or, as the more knowledgeable believe, "obedience to all," namely, to all God's commandments. Whence the apostle says, "If you are obedient in all things."[11] And also, "For just as through the disobedience of one person many have been made sinners, so by the attention of one person to the word, many will be made righteous."[12] Therefore whoever is Catholic is obedient; whoever is obedient is a Christian; and so to be a Catholic is to be a Christian. This is why our people, when called Catholic, are by this name set apart from those designated as heretics. [. . .]

1248 v. As to penance, may God grant what is necessary to each member of the faithful. Let those who have been assisted by the sacred rite of the font not throw themselves into the pit[13] of death. May priests not be forced to present or to teach [baptism's] later consolations so as not to open up the path of sin by proposing remedies that strengthen the sinner in sin. God's mercy, as is clear, is for the wretched, not for the blessed; not before sin but after sins; it is not for those in good health but "for those who are sick"[14] —being for these that we make known this medicine. If evil spirits[15] can do nothing against the baptized, if nothing can be done by the serpent's deception[16] which brought about the fall of the first human and which has stamped on his descendants so many marks of domination; if the serpent has withdrawn from the world, if we have already begun to rule,[17] if no evil deed surprises our eyes, our hands,[18] or our thoughts—then let this gift of God be rejected; let there be no help, no exomologesis, no lamenting, and let a haughty righteousness despise every remedy. But if the Lord himself has provided such things for us, and if the same Lord rewards the upright and provides remedies to the fallen,[19] then cease accusing the divine goodness. Cease hammering away under the pretext of strictness at so many marks of heavenly clemency. Cease warding off by your implacable harshness the good things given us by the Lord. We do not grant these things of ourselves. "Return to me," says the Lord, "and at the same time rend your hearts by fasting, tears, and mourning."[20] Also, "Let the impious abandon their ways and the criminals their thoughts; may they return to the Lord and obtain mercy."[21] The prophet likewise says, "God is good, sweet, and patient, and it is he who turns back the sentence brought against our evils."[22] Does not the serpent[23] have a lasting poison? Does not Christ have a remedy? If the work of the devil is to destroy the world, then is not the work of Christ to cure the world? Certainly disgust should be experienced when sinning but not while doing penance. There should be aversion to undergoing danger yet not at being delivered from it. Who will yank away a plank from a shipwrecked person, thus removing

11. 2 Cor 2:9. 12. Rom 5:19. 13. See Matt 15:14; Luke 6:39. 14. Matt 9:12. 15. See Eph 6:12. 16. See Gen 3. 17. See 1 Cor 4:8. 18. See Matt 5:28–30. 19. See Rom 14:4. 20. Joel 2:12. 21. Isa 55:7. 22. Joel 2:13. 23. See Gen 3:15.

a means of escape? Who will refuse to heal wounds? Did not David say, "Each night I wet my bed; I soak my couch with my tears"?[24] And, "I acknowledge my sin and did not hide my iniquity."[25] Also, "I said I will confess my sin before God, and you have remitted the guilt of my heart."[26] When David, guilty of murder and adultery because of Bethsabee,[27] did penance, did not the prophet say, "The Lord has taken away your sin"?[28] Did not exomologesis free the king of Babylon,[29] who was condemned after so many sins of idolatry? And what about the words of the Lord, "Will not the fallen one get up again? Will not those who stray return?"[30] What do the subjects of so many of the Lord's parables teach us? What about the woman who found the drachma and rejoiced at having done so?[31] And the shepherd carrying the lost sheep?[32] The son who returned home[33] after squandering all his goods in the company of prostitutes and courtesans? His father going out to meet him with tenderness and rebuking a jealous brother, saying, "My son here was dead and has returned to life; he was lost and has been found"?[34] What about the healing of the man injured on the road, the man whom the Levite and the priest passed by?[35] Think back to what the Spirit says to the churches, reproaching the Ephesians for abandoning love,[36] the people of Thyatira for indulging in fornication,[37] those in Sardis for failing to work,[38] those in Pergamum[39] for teaching dissident doctrines, and also those in Laodicea[40] because of their riches. Yet it is all who are invited to penance, to satisfaction.[41] What did the apostle have in mind when he said to the Corinthians, "I fear that when I return, I might have to weep over many of those who previously sinned and have not done penance for what they have done: fornication and impure actions."[42] Once again, what is meant when the Spirit said to the Galatians, "If anyone has fallen into some sin, you who are spiritual are to instruct that person in a spirit of gentleness, taking care that you yourselves are not tempted"?[43] And then, is the father of a family in a large house to have only objects made of silver and gold?[44] Does he not keep things made of clay, of wood, objects that are composites or that have been repaired? "Now," says the apostle, "I rejoice because your sadness caused you to do penance."[45] Again, "Because according to God sadness produces a penitence that leads to lasting salvation."[46]

VI. "But penance," you say, "is not allowed." No one, however, orders 1249
unlucrative labor. "Laborers, in fact, deserve their pay."[47] God would never threaten those who fail to do penance if God did not grant pardon to those doing penance. "God alone," you say, "can do this."[48] True enough! Yet

24. Ps 6:7. 25. Ps 32:5. 26. Ibid. 27. See 2 Sam 11:2–27. 28. 2 Sam 12:13. 29. See Dan 4:25ff. 30. Jer 8:4. 31. See Luke 15:8–9. 32. See Luke 15:4–6. 33. See Luke 15:22ff. 34. Luke 15:32. 35. See Luke 10:30ff. 36. See Rev 2:1–4. 37. See Rev 2:18, 21. 38. See Rev 3:1ff. 39. See Rev 2:12, 15. 40. See Rev 3:14. 41. See Rev 2:5, 16, 22; 3:3, 19. 42. 2 Cor 12:21. 43. Gal 6:1. 44. See 2 Tim 2:20. 45. 2 Cor 7:9. 46. 2 Cor 7:10. 47. Luke 10:7; 1 Tim 5:18. 48. See Mark 2:7.

even what is done by God's priests is the work of God's own power. This is the meaning of what was said to the apostles: "What you bind upon earth will also be bound in heaven; and all that you loose upon earth will also be loosed in heaven."[49] Now why did he say this if men were not permitted to loose and to bind? Or were only the apostles allowed to do this? If so, then only they could baptize, only they could confer the Holy Spirit, only they could wash away the sins of the pagans, since only the apostles were ordered to do these things. But if one and the same text confers both the sacramental power and the right to loosen bonds, then all the attributes and powers of the apostles have been passed down to us, or indeed none of them have. "I will lay the foundation; another will build upon it."[50] And so the apostolic teaching is the foundation upon which we build. Finally, bishops are also called apostles, as Paul shows when speaking to Epaphroditus: "My brother and fellow soldier, your apostle."[51] If the power of washing and anointing—more important gifts—has descended to the bishops, then the power of loosening and binding has equally accompanied it. Even though our sins make it presumptuous, God, who has even given bishops the name of his only Son, will not deny them this power since they are holy ones who hold the chair of the apostles.

1250 VII. I could write more, my brother, were I not pressed by the urgent return of your servant, and were I not reserving fuller explanations for an occasion when you might be present, or when you might share all your thinking with me. A bishop should not be looked down upon as being a mere man. Remember that the apostle Peter called our Lord "bishop": "But now you have returned to the shepherd and guardian of your souls."[52] Will anyone deny that the bishop acts in the name of God? Certainly a bishop would be held accountable if he did evil or if he judged wrongly due to corruption or impiety. God is not hindered from suppressing the work of a bad builder. Yet if a bishop's ministry is godly, then he continues to collaborate in the works of God. This is what the apostle writes to the laity: "If you forgive anyone anything, so do I. For what I have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, it is for your sake and in the name of Christ, so that we not be possessed by Satan whose wiles we are not to forget.[53] The apostle says that he has pardoned what the regular faithful can pardon. So how can you reject a bishop who does likewise? Neither the anointing, nor baptism, nor the remission of sins, nor the renewal of the body have been conceded to the holy power of the bishop. All flow from apostolic right; he expropriates nothing. Know, my brother, that this penitential pardon is not indiscriminately given to all, nor is it granted before the divine will has been made manifest or some type of testing has taken place. It happens only after a serious and detailed consideration, after numerous lamentations and outpourings of tears, after

49. Matt 18:18. 50. 1 Cor 3:10. 51. Phil 2:25. 52. 1 Pet 2:25. 53. 2 Cor 2:10–11.

the prayers of the whole Church. In such a way pardon is not refused to true penance without prejudice to the future judgment of Christ.[54] My brother, if you write me more clearly regarding your thinking, I will instruct you more fully.

60-C-2. LETTER 3. TO SIMPRONIAN†

I. My brother Simpronian, every treatise concerning the Novatians[a] that you have sent me—all of these gathering together statements of every kind—contains the following: penance is not allowed after baptism; the Church lacks the power to forgive serious sin; furthermore, the Church itself perishes by receiving sinners. [. . .] 1251

II. [. . .] You say, and rightly so, that "the Church is a people reborn by water and the Holy Spirit,[1] a people who do not deny[2] the name of Christ; the Church is the temple[3] and the house of God,[4] 'the pillar and support of truth,'[5] the holy virgin[6] with the most chaste feelings, the spouse[7] of Christ taken 'from his bone and from his flesh,'[8] 'having neither stain nor blemish,'[9] completely observing the laws of the Gospel." Who among us denies this? Even more, we add that the Church is the "queen wearing a golden garment, one of many colors,"[10] "a fruitful virgin within the house of the Lord,"[11] "the mother of innumerable daughters, the beautiful and only dove, the one preferred by her mother, the flawless one."[12] She is the mother of all, "built upon the foundations of the prophets and the apostles with Jesus Christ himself as the cornerstone,"[13] a huge house,[14] one rich with a large variety of vessels. 1252

III. But let us postpone this till later. Meanwhile, may we examine what you say. "The Church is a people reborn of water and the Holy Spirit."[15] Good enough! Who has refused me entrance to the font of God? Who has snatched away the Holy Spirit? In fact, it is among us that there is living water,[16] water poured forth from Christ. But you, separated as you are from the eternal source, where were you born? From where did the Spirit, which has not departed the original mother, come to you? Unless, perhaps, following someone who sows discord and forsaking so many priests, the Spirit is content with a non-consecrated home and takes pleasure in a weakened cistern[17] fed by a polluted font. Whence does the Holy Spirit come to your people, a people who have not been sealed by an anointed priest? What is the source of their water, they who have separated themselves from the womb? Whence comes the restoration of those 1253

---

54. See 2 Tim 4:1.

† Translated from SChr 410:206–65.

a. See above, **60-C-1**, note b.

1. See John 3:5. 2. See Matt 10:33; Luke 12:9. 3. See 1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16. 4. See 1 Titus 3:15. 5. 1 Titus 3:15. 6. See 2 Cor 11:2. 7. See Eph 5:22–32. 8. Eph 5:30. 9. Eph 5:26. 10. Ps 45:10. 11. Ps 128:3. 12. Cant 6:9. 13. Eph 2:20. 14. See Titus 2:20. 15. See John 3:5. 16. See John 4:10. 17. See Jer 2:13.

who have lost the cradle of nuptial peace? "The Church is a people who do not deny[18] the name of Christ." Among us is there any confessor, any martyr, any stainless and upright priest who has not undergone prison, chains, fire, the sword? "There have been such," you will say, "but they perished because they received those who denied the faith." I remain silent! I will not even mention the treatise on pardoning those who renounce the faith or the lapsed, the treatise written by your Novatian at a time when he was still in the Church; supporting this practice, he had the treatise read aloud. Meanwhile, whom will you be able to convince that the whole Church has fallen by receiving the lapsed, that those who by admitting penitents have become, as it were, themselves renegades? If some community has been too indulgent, have not other communities, not approving such a course of action and remaining attached to custom and to peace, also lost the name "Christian"? [. . .]

1254 IV. To continue, "The Church is the body of Christ."[19] Certainly a body, not a member, a body whose numerous members and parts are made one, for as the apostle says, "The body is not a single member but many."[20] The Church, therefore, is a complete body, firm and presently spread throughout the whole world, "as a city," it is said, "whose parts form a whole,"[21] and not, as is true in your case, Novatians, one type of an arrogant little group, a swelling in one place which is separated from the rest of the body. "The Church is the temple of God."[22] It is indeed a spacious temple, "a large house," certainly possessing "vessels of gold and silver" but also vessels of clay and wood; some are held in honor,[23] many are truly magnificent, destined for multiple uses in various tasks. "The Church is a holy virgin[24] with the most chaste feelings, the spouse[25] of Christ." A virgin, it is true, but also a mother. Clearly a spouse but also a wife and helper, "taken from her husband," and thus "bone from bone and flesh from flesh."[26] It is about her that David says, "Your wife is like a fruitful virgin from within your house; your sons like young olive plants around your table."[27] Numerous times has this virgin given birth, and numerous are her descendants. They fill up the whole world like a populous swarm of bees buzzing around in the hive that encloses them. Great is this mother's care for her children; sweet is her affection: the good are honored; the proud are corrected; the sick are cured; no one perishes;[28] no one is despised; her offspring remain safe under the great tenderness of the mother.

1255 "The Church 'has neither stain nor blemish.'"[29] This means that no heresy is found within her, neither that of the Valentinians[b] nor that of the Cataphrygians[c] nor that of the Novatians. Within the Church there

b. Valentinians: followers of Valentinus, a second-century Gnostic theologian.

c. See above, **60-C-1**, note g.

18. See Matt 10:33; Luke 12:9. 19. See 1 Cor 12:27. 20. 1 Cor 12:14. 21. Ps 122:3. 22. See 1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16. 23. 2 Tim 2:20. 24. 2 Cor 11:2. 25. See Eph 5:22–32. 26. Gen 2:23. 27. Ps 128:3. 28. See John 17:12. 29. Eph 5:27.

surely are stained and blemished folds that harm the splendor of its precious garments. Yet sinners and penitents do not stain the Church since persons who sin and fail to do penance are placed outside the Church; once they cease sinning, they are already cured. The heretic, however, tears asunder the garment of Christ, the Church of Christ, killing, corrupting, and staining it. "Since there are divisions and disputes among you," the apostle says, "are you not of flesh and do you not walk according to human ways?"[30] Also, "Their words spread like gangrene."[31] This is a blot, a blemish upon unity. Finally, when the apostle speaks of these things, he calls our attention to Christ's love and affection. "As Christ," he says, "has loved the Church and handed over himself for it."[32] This is to warn heretics, who do not know how to love. Otherwise, why say this to the unhappy penitent who hopes to love and to be loved?

v. "The Church obeys all the laws of the Gospel." All of them, to be 1256
sure, because it does so fully. The faithful are rewarded in the Church, where the tears of the unfortunate are not repulsed, where the tears of suppliants are heard, where wounds are bandaged,[33] where the sick are cured, where arrogant health and jealous righteousness claim nothing for themselves, where an ever-watchful love perseveres, "believing all things, hoping for all things, supporting all things."[34] Whence come the words of the apostle, "Someone is weak; am I not weak? Someone has fallen; am I not indignant?"[35] Where the whole community supports its burdens, suffering in common, secure in mutual affection, "all supporting one another in love, doing what is necessary to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,"[36] there is found the Church, Simpronian, my brother. There is found a people reborn of water and the Holy Spirit[37] in Christ. "I do not know," you say, "whether bishops can forgive sins since the Lord has said, 'Whoever denies me before others, I will deny before my Father who is in heaven.'"[38] Why did your Novatian support such a practice when he was still a priest, before he had assumed a false episcopacy, long before Cornelius, whose priesthood he envied, had become the bishop of Rome? You have the testimony of Cyprian whose reputation you have never been able to sully. Somewhere he wrote to Antonian,[d] "It was added"—Novatian was then writing and reciting aloud what he had written, and Moses, then a confessor and now a martyr, was countersigning—"that it was necessary to reconcile the lapsed who were sick and near death. This letter was sent to the whole world and brought to the knowledge of all the churches."[e] So what do you say about such a matter, my brother Simpronian? Novatian wrote this and, in order to join to it the submission of his strong will, he

d. Antonian: a North African bishop who supported both Cyprian and Pope Cornelius against the Novatians.

e. Cyprian, Letter 55:v.

30. 1 Cor 3:3. 31. 2 Tim 2:17. 32. Eph 5:25. 33. See Luke 10:33ff. 34. 1 Cor 13:7. 35. 2 Cor 11:29. 36. Eph 4:2–3. 37. See John 3:5. 38. Matt 10:33.

also read it aloud once it was written. As a witness there was his uplifted right hand, the hand that wrote it. At this time Cornelius, against whom all your jealousy rages, was not a bishop. As the same Cyprian relates, it was much later when Cornelius along with numerous bishops, with numerous confessors, and soon to be martyrs, gave his assent. If it is never allowed to reconcile the lapsed, to refuse them access to penance, then Novatian is in sin since he wrote in favor of the practice and had his writing read aloud. Where, then, was his inflexible rigor? His arrogant judgment? If no one had preferred Cornelius to Novatian, then the authority of Novatian's writing would have remained. [. . .]

1257 VII. [. . .] "But," you will say, "you forgive the sins of those doing penance, whereas it is only in baptism that sins can be remitted." I am not allowed to do this; it belongs to God alone[39] who in baptism forgives sins and who does not spurn the tears of those doing penance. For the rest, what I do is done not on my own authority but on that of the Lord: "We are all God's collaborators," he says, "God does the building."[40] And again, "I have planted, Apollos has watered, but God has given the growth. And so neither the one who plants nor the one who waters is anything, but God gives the growth."[41] This is why when we baptize, when we have someone do penance, or when we grant pardon to the penitents, we do so by reason of Christ's authority. It is up to you to see whether Christ can do this, whether Christ has done this.

1258 VIII. "If we could grant the remission of sins to penitents," you say, "baptism would not be necessary." What a stupid comparison! Baptism, in effect, is the sacrament of the Lord's passion; the pardon granted to penitents is the reward for confessing. The former is something all can obtain since it is a gift of God's grace,[42] namely, a freely given gift. The latter, however, is the fruit of the effort of a small number of those who rise up after falling, who regain strength after being wounded, who are assisted by their tearful cries, who regain life by the destruction of their flesh.[43] "It is useless," you affirm, "that I cite as an example what God said, 'I prefer that a sinner do penance rather than die.'"[44] But suppose I add the words of Isaiah, "When you have returned and lamented, then you will be saved, and you will know where you have been."[45] And from the Apocalypse, "Remember how far you have fallen; do penance; and do the works you did previously."[46] According to you these words were spoken to the Gentiles before their baptism. But listen to what the apostle says, "But we know that whatever the Law says, it says to those who are under the Law."[47] Consequently, those living without the Law were not obliged to do penance. But if they would have done penance, they would have done so willingly and not because the Law obligated them to do so.

---

39. See Mark 2:7; Luke 5:21. 40. 1 Cor 3:9. 41. 1 Cor 3:6–7. 42. See Eph 2:8. 43. See 1 Cor 5:5. 44. Ezek 18:23; 33:11. 45. Isa 30:15. 46. Rev 2:5. 47. Rom 3:19.

IX. Next let us consider what you say: "If God commands that we 1259
are frequently to do penance, then God allows us," you say, "to sin frequently." What do you mean here? That whoever frequently points out a remedy for sin thereby gives instruction on how to sin? And that a doctor who constantly cures teaches how to inflict injury? God does not want us to sin, not even once, for God delivers us from sin. While doing so, God in no way teaches us how to sin, just as a person who rescues someone from a fire does not give a demonstration on how to set something on fire. Whoever pulls a shipwrecked person off the rock does not put this person in peril. It is one thing to be delivered from danger, another to be placed in danger. Perhaps I might believe this to be true if penance were considered pleasurable. But penance demands so great an effort that it calls for the destruction of the flesh,[48] constant tears, unending lamentations. Does a person who has been cured desire to be cut again? To be cauterized a second time? Will such a one desire to sin again and do penance again since it is written, "Do not add sin upon sin lest something worse happen"?[49] Also, "I will not show mercy toward the one who sins constantly."[50]

But if, as you say, "one is led to sin by being shown the remedy of pen- 1260
ance," then what will a person do who is forbidden penance itself, one whose wound is reopened without any hope for a remedy, one whose access to new life is completely denied? "In baptism," you say, "we die once and for all as the apostle says, 'Do you not know that all of us who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death so that just as Christ was raised from the dead, so we also will walk in newness of life.'"[51] Does this shock you? The teaching of the apostle is that we were renewed so that we do not sin; yet it follows that whoever has sinned is to do penance. One person is to live intact, the other as having been cured; the innocent is to win the crown, the penitent is to obtain pardon; the former has received a reward, the latter a remedy. [. . .]

XXI. What do you gain by appearing so callous, so proud, so arrogant? 1261
What do you gain by stiffening your neck, by contorting your face,
by closing your eyes and ears before those unhappy ones? And you,
I ask, have you never fallen? Has there never been a stain upon your conscience? No spot in your eyes?[52] "Who can boast of having a chaste heart or of being free from sin?"[53] You, I presume, are righteous, kind, restrained; your members are all healthy, your body intact; you have no need for a doctor[54] or a remedy for sickness. Then enter immediately into heaven; the sword being lowered,[55] pass into paradise. Forbid so many people of ours, who confess the one God, access to the gifts that are yours. Yet even if it is far different than your unappeased rigidity in all things

48. See 1 Cor 5:5. 49. John 5:14. 50. Sir 12:3. 51. Rom 6:3–4. 52. See Matt 7:3–5. 53. Prov 20:9. 54. See Matt 9:12. 55. See Gen 3:24.

and your inhumanity would have us believe, you already understand, O Novatians, that God can show pity, that a remedy, however late, is offered to the pitiable brethren who confess what is past, that the wounded man whom the Levites and the priest passed by[56] can be cured by Christ, that the Church's prayers should not be refused, that the priest should extend his hands to those who deserve pity. [. . .]

1262 XXIV. [. . .] Finally, look at this passage you cited from Scripture, "They alone will be saved."[57] Who are "they"? Certainly those who pray for sinners do not harm themselves. Why do you, then, condemn the Church? Why do you forbid praying for penitents if we may make requests on behalf of those for whom such petitions will not be granted? Read more attentively what my Cyprian has written. Read his whole letter *On the Lapsed.*[f] Also the letter he wrote to Antonian[g] in which he pressures Novatian with so many examples. Then you will know what Cyprian has to say regarding the healing of penitents. I say that Cyprian opposes your opinions and maintains Catholic rules. Listen to Tertullian—not Tertullian the heretic from whom you borrow much—but the Tertullian who, in a letter published when he was still a Catholic,[h] acknowledged that the Church can forgive sins. [. . .]

61. GREGORY OF ELVIRA

Known to Jerome (WEC 3:**145**) as the author, still living, of several *tractatus* (sermons), "ordinary in style yet elegant in faith" (*De viris illustribus,* 105), Gregory was bishop of Elvira (Iliberis) near Granada. Many of his works, strongly anti-Arian in content, were actually known to scholars but attributed to others till the end of the twentieth century. Gregory died sometime after 392.

CPL nos. 546ff. * Altaner (1961) 434–35 * Altaner (1966) 370 * Bardenhewer (1908) 415 * Bardenhewer (1910) 359–60 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:396–99 * Bautz 2:330–31 * Jurgens 1:392–94 * Labriolle (1968) 257–59 * Quasten 4:84–89 * Tixeront 232–33 * CATH 5:253–54 * CE 7:9–10 * DCB 2:739–41 * DHGE 21:1501 * DictSp 6:923–27 * DPAC 2:1696–98 * DTC 6.2:1838 * EC 6:1085–86 * EEC 1:363 * EEChr 1:491 * LTK 4:1000 * NCE 6:790 * NCES 6:513 * ODCC 711 * PEA (1894) 7.2:1864–67 * PEA (1991) 4:1216

61-A. Sermons on the Books of the Holy Scriptures

These sermons (*Tractatus de Libris Sanctarum Scriptuarum*) were first published in 1900 as *Tractatus Origenis.* Of the twenty pieces in this series, nineteen are on selections from the Hebrew Scriptures; one, based on Acts 1–2, concerns the Holy Spirit. The author uses various events and figures as being "types" that prefigure the actions and persons of the Christian Scriptures.

---

f. WEC 1:**27-B.**

g. WEC 1:**27-E-11.**

h. WEC 1:**26-H.**

56. See Luke 10:30ff. 57. Ezek 14:20.

61-A-1. SERMON 15†

7. Perhaps a person who is ignorant of the heavenly sacraments might ask, "Why was Christ, who was divine, baptized since God grants the grace of baptism only for the forgiveness of sins? Christ, however, was without sin since 'no guile was found in his mouth.'"[1] 1263

8. Listen to the reason for this. Understand that our Lord desired to be baptized by John not for the remission of sin—Christ being sinless—but that the Lord might sanctify the water by being baptized in it. In this way whoever is baptized in his name might, as a member of his body, merit to be made an adopted child of God, namely, a person reborn by water and by the power from on high. 1264

9. Furthermore, elsewhere we find a foretelling of the sacrament of Christ's baptism. In Exodus we read that the bitter waters of Marah "became sweet and fresh"[2] after a piece of wood was thrown into them. The prophets sought no useless remedy for water, only what came from Christ. That piece of wood clearly showed forth the mystery of the Lord's suffering, a suffering from which the thirsty are able to benefit by drinking the sweet waters of baptism. The Lord had the thirsty in mind when, standing in the temple, he said, "If any thirst, let them come to me and drink."[3] 1265

10. And so when the people in the desert were undergoing the test of being thirsty, Moses with a rod—namely, a piece of wood—struck the rock and immediately water flowed forth abundantly. This indicated the sacrament of baptism. That the rock was the figure of Christ is proved by the holy apostle who says, "They all drank from the same spiritual rock that followed them, the rock being Christ."[4] 1266

11. There is no doubt that the rock is a type of our Lord's body, a body struck by the wood of the cross and providing the thirsty with living water, as is written, "Out of his side flow streams of water."[5] The apostle said this in regard to the Holy Spirit whom those believing in our Lord would soon receive. 1267

12. In like manner these waters, coming from the rock, were the streams flowing from Christ's side and were a type of the beneficial drink that was to be granted to all who suffer from thirst. 1268

13. Remember when our Lord, who is the source of the living waters that produce life, was hanging on the cross. Who does not know that, in addition to the blood that issued forth from the wound in his side, much water also flowed from the same wound? This shows that his spouse the Church, like a cart with two wheels, is formed from his side just as he created Eve from Adam's rib.[6] The Church possesses two baptisms, one given by water, the other given by blood. It is by these that the Church's faithful and martyrs are made. 1269

† Translated from *Gregorii Liberritani Episcopi Quae Supersint*, ed. V. Bulhart and M. Simonetti, CCL 69 (Turnhout, 1967) 114–18.

1. 1 Pet 2:22. 2. Exod 15:25. 3. John 7:37; see Rev 22:17. 4. 1 Cor 10:4. 5. John 7:38. 6. See Gen 2:21–22.

62. SYNODS

62-A. Synod of Elvira (ca. 300)[†]

The synod that convened in Elvira, a town close to the modern city of Granada in southern Spain, brought together some nineteen bishops and twenty-four presbyters throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Much discussion has taken place regarding the year of the meeting—it took place on May 15 and was certainly after 295 and probably ca. 300 or perhaps ca. 306. At any rate, the eighty-one canons (some being quite rigorous) issued by the bishops in less than elegant Latin give us a good insight into the numerous problems facing the Church at that time in Spain.

Jurgens 1:253–58 * Hefele (1871) 1:131–72 * Hefele (1905) 1.1:212–64 * CATH 4:33–35 * CE 5:395–96 * DCA 1:606 * DDCon 2:41–42 * DHGE 15:317–48 * DPAC 1:1144–45 * DTC 4.2:2378–97 * EC 5:266–67 * EEC 1:270 * EEChr 1:370 * LTK 3:614 * NCE 5:289–90 * NCES 5:178 * ODCC 542

A.W.W. Dale, *The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century: A Historical Essay* (London, 1882). * P. Batiffol, "La prima cathedra episcopatus du concile d'Elvire," JThSt 23 (1921–22) 263–70; 26 (1924–25) 45–49. * S. González, "Tres maneras de penitencia: la disciplina penitencial de la Iglesia espánola desde el siglo V al sigli VIII," RET 1 (1942) 985–1019. * M. Meigne, "Concile ou collection d'Elvire?" RHE 70 (1975) 361–87. * R. Grigg, "Aniconic Worship and the Apologetic Tradition: A Note on Canon 36 of the Council of Elvira," CH 45 (1976) 428–33.

1270 Canon 1. Any adult who after salutary baptism approaches the temple of an idol in order to offer sacrifice and actually does so is not to receive Communion,[a] not even at the end since this is a capital crime; it is the greatest of sins.[b]

1271 Canon 6. If anyone kills another by means of magic—this crime being impossible to commit without idolatry—Communion is not to be granted, not even at the end.

[†] Canons translated from *La colección canónica hispana*, vol. 4, ed. G. Martinez Diez and F. Rodriguez (Madrid, 1984) 148–67.

a. Although some might understand "communion" to be "reconciliation" with the community of the faithful, that is, ecclesial communion, most probably the term signifies eucharistic Communion—here, Viaticum, namely, Communion received as a preparation shortly before death. See Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

b. See Ancyra (314) cans. 1–12 (WEC 2:1422–30); Nicaea I (325) cans. 8, 11, 14 (WEC 2:1449, 1451, 1454); Valence (374) can. 3 (WEC 2:1225); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 10–11 (WEC 3:3141–42); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

Canon 7. If any of the faithful have perhaps committed adultery and after the appointed time for doing penance then commit fornication, they will not receive Communion, not even at the end. 1272

Canon 14. Virgins who have lost their virginity, if they marry and keep as husbands those who violated them, have broken only the nuptial law, they are to be reconciled after a year without penance. But if they have known other men and have committed adultery with them, they are admitted to Communion after the appropriate penance has been done for five years. 1273

Canon 21. Should someone living in the city not attend church for three Sundays,[c] that person is to abstain [from the Eucharist?] for a short time so that the punishment is public. 1274

Canon 23. *Superpositiones*[d] of the fast are to be observed each month except, due to the weakness of some, during the two months of July and August. 1275

Canon 26. An error [in our present practice] is to be corrected. We will now observe a *superpositio* on every Saturday.[e] 1276

Canon 28. It is not permitted to accept the gifts[f] of those who will not receive Communion. 1277

Canon 29. The names of the energumens,[g] namely, those agitated by a wild spirit, are not to be read at the altar with the names of those presenting the offering nor are the energumens permitted to minister in the church. 1278

Canon 32. Those who by a serious lapse fall into grave sin are not to receive penance from a presbyter but from a bishop;[h] if forced by serious illness, they may receive Communion from a presbyter or, if a bishop [*sacerdos*] so commands, from a deacon.[i] 1279

Canon 33. Bishops, presbyters, deacons, and all clerics who minister at the altar are to refrain from their wives and not beget children; those failing to do so are to be deprived of their clerical dignity.[j] 1280

---

c. See Sardica (ca. 343) can. 11 (WEC 2:1299).

d. A *superpositio* was a prolongation of the fast beyond its accustomed duration, beyond supper, thus fasting for the entire day.

e. See Agde (506) can. 12 (WEC 4:4549); Dvin (527) can. 38 (WEC 4:4853); Orleans IV (541) can. 2 (WEC 4:4616).

f. See *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 49, 69 (WEC 3:3087, 3100); Lerida (546) can. 13 (WEC 4:4735).

g. See *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 62–63 (WEC 3:3094–95); Orange I (441) cans. 13–15 (WEC 3:3129–31).

h. See Carthage II (390) cans. 3–4 (WEC 2:876–77); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 30-b (WEC 2:888); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 20 (WEC 3:3077); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

i. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 58 (WEC 3:3091); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 15 (WEC 3:3144).

j. The Latin is faulty: *prohibere abstinere et non generare.*

1281 Canon 34. It is not permitted to light candles during the day in the cemetery[k] so that the spirits of the holy ones [*sanctorum*] not be disturbed. Those who do not obey are to be denied communion with the Church.[l]

1282 Canon 35. Women are not to keep night vigils in the cemetery[m] since under the pretext of prayer they often commit hidden sins.

1283 Canon 36. Pictures are not to be placed in churches so that what is on the wall does not become the object of worship and adoration.

1284 Canon 37. It is permitted to baptize those harassed by unclean spirits[n] if they are at the point of death; if they have been baptized, they may be given Communion. They are not, however, permitted to light in public the lamps in the church. Those breaking this prohibition are to be denied Communion.

1285 Canon 38. When sailing abroad and when in a place where there is no church nearby, a member of the faithful[o] whose baptism has been kept untarnished and who has not committed bigamy may baptize a sick catechumen when it is necessary; if the catechumen recovers, he or she is led to the bishop in order to be perfected through the imposition of the hand.

1286 Canon 39. Heathens who request the imposition of the hand when they are sick may receive it and become Christians provided they have been living upright lives.

1287 Canon 42. Those living good lives who desire to become members of the faithful are to be baptized after two years except in cases of sickness when baptism may more quickly be given to seriously ill persons who request it.

1288 Canon 43. To be corrected is the disapproved practice [of celebrating the fortieth rather than the fiftieth day after Easter]. In accord with the authority of the Scriptures Pentecost is to be celebrated. Those not doing so are considered as having brought about a new heresy.

1289 Canon 45. A catechumen who has not gone to church for quite some time may be baptized if a member of the clergy attests that this person is a Christian or if one of the faithful does so and it appears that the catechumen has put off the old self.

1290 Canon 47. Should a baptized married man who has often committed adultery be at the point of death, he should be questioned as to whether he will amend his ways. If he promises to do so, Communion may be granted him. But as to a man who upon recovery continues to commit adultery, [it was decided] that he no longer be able to mock the Communion of peace.

---

k. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 34 (WEC 2:1281); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 9 (WEC 2:1962).

l. This canon admits of various interpretations depending on the translation of *sanctorum* (i.e., the "faithful," the "deceased," the "priests who do holy things").

m. See note j above.

n. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 29 (WEC 2:1278); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 62–63 (WEC 3:3094–95); Orange I (441) cans. 13–15 (WEC 3:3129–31).

o. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 41 (WEC 3:3086); Dvin (527) can. 10 (WEC 4:4840).

Canon 48. To be changed is the custom whereby those being baptized place coins into the [baptismal] shell. In this way the priest does not appear to be selling what he has received gratis.[p] The feet of the newly baptized are not to be washed by priests or by clerics.[q] 1291

Canon 52. To be condemned are those who have written satirical verses in the church. 1292

Canon 53. A person excommunicated by a bishop can only be reconciled by the bishop who issued the condemnation.[r] [. . .] 1293

Canon 77. If, in the absence of a bishop or presbyter a deacon is in charge of a people and has baptized some of them,[s] the bishop should then perfect them[t] through his blessing. But if they die before this can happen, then they can indeed be regarded as justified by their faith. 1294

62-B. Synod of Saragossa (ca. 380)[†]

Twelve bishops attended this synod in northeastern Spain where in eight canons they condemned various practices of Priscillianism.

Hefele (1905) 1.2:986–87 * Hefele (1871) 292–93 * CE 13:469 * DACL 15.1:763–66 * DCA 2:1842 * DPAC 2:3097 * EEC 2:755

Canon 2. Whoever fasts on Sunday[a] because of the season, because of persuasion or superstition or is absent from church during Lent[b] [. . .] is anathema. 1295

Canon 3. Whoever fails to consume the holy Eucharist given in church[c] is anathema. 1296

Canon 4. During the three weeks before the Epiphany all are to attend church every day; no one is to remain at home, withdraw to the country, head to the mountains, nor walk around with bare feet. [. . .] 1297

---

p. See Braga II (572) can. 7 (WEC 4:4760).

q. One manuscript tradition has "but by the clerics."

r. See Epaon (517) can. 28 (WEC 4:4583).

s. See Orleans I (511) can. 12 (WEC 4:4565); Dvin (527) can. 18 (WEC 4:4845).

t. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 48 (WEC 2:1994); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Orange I (441) can. 2 (WEC 3:3124); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757); Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 51 (WEC 4:4686).

† Canons translated from *Canones Apostolorum*, vol. 2, ed. H.Th. Bruns (Berlin, 1829) 13–14.

a. See Gangra (ca. 345) can. 18 (WEC 2:1955); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 77 (WEC 3:3102); Agde (506) can. 12 (WEC 4:4549); Orleans IV (541) can. 2 (WEC 4:4616); Braga I (561) ser. 1 can. 4 (WEC 4:4737); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 57 (WEC 4:4692).

b. See Dvin (527) can. 29 (WEC 4:4851); Orleans IV (541) can. 2 (WEC 4:4616).

c. See Toledo I (400?) can. 14 (WEC 3:3171).

1298 Canon 8. No virgin under forty years of age, as established by the presbyter, may take the veil.[d]

BULGARIA/CROATIA

63. SYNOD OF SARDICA (SERDICA) (CA. 343)[†]

Sardica, now Sofia, in Bulgaria was the city in which some hundred western bishops and about seventy eastern bishops gathered, hopefully to settle several issues regarding the Arians. However, an impasse arose as to who could take part in the discussions. As a result the bishops of the East departed the city. The westerners, however, continued to work and eventually issued a series of disciplinary canons, which have come down to us in both Greek and Latin versions.

CPG 4: nos. 8560ff. * Hefele (1871) 2:86–166 * Hefele (1905) 1:737–812 * Jurgens 1:307–9 * CATH 13:835–36 * CE 13:473 * DCA 2:1842–43 * DPAC 2:3152–53 * DTC 14.1:1109–14 * EC 10:1922–23 * EEC 2:757 * EEChr 2:1034–35 * LTK 9:71–72 * NCE 12:1086–87 * NCES 12:692 * ODCC 1455

H. Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343: A Landmark in the Early Development of Canon Law*, Oxford Theological Monographs 1 (Oxford, 1958). * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * R. Gryson, "Les élections épiscopales en Orient au IVe siècle," RHE 74 (1979) 301–45.

1299 Canon 11. [. . .] Remember that our elders have already directed that a layperson who is staying in a town and does not appear at the divine services for three Sundays[a] shall be excommunicated. If this is ordered for the laity, then no bishop can be allowed to absent himself for a longer time from his church or leave the people entrusted to him, other than for reasons of necessity or urgent business.

64. INSCRIPTION. EPITAPH AT SALONA[††]

Found at Salona, the capital of Dalmatia on the Adriatic Sea (present-day Croatia), is the following fourth-century burial inscription.

1300 Flavia received the grace of the glorious font in the usual way on the salutary day of Easter and lived on for five months after baptism; her lifespan was three years, ten months, and seven days.

---

d. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 2:881); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 34 (WEC 2:891); Riez (439) can. 4 (WEC 3:3122); Agde (506) can. 19 (WEC 4:4555).

† Translation (modified) from Hefele (1871) 2:145.

a. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 21 (WEC 2:1274).

†† Translation from R. Cabié and others, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3, *The Sacraments*, new edition (Collegeville, 1987) 62–63, note 207.

Chapter VIII

Fourth Century: East

ASIA MINOR

65. METHODIUS OF PHILIPPI (OF OLYMPUS)

Very little is known about the life of Methodius. The early sources simply do not agree, having him as the bishop of Olympus, a small town in Lycia; or as the bishop of Philippi in Macedonia; or as the bishop of Patara in Pamphylia. We are also told that he died a martyr ca. 311, probably at Chalcis in Euboea. Yet there are those who doubt the place, the date, and the very fact, of such an event.

At any rate, Methodius was a prolific writer, although most of his literary output has not come down to us. Initially an intellectual friend of Origen (WEC 1:43), later in life he became one of the first outspoken opponents of Origenism.

CPG 1: nos. 1810ff. * Altaner (1961) 242–44 * Altaner (1966) 215–16 * Bardenhewer (1908) 175–78 * Bardenhewer (1910) 153–56 * Bardenhewer (1913) 2:291–305 * Bautz 5:1380–82 * Goodspeed 158 * Hamell 69 * Jurgens 1:260–61 * Quasten 2:129–37 * Steidle 32 * Tixeront 107–8 * CATH 9:46–48 * CE 10:243 * DCB 3:909–11 * DictSp 10:1109–17 * DPAC 2:2239–40 * DTC 10.2:1606–14 * EC 8:888–90 * EEC 1:557 * EEChr 2:747–48 * LTK 7:202–3 * NCE 9:742 * NCES 9:563–64 * ODCC 1080 * PEA (1991) 8:96 * TRE 22:680–84

A. Vanbeck, "La discipline pénitentielle en Orient de Denys de Corinthe à Athanase," RHL, n.s., 6 (1920) 181–229. * V. Loi, "La tipologia dell'agnello pasquale e l'attesa escatologica in età patristica," Sal 33 (1971) 187–204. * C. Riggi, "Vita cristiana e dialogo liturgico nel 'Simposio' de Método (6, 5)," Sal 37 (1975) 503–45. * F. de Paverd, "'Paenitentia secunda' in Methodius of Olympus," Aug 18 (1978) 459–85. * B. de Margerie, "'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem' (Lk 22, 19b): les exégèses des pères préchalcédoniens (150–451)," Div 28 (1984) 43–69, 137–49.

65-A. The Banquet[†]

Known as *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* or *On Chastity*, this treatise, written before 300, was modeled upon Plato's *Dialogues*: rather than extolling

[†] Translated from *Le banquet*, trans. V.-H. Debidour, ed. H. Musurillo, SChr 95 (Paris, 1963) 216–17, 220-21.

what Plato perceived to be the glories of love, here ten virgins praise the life of chastity. This is the only work of Methodius for which a complete Greek text exists.

1301 VIII.VI. The Church has its feet planted upon the moon. The symbolism of the moon is, I believe, aimed at the faith of those who are purified from corruption by the [baptismal] bath, for moonlight seems to wash us like lukewarm water, and every form of moisture depends on the moon. The Church, which has for its pedestal our faith and adoption—according to this way of viewing the moon—is in labor till "the full number of the Gentiles enter"[1] in order to bring forth to a new, *spiritual* life those who have only *natural* life. In this respect the Church is a mother. Just as when a woman, receiving the formless seed from a man and after a certain length of time, brings forth a perfect human being, so, one might say, never does the Church cease to conceive in its womb those seeking refuge with the Word; they are formed and shaped according to Christ's image and likeness so as to make them, once a certain period of time has passed, citizens of these happy states.

1302 So the Church must preside over the [baptismal] bath since the Church is the mother of those who are washed in it. More precisely, the Church's power relative to this bath is called "the moon" because those who are renewed and reborn shine with a new light, namely, with new clarity. This is why we also call them, descriptively, the "newly enlightened." The Church has them see through the recurring representations of his Passion [in Holy Week?] the full spiritual moon and its perpetually renewed memory till the glorious and perfect light of the great day appears.

1303 VIII.VIII. [. . .] The enlightened spiritually take on the image and the manly character of Jesus. The likeness and form of the Word are stamped on them, this brought about through true knowledge and faith. Thus Christ is spiritually begotten in each of them.

1304 And if the Church endures the labor and pain of childbirth till "Christ is formed"[2] and born within us, then each of the holy ones by participating in Christ is born as Christ, for Scripture says, "Touch not my anointed ones [christs] and do no evil to my prophets."[3] Those who have been baptized in Christ become, so to speak, other Christs through the giving of the Spirit. [. . .]

66. LACTANTIUS

A native of northern Africa, *Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius* (ca. 250–ca. 325) was a student of the Christian apologist Arnobius. He converted to Christianity, probably at Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he was summoned under Diocletian to teach rhetoric. But with the outbreak of a persecution initiated by Diocletian ca. 305/306, he left the city, fell upon hard times,

1. Rom 11:25. 2. See Gal 4:9. 3. Ps 105:15.

and was constrained to lead a life of extreme poverty. Eventually he was appointed as a tutor to Constantine's son, Crispus. The date of Lactantius's death can only be conjectured. Some suggest that it occurred in Trier.

Although originality of thought is not, at least generally, considered to be a characteristic of Lactantius, his literary style has often been favorably compared to that of Cicero.

CPL nos. 85ff. * Altaner (1961) 208–12 * Altaner (1966) 185–88 * Bardenhewer (1908) 203–8 * Bardenhewer (1910) 177–83 * Bardenhewer (1913) 2:472–96 * Bardy (1930) 58–63 * Bautz 4:952–65 * Cross 184–86 * Goodspeed 183–87 * Hamell 78–79 * Jurgens 1:264–72 * Labriolle (1947) 1:291–318 * Labriolle (1968) 199–219 * Quasten 2:392–410 * Steidle 77–79 * Tixeront 126–28 * Wright (1928) 157–72 * CATH 6:1581–83 * CE 8:736 * CHECL 261–65 * DACL 8:1018–41 * DCB 3:613–17 * DictSp 9:48–59 * DPAC 2:1905–8 * DTC 8.2:2425–44 * EC 7:951–54 * EEC 1:469–70 * EEChr 2:660–61 * LTK 6:583–84 * NCE 8:308–9 * NCES 8:274 * ODCC 942 * PEA (1894) 12.1:351–56 * PEA (1991) 6:1043–44 * TRE 20:370–74

V. Loi, "Per la storia dei vacabolo 'sacramentum': 'Sacramentum' in Lattanzio," VC 18 (1964) 85–107. * V. Loi, "Il termine 'mysterium' nella letteratura latina cristiana prenicena," VC 20 (1966) 25–44. * F. Gistelinck, "Lactance et sa théologie baptismale propre à son temps," QLP 65:4 (1974) 177–93.

66-A. The Death of the Persecutors†

This work is generally, though not universally, attributed to Lactantius. In any case, it was written between 316 and 320. The author relates, often in gruesome detail, how God's anger brought to an end the evil oppressors of Christianity.

XXXIII.1. When Galerius[a] was in the eighteenth year of his reign, God struck him with an incurable disease. 1305

XXXIII.11. Overcome by this, Galerius was forced to acknowledge God. Amid periods of extreme pain he cried aloud that he would restore the Church of God and atone for his misdeeds. At the end he published this decree. 1306

[Edict of Galerius]

XXXIV.1. "Among other endeavors that we undertook for the prosperity and welfare of the nation, we desired to bring all things into harmony with the ancient laws and the public order of Rome, making provision so that even Christians who had abandoned the religion of their forebears might return to reason. 1307

† Translated from *De la mort de pérsecuteurs. Lactance,* trans. and ed. J. Moreau, SChr 39 bis (Paris, 1954) 115ff.

a. Galerius: emperor in the East; he died of natural causes in 311, the same year this letter was published.

1308 XXXIV.2. "For one reason or another these Christians acted unreasonably and fell victim to such foolishness that they would not follow what was established in antiquity, what their own ancestors had established. They made laws to suit their own desires and pleasures. They followed these laws, and they gathered the people in various places.

1309 XXXIV.3. "Finally, when our law requiring that they conform to the practices of antiquity was made known, many were overcome by fear of danger and many even underwent death.

1310 XXXIV.4. "Yet most of them continued on in their folly, and we saw that they neither showed reverence and awe to the gods nor did they worship their Christian God [since gatherings were not allowed]. So in view of our great clemency and the custom by which we customarily bestow indulgence to all, we thought that we should grant our most prompt indulgence also to Christians so that they may again exist and meet together, provided they do nothing contrary to good order.

1311 XXXIV.5. "In a future letter we will tell the magistrates what they should do. And so because of our clemency Christians are to pray to God for our safety, for the safety of the republic, and for their own safety so that the republic may continue unharmed on every side, and that they may be able to live securely in their homes."[b]

1312 XXXV.1. This edict was published at Nicomedia on the day before the calends of May in the eighth consulship of Galerius and the second of Maximinus.

[Letter of Constantine and Licinius]

1313 XLVIII.1. [. . .] Entering Nicomedia, Licinius[c] gave thanks to God who provided him with assistance in conquering. On 13 June Licinius—he and Constantine were consuls for the third time—ordered that a letter be published about the "restoration of the Church." The letter was to be given to the *praeses* [civil officials]; its text is as follows.

1314 XLVIII.2. "When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, met under favorable circumstances at Milan and were considering everything that pertained to prosperity and the public good, we thought—among other things which we believed would benefit many—that regulations in regard to reverencing the deity should be enacted first. In this way we could give Christians and others full freedom to follow whatever religion they chose so that whatever divinity exists in heaven may graciously look upon us and upon all who are subject to us.

1315 XLVIII.3. "And so with sound and upright purpose we have decided that no one is to be denied the freedom to follow and to choose the observance of the Christian religion, and that all be allowed to adhere to whatever

b. The Greek translation of this letter is found in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History* VIII.XVII.1 (not in WEC).

c. Licinius (ca. 270–325): coemperor with Constantine; in charge of the East.

religion each believes useful. In this way the divinity may always be able to grant us its customary favor and goodness.

XLVIII.4. "And so you should know that it pleased us to suppress all 1316
the conditions regarding Christians that were contained in our previous letters and were sent to you. Everything that seemed harsh and contrary to our clemency is removed so that all who wish to observe the Christian religion may do so without hindrance.

XLVIII.5. "We have decided that you should be completely aware of this 1317
so that you might know that we have given these same Christians the freedom and liberty to observe their own religion.

XLVIII.6. "Now that you know we have granted them this freedom with- 1318
out any restrictions, you should likewise understand that we have granted them the freedom to follow their own religious practice, this obviously being appropriate for peace at the present time. All can choose and practice the religion of their choice. We have determined this so that we do not appear to discriminate against any rite or form of religion.

XLVIII.7. "We have also decreed that the following be decided in re- 1319
gard to the Christians. If the places where they were once accustomed to gather—concerning these a different order was given in a letter previously sent to you—should have been purchased either from the treasury or from any other person, these shall be restored to the Christians without requesting money or any other kind of recompense, doing so without any delay or hesitation. Those who have received these places as gifts are to return them as soon as possible to the Christians.

XLVIII.8. "Also, those who have purchased or have received these as 1320
gifts are to have recourse to the judge of the district if they seek recompense from our bounty so that through our clemency provision may be made for them. All these things are to be granted to all Christians by your intercession and without any delay.

XLVIII.9. "Since these Christians are known to have possessed not only 1321
places where they customarily assembled but also other places that belonged to the group as a whole and not to individuals, namely, to the churches themselves, you will order that all these, by virtue of the above law, be immediately restored to these same Christians, namely, to their society and congregation, the above-mentioned condition being observed, namely, that those returning them without charge may expect indemnity from our bounty.[d] [. . .]

67. BASIL THE GREAT

Basil was born in 329/330 of a pious and wealthy family at Caesarea in Cappadocia. Among his relatives venerated as saints are his mother

d. The Greek translation of this letter is found in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History* X.v.4 (not in WEC). Common opinion today is that this so-called edict was issued not at Milan but at Nicomedia.

(herself the daughter of a martyr), his sister, and his two brothers, Gregory of Nyssa (WEC 2:69) and Peter, bishop of Sebaste. Educated in rhetoric at Caesarea, Constantinople, and Athens, where he met and formed a lasting friendship with Gregory of Nazianzus (WEC 2:68), Basil returned home ca. 356. Soon after and thus as a young man he was baptized, only to set off shortly thereafter to visit notable monastic centers in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. He then lived with some like-minded ascetic friends in the desert by the river Iris near Neo-Caesarea in Pontus.

Ordained a presbyter ca. 364 and then bishop of Caesarea in 370, Basil proved to be a vigorous reformer—however, opposition to his reforms abounded—as well as a caring father of the flock and a protector of the socially and economically disadvantaged. As bishop of Caesarea, he was a leader in the struggle against Arianism, especially against Valens, the Arian emperor. A strong supporter of better relations between East and West, Basil, nonetheless, was unsuccessful in his attempt to mediate the Meletian schism that existed in Antioch.

In addition to his numerous letters, orations, dogmatic and ascetic writings, Basil is also well known for the anaphora or eucharistic prayer that has come down to us under his name. The exact nature of Basil's work on the text, however, is difficult to determine due to the historical evolution of the text itself.

More a practical than a speculative theologian, Basil was already called "the Great" shortly after his death on January 1, 379.

CPG 2: nos. 2835ff. * Altaner (1961) 335–45 *Altaner (1966) 290–98 * Bardenhewer (1908) 274–86 * Bardenhewer (1910) 241–49 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:130–62 * Bardy (1929) 127–31 * Bautz 1:406–9 * Campbell 58–62 * Hamell 101–3 * Jurgens 2:3–26 * Leigh-Bennett 196–218 * Quasten 3:204–36 * Steidle 111–16 * Tixeront 169–72 * Wright (1932) 223–37 * CATH 1:1280–84 * CE 2:330–34 * CHECL 289–95 * DACL 2.1:501–10 * DCB 1:282–97 * DDC 2:218–24 * DHGE 6:1111–26 * DictSp 2:1273–83 * DPAC 1:491–97 * DTC 2.1:441–59 * EC 2:971–79 * EEC 1:114–15 * EEChr 1:169–72 * LTK 2:67–69 * NCE 2:143–46 * NCES 2:135–39 * ODCC 166–68 * PEA (1894) 3.1:52–54 * PEA (1991) 459–61 * RACh 1:1261–65 * TRE 5:301–13

K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt* (Leipzig, 1898) 257–68. * L. Baurain, "L'influence de s. Basile sur les hymnographes de la fête des XL Martyrs," RevAug 3 (1903) 267–74. * A. Lagarde, "La confession dans s. Basile," RHL 8 (1922) 534–48. * G.F. Reilly, *Imperium and Sacerdotium according to St. Basil the Great*, SCA 7 (Washington, D.C., 1945). * J. Janini Cuesta, "La penitencia medicinal des la Didascalia Apostolorum a s. Gregorio de Nisa," RET 7 (1947) 337–62. * J. Grotz, *Die Entwicklung des Busstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* (Freiburg i. B., 1955) 404ff., 407ff., 415ff. * T. Pichier, "Das Fasten bei Basileios dem Grossen und im antiken Heidentum," diss., Commentationes Aenipontanae 11 (Innsbruck, 1955). * P. Rouillard, "Temps et rythmes de la prière dans le monachisme ancien," LMD, no. 64 (1960) 32–52. * J. Mateos, "L'office monastique à la fin du IVe siècle: Antioche, Palestine, Cappadoce," OC 47 (1963) 53–88. * J. Bernardi, *La prédication des pères cappadociens, le prédicateur et son auditoire*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines

de l'Université de Montpellier (Paris, 1968). * B. Bobrinskoy, "Liturgie et ecclésiologie trinitaire de s. Basile," VC 23 (1969) 1–33. * S.P. Brock, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," JThSt, n.s., 23 (1972) 16–64. * A. Verheul, "La prière monastique chorale avant Benoît: son influence sur le culte en Occident: la prière des heures avant la Règle et dans la Règle de s. Benoît," QL 62 (1981) 227–42. * P. Karavites, "Saint Basil and Byzantine Hymnology," GOTR 37 (1992) 203–14. * G.S. Bebis, "Introduction to the Liturgical Theology of St. Basil the Great," GOTR 42 (1997) 273–85. * D.R. Stuckwisch, "The Basilian Anaphoras," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 109–30.

67-A. On the Holy Spirit†

Written ca. 375, this treatise, containing thirty chapters, begins with Basil defending the liturgical use of the formula "Glory be to the Father with the Son together with the Holy Spirit." The phraseology here, says Basil, is just as orthodox as the "Glory be to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit." Both, he contends, are sound scripturally and doctrinally. Especially in an age of Arianism, which denied the divinity of the Spirit, it was Basil in Asia Minor who led the way in affirming the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit and of the Son with the Father.

XII.28. No one, however, would rightly declare as perfect a baptism in 1322
which the name of the Spirit has not been invoked. This tradition has been handed over to us by life-giving grace. It is to ever remain inviolate since he who has redeemed our life from corruption gave us the power of renewal whose cause, ineffable and hidden in the mystery, brings to souls a wonderful salvation so that adding or taking away anything is certainly to withdraw from eternal life.

If then in baptism separating the Spirit from the Father and from the 1323
Son is dangerous for the person who baptizes and harms the person being baptized, how then would it be safe for us to separate the Spirit from the Father and from the Son? To be sure, faith and baptism are the two ways of salvation. They are indivisibly bound to each other since if faith is perfected by baptism, baptism has its foundation in faith, both taking their perfection from the same names. Just as we believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, so it is that baptism is conferred in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. First comes the profession of faith which leads to salvation. Yet baptism, the seal of our assent, closely follows it.

XXVII.66. Among the doctrines and kerygmas preserved in the Church 1324
some come from written teaching; others, handed over in mystery, we have received from apostolic tradition. All have the same force in regard

† Translated from *Traité de Saint-Esprit. Basile de Césarée*, trans. and ed. B. Pruche, SChr 17 (Paris, 1947) 157ff.

to religion, something that cannot be denied by anyone who has the least experience in ecclesiastical matters. If we try to discard unwritten customs as having no great force, we would unwillingly do harm to the very essence of the Gospel. Furthermore, we would transform "kerygma" into a mere word. For example (to consider the first and most common example), who among us has learned from writing to sign with the sign of the cross those who place their trust in our Lord Jesus Christ? What writing taught us to face the East when we pray? Which saint has given us in writing the words of the "epiclesis" during the prayer over the eucharistic bread and the cup of blessing? We are not satisfied with the words given us by the Apostle and the Gospel; before and afterwards we say other words, words received from unwritten teaching because they have such great importance for the mystery. We also bless the water used for baptism as well as the oil of anointing and the very person being baptized. Now where is it written that this should be done? Is it not by reason of a tradition that is secret and mystical? Even the anointing with oil, where is this written down? The triple immersion? From where does this come? And everything else that is done at baptism: for example, the renunciation of Satan and his angels? Where do we find this written down? Does it not come from that completely private and secret teaching that our fathers kept in silence, something beyond the reach of the curious and disquieted? Our fathers well knew that by keeping silence one safeguards the holy character of the mysteries; our fathers knew how foolish it would be to divulge in writing what the non-initiated are now allowed to contemplate. [. . .]

1325 [. . .] The apostles and the fathers, who in the beginning arranged all that concerns the churches, also guarded in silence and in secrecy their holy character, for what the crowd banters about is no mystery at all. This is why we have a tradition of unwritten teachings. Such a tradition exists so that, due to our careful protection of unwritten teachings, these teachings do not merely become an object of scorn on the part of the masses. Doctrine is one thing; kerygma is something else. The former we do not speak about; the latter we proclaim. Another form of silence is the obscurity used by Scripture to make the meaning of doctrines quite difficult to understand, this redounding to the very advantage of the reader.

1326 This is why when we face the east while praying, very few of us know that we are searching for our former native country, Paradise, which God planted in Eden,[1] in the East. On the first day of the week we stand while praying, and yet not all of us know the reason for this. It is simply that we who have risen with Christ are to seek things from on high.[2] By standing when we pray on the day consecrated to the Resurrection, we recall the grace that has been given us, for this day appears to be, as it were, an

1. See Gen 2:8; Heb 11:14. 2. See Col 3:1.

image of the age to come. [. . .] The Church must educate its children to stand while praying on Sunday so that by continually remembering life without end, we do not fail to provide for our departure toward heaven. Throughout the Fifty Days [Pentecost] we are reminded of the resurrection we look forward to in another age. [. . .]

67-B. Longer Rules†

Basil, generally considered the founder of monasticism in the East, wrote two Rules. The first, the *Regulae Fusius Tractatae* (the Longer Rules or the "Rules Treated at Length"), contains an abundance of material under fifty-five headings. The second, the *Regulae Brevius Tractatae* (the Shorter Rules or the "Rules Treated Briefly"), contains 313 headings of material that applies Basil's directions to actual ascetic living. Drafted in question and answer form, the documents, which perhaps owe much to Eustathius of Sebaste, a monastic friend of Basil, detail the duties and spiritual qualities of the devout Christian living an urban ascetic life.

Question. Should prayer and psalmody be an excuse for omitting our work? What hours are appropriate for prayer? Is labor necessary? 1327

Answer.

3. We free ourselves from useless thoughts when in whatever we do we request both that God make our work successful and that we might return thanks to him who granted us the strength to act. As I said previously, may we always keep in sight our goal of pleasing him. If this does not happen, how can there be consistency between what the Apostle said when he told us to "pray without ceasing"[1] and with what he said elsewhere, "we worked night and day"?[2] Indeed, at all times thanksgiving has been required even by law; both reason and nature prove that this is necessary for our lives. And so we should not neglect to observe the hours for prayer that have been customarily established in communities of the brethren. These times have been necessarily selected because each recalls in its own particular way the blessings received from God. 1328

There are to be prayers early in the morning so that the first movement of soul and mind may be consecrated to God. We are to tend to nothing else till we have been cheered by the thought of God, for it is written, "I remembered God and was delighted."[3] Nor is the body to busy itself with tasks before we have carried out the words "To you, I will pray, O Lord; in the morning you will hear my voice; in the morning I will stand before you and see."[4] 1329

Again at the third hour the brethren are to gather and devote themselves to prayer. They should do so even if they have already gone off to their various tasks. Remembering the gift of the Spirit given to the 1330

† Translated from PG 31:1011–16.

1. 1 Thess 5:17. 2. 2 Thess 3:8. 3. Ps 77:3. 4. Ps 5:3.

apostles at the third hour, all are to pray together so that they also may be made worthy of this holy gift. They are likewise to request that the Spirit guide and instruct them on what is good and useful according to the following words: "Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from your presence; take not your Holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of your salvation and strengthen me with a guiding spirit."[5] It is also said, "Your good spirit will lead me into the right land."[6] Having prayed in this manner, we should then apply ourselves to our tasks.

1331 4. Should there be some who are absent because the nature or location of their work keeps them too far removed, they must carry out all that is appointed for the common observance. They are to do so promptly, for "where two or three are gathered in my name," says the Lord, "there am I in the midst of them."[7]

1332 We also judge that prayer is necessary at the sixth hour so that we might imitate the saints who say, "Evening and morning and at noon I will speak and declare; and he shall hear my voice."[8] So that we may be saved from attack and the noonday devil,[9] also at this time Psalm 90[a] will be said.

1333 The ninth hour, however, was appointed as a required time for prayer by the apostles themselves in the Acts where it says that "Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour of prayer."[10]

1334 Upon completion of the day's work there is to be thanksgiving for what has been granted or for what has been rightly done during the day. There is also to be a confession of sins, whether voluntary or involuntary, whether a secret sin perhaps committed by word or deed or in the heart itself, for through prayer we make reparation to God for all our failings. Examining what we have already done greatly assists us in preventing such failings in the future, and so the Psalmist says, "What you say in your hearts be sorry for upon your beds."[11]

1335 5. Also at nightfall we are to request that our rest be sinless and free from dreams. Also at this hour Psalm 90[b] is recited.

1336 Paul and Silas, furthermore, have passed on to us the custom of compulsory prayer at midnight as the Acts declare, "At midnight Paul and Silas praised God."[12] The Psalmist also says, "I rise at midnight to praise you for your just judgments."[13]

1337 Furthermore, we must anticipate the dawn by prayer. In this way the day will not find us asleep in bed according to the words, "My eyes have prevented the morning that I might meditate on your words."[14]

1338 No such hour for prayer is to be omitted by those who have chosen a life dedicated to the glory of God and Christ. Moreover, I believe that a

---

a. In Hebrew Psalm 91.

b. Ibid.

5. Ps 51:10–12. 6. Ps 143:10. 7. Matt 18:20. 8. Ps 55:18. 9. See Ps 91:6. 10. Acts 3:1. 11. Ps 4:4. 12. Acts 16:25. 13. Ps 119:62. 14. Ps 119:148.

lack of variety in prayer and psalmody somehow numbs and distracts the soul whereas change and variety renew devotion and restore attention.

67-C. Ascetical Discourse[†]

This treatise sums up, as it were, various items found in the Longer Rules.

4. [. . .] All life should be an occasion for prayer. Yet since at times 1339
there is an absolute need to interrupt our kneeling and our chanting of the psalms, the [specific] hours that the saints designated for prayer are to be observed. The mighty David says, "I rose at midnight to give praise to you for your just judgments."[1] We find Paul and Silas following his example because when they were in prison they prayed to God at midnight.[2] Moreover, the same prophet says, "Evening and morning and at noon."[3] Furthermore, the Holy Spirit descended at the third hour as we learn in the Acts when Peter, answering the Pharisees who were jeering at the disciples because of the diversity of tongues, said that those speaking were not drunk since "it is only the third hour."[4] The ninth hour recalls the Lord's passion,[5] which he undertook to give us life. But since David says, "Seven times a day I have praised you for your just judgments,"[6] and since the times for prayer that I have mentioned do not add up to this seven-fold division, the prayer at noon is to be divided, one half being prayed before the noon meal, the other afterwards. In such a way the daily seven-fold praise of God distributed throughout the whole day may become an example for us. [. . .]

67-D. Homilies

Among the numerous homilies preached by Basil, there are nine on the Hexaemeron, all given during Lent; thirteen on the psalms, preached before Basil's ordination to the episcopate, thus dating 364 and 370; and twenty-three authentic homilies on various other topics and themes. All show Basil's skill as a preacher.

67-D-1. HOMILY 14 ON DRUNKARDS[††]

1. [. . .] These wanton women, forgetting fear of God and despising 1340
eternal fire, should have stayed at home. Reflecting on the Resurrection, they should have kept in mind the day on which the heavens will be opened, the day on which there will appear for us the heavenly judge, God's trumpets, the resurrection from the dead, the just judgment, and

[†] Translated from PG 31:877–78.

1. Ps 119:62. 2. See Acts 16:25. 3. Ps 55:17. 4. Acts 2:15. 5. Matt 27:45; Mark 15:33–34. 6. Ps 119:164.

[††] Translated from PG 31:445–46.

the rendering to each person of that individual's just deserts. They should have been reflecting upon this. They should have purified their hearts from evil thoughts, washed away past sins by their tears, and prepared themselves for the coming of Christ on that great day when he will appear. Rather, they freed themselves from the duty of serving Christ. They removed the veils of honesty from their heads; they showed contempt for God and despised his angels; they shamelessly displayed themselves to almost everyone's eyes as they shook their hair, stretched out their clothing, and danced. With lustful eyes they hurried about as if they were out of their senses, doing so with abundant laughter. They excited the passions of the young men. They danced in the basilicas of the martyrs in front of the town's walls, making these holy places workshops of their own obscenities. Their wanton songs polluted the air; their unclean feet dirtied the earth. [. . .]

67-D-2. HOMILY 3 ON FAMINE AND DROUGHT†

1341 3. [. . .] I ask you, what is the quality of our supplications, our petitions? As for the men, except for a few, you have time for business. Women, you assist them in the search for gain and mammon. And so only a few pray with me. And laboring with giddiness, yawning, constantly looking this way and that, they observe when the cantor of the psalms will complete the verses so that, being dismissed from the church, it is as if they are released from prison, from the necessity of praying. However, these very young children, having laid aside their writing tablets and booklets in school, join their voices to ours.

67-D-3. HOMILY 13 ON BAPTISM††

1342 1. [. . .] There is a time for everything—a time for sleep, a time for awakening, a time for war, a time for peace.[1] Yet every moment in a person's life is fitting for baptism. The soul can no more live without knowing its Creator than the body can live without breathing. Ignorance of God is death to the soul. The unbaptized person is not enlightened. Lacking illumination [baptism] the eye cannot function; the soul cannot contemplate God. So it is that any time is appropriate for being baptized in order to be saved, whether it be day, night, a precise hour, or the shortest moment. Nonetheless, the most appropriate time for baptism is that time whose spirit is closest to that of baptism. And what could be closer than the day of the Pasch? This day commemorates the Resurrection, and baptism makes resurrection possible for us. May we receive the grace of resurrection on the day of the Resurrection. [. . .]

---

† Translated from PG 31:309–10.

†† Translated from PG 31:424ff.

1. See Eccl 3:1–8.

2. [. . .] Do you worship him who died for you? Then accept being bur- 1343
ied with him in baptism. If you do not join with him in the likeness of his death, then how can you share in his resurrection?[2] [. . .] If Israel had not crossed the sea, it would not have eluded the Pharaoh. If you do not cross the water, you will not be separated from the harsh tyranny of the devil. Israel would not have drunk of that spiritual rock if it were not baptized figuratively. Nor will anyone give you true drink if you are not baptized. Israel, having been bapfized, ate the bread of angels.[3] How will you eat the living bread unless you have first been baptized? It was through baptism that Israel entered the Promised Land. How will you enter paradise unless you have been sealed through baptism? [. . .]

5. Are you still young? Restrain your youth by the rein of baptism. Has 1344
the flower of youth passed you by? Take care not to lose your provisions. Do not waste your resources. Do not consider the eleventh hour as if it were the first hour[4] since whoever has seen the beginning should always keep the end in sight. If a physician should promise to restore your health, revitalizing your lost youth by means of his arts and skills, would you not yearn for the day when such a change would occur? Now when baptism promises and guarantees to restore your soul to its original splendor—the soul your sins have aged and disfigured—you despise your benefactor and do not hasten to what has been promised. Why is it that you have no desire for so great and wonderful a miracle? Can anyone be born without a mother? How can something that is old and corrupted by sinful desires be made to thrive again and be returned to the true flower of youth? It is by means of baptism, which ransoms captives, which remits debts, which is the death of sin, which is a spiritual rebirth, a shining garment, an unbreakable seal, a chariot to heaven, the guarantee of the kingdom, the grace of adoption. [. . .]

67-D-4. HOMILY ON PSALM 1†

1. [. . .] When the Holy Spirit saw that the human race was only with 1345
difficulty led toward virtue and when the Spirit saw that our desire for pleasure was causing us to neglect living correctly, what did the Spirit do? The Spirit mingled the sweetness of melody with doctrines. In this way by the pleasantness and delight of what we hear we might receive, even unknowingly, the benefit of what is said, just as a wise doctor frequently smears honey on the cup when giving the sick some rather bitter liquids to drink. This is why the Spirit arranged for us such harmonious melodies of the psalms so that those who are children in age or even youthful in inclination might, outwardly, be seen as singing; they are, in fact, really being formed spiritually. Hardly has anyone ever left [the church]

2. See Rom 6:5. 3. See Ps 78:25. 4. See Matt 20:12.

† Translated from PG 29:209–14.

remembering with interest the apostolic or prophetic message. Be this as it may, they do chant the text of the psalms, even at home. They spread these words around the market place. Even if there are some who are very angry, once they begin to be calmed by the psalms, they immediately depart, their disturbed souls lulled to sleep by the melody.

1346 2. A psalm is serenity of the soul; it begets peace, a peace that soothes disquieting and stormy thoughts. Just as it represses the soul's irascibility and passion, so it chastens wantonness. A psalm creates friendships, uniting those who are apart and reconciling all who are at odds with one another. Can anyone still consider as an enemy someone with whom he or she has uttered the same prayer to God? So it is that singing the psalms brings about, as it were, a bond of unity. It joins people to a harmonious performance by one choir as well as also producing the greatest of blessings, namely, love. The psalm puts demons to flight. It is a request for protection by the angels. It is a weapon against fears brought on by the night. It is a respite from the labors of the day, a security for infants, an adornment for the young, a consolation of the elderly, a most apt ornament for women. A psalm peoples the solitudes, improves the market place. A psalm offers a beginning for those just setting out; it is improvement for those who are already making progress; it is a solid support for the perfect; it is the voice of the Church. Psalmody gives joy to feast days, creates a sorrow that accords with God. It provokes tears from a heart of stone. A psalm is the work of angels; it is a heavenly institution and a spiritual incense. [. . .]

67-D-5. HOMILY ON PSALM 114[†a]

1347 1. Having arrived so early at this holy temple of the martyrs, you persevered from midnight till this midday, appeasing the God of the martyrs with hymns as you awaited our arrival. A reward awaits you who prefer to honor the martyrs and worship God rather than to sleep and to rest. [. . .] So that we may not be distressed at detaining you further, we shall dismiss you after discussing briefly the psalm you were singing [i.e., Psalm 114] when we arrived. [. . .]

67-E. Letters

A Basilian corpus of about 365 letters has come down to us. Some of these, however, are written to Basil from others. Furthermore, in some instances questions of authenticity arise. Nonetheless, these writings are a store of information not only about Basil personally but also about the condition and problems of the Church in the East during the fourth century.

---

† Translated from PG 29:483–84.

a. Psalm 114 according to the LXX; Psalm 116 according to the Hebrew.

67-E-1. LETTER 2. TO GREGORY[†a]

6. [. . .] May prayer precede the meal so that we become worthy of 1348
God's gifts, both those now given by God as well as those reserved for the future. May prayers follow the meal, prayers that give thanks for what has been given and that request what has been promised. [. . .]

67-E-2. LETTER 93. TO THE PATRICIAN LADY CAESARIA ON COMMUNION[††a]

To receive Communion each day and to partake of the holy Body and 1349
precious Blood of Christ is beautiful and helpful since he himself clearly says, "Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has life everlasting."[1] Who, in fact, can doubt that continually participating in life is nothing other than to have life abundantly? We, however, receive Communion four times a week: on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, as well as on other days if some saint is commemorated. It is needless to point out that there is nothing wrong with receiving, during times of persecution, by one's own hand when no priest or deacon is present as long as such a practice is confirmed by long-standing custom attested by circumstances themselves. All the monks who inhabit the desert, where there is no priest, reserve Communion in their own dwellings and receive it from their own hands. At Alexandria and in Egypt all the faithful, the laity included, almost always keep Communion at home and receive it when they so desire. Once the priest has completed the sacrifice and has distributed Communion, the person who has once received it each time as a whole, when partaking each day, should correctly believe that he or she properly takes and receives it from the giver. Even in church, the priest gives the portion requested of him; the person receiving keeps this in all freedom and with one's own hand brings it to his or her mouth. So it amounts to the same, whether one or more parts are received from the priest at the same time.

67-E-3. LETTER 188. TO AMPHILOCHIUS[†††]

3. The case [regarding baptism] concerning the Cathars[a] has already 1350
been discussed, and you are correct to recall that it is necessary to follow the custom of each area because those who decided at that time were of various opinions concerning Cathar baptism. As to the baptism given by

---

[†] Translated from Courtonne, vol. 1:12.

a. This letter to Gregory Nazianzus was written ca. 358.

[††] Translated from Courtonne, vol. 1:203–4.

a. Written ca. 372.

1. John 6:54.

[†††] Translated from Courtonne, vol. 2:121ff. This is the first of the so-called Canonical Letters (nos. 188, 199, 217) on the penitential discipline; Amphilochius was the bishop of Iconium (Kenya) in present-day southwest Turkey.

a. Cathars (Cathari): a term applied to a variety of heterodox groups, e.g., the Novatians, the Manichaeans, etc.

the Pepuzites,[b] it seems to me that this has no value. Often have I wondered how this could have escaped the notice of Dionysius,[c] who was well-acquainted with the canons. In fact, the baptism that the ancients judged as being necessary was a baptism that in no way strayed from the faith. Consequently they called certain errors heresies, others they called schisms, and still others unlawful congregations. Heretics are completely separated and divorced from the faith itself. Schismatics are at variance with one another for certain ecclesiastical reasons or for problems capable of resolution through mutual understanding. Unlawful congregations are assemblies of undisciplined people led by rebellious bishops or priests. For example, if a person, whose guilt was proven and who was to be ejected from the ministry, did not submit to the canons but claimed for himself episcopal dignity and ministry and if others left the Catholic Church to go with him, this would be an unlawful congregation. To be at odds with those belonging to the Church regarding penance is a schism. Heresies, for example, are those of the Manichaeans,[d] the Valentinians,[e] the Marcionites,[f] and the Pepuzites themselves where disagreement specifically concerns faith in God. The fathers believed it best to completely reject baptism given by heretics and yet to accept baptism given by schismatics as a baptism conferred by people still belonging to the Church. As for those in unlawful congregations, when healed by a suitable penance and when sincerely repenting, they are again restored to membership in the Church. And so in many instances those in ecclesiastical orders who have departed with the insubordinate ones are frequently restored to the same order once they have done penance. Clearly the Pepuzites are heretics; they have blasphemed against the Holy Spirit by sinfully and shamefully attributing to Montanus[g] and to Priscilla[h] the title of "prophet." The Pepuzites are to be condemned because they attribute divinity to human beings and because they insult the Holy Spirit by comparing the Spirit to human beings. Furthermore, they expose themselves to eternal damnation because blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is not forgiven.[1] Can anyone produce a reason as to why we should accept baptism given by those who

---

b. Pepuzites: another name for the followers of Montanus who came from the town of Pepuzens in Phrygia.

c. Dionysius the Great (d. ca. 264): bishop of Alexandria.

d. Manichaeans: followers of Mani (Manes) and members of a Gnostic sect; one of its basic teachings was that of a basic conflict between light and darkness.

e. Valentinians: followers of Valentinian, a second-century Gnostic theologian.

f. Marcionites: followers of Marcion (d. ca. 160), founder of a heretical sect at Rome.

g. Montanus: a second-century heretic who claimed to be the spokesperson of the Holy Spirit.

h. Priscilla: a "prophetess" and a follower of Montanus.

1. See Matt 12:31–32; Mark 3:29; Luke 12:10.

baptize in the Father, the Son, and Montanus or Priscilla? Not baptized at all are those who have been baptized in names not found in tradition. Even though this escaped the great Dionysius, we should not imitate his error. The absurdity of such a practice is self-evident and is clear to all who have even a little amount of reason. The Cathars are also schismatics. Further, it seemed best to the ancients, to Cyprian[i] and to our own Firmilian[j] to reject the Cathars, Encratites,[k] and Hydroparastatae[l] by a common condemnation because the separation came about through schism. Those who separated themselves from the Church no longer possessed the grace of the Holy Spirit because this grace no longer existed once continuity had been broken. In fact, those who were the first to withdraw had been ordained by the fathers and through the imposition of hands possessed spiritual gifts. But having broken away, they became laity. As such they lacked the power to baptize and ordain because they were no longer able to obtain for others that grace of the Holy Spirit from which they themselves were excluded. And so the ancients commanded that those who had been baptized by them, as by laymen, should come to the Church where they would be cleansed by the Church's true baptism. But some in Asia, to conform themselves to the direction of the majority, believed that such baptisms should be accepted. So let it be.

We must, however, understand the evil action of the Encratites. In order 1351
that they might render impossible their readmission to the Church, they endeavored to prevent it in the future by a peculiar baptism of their own, thus violating even their own special practices. I believe, therefore, that since there is no instruction on this subject, we should reject their baptism; whoever has been baptized by them should be baptized upon entering the Church. In the case where this would be an obstacle to the general welfare, it would once again be necessary to have recourse to custom and follow the fathers who have issued regulations concerning our institutions. Although we wish that the Encratites refrain from baptizing, I fear that the severity of our decision may be an obstacle for those wishing to be saved. The fact that the Encratites accept our baptism should not distress us. Yet we, in fact, are not obligated to repay this but to strictly observe the canons. For all kinds of reasons it is necessary to decide that those who come to us from this baptism be anointed openly before the faithful and then approach the mysteries. On the other hand, I know that Izois and Saturninus, two brothers who were members of this group, were admitted by us to the episcopal rank. For this reason we can no longer separate from the Church members of this group since we set forth, as it were, a certain

i. Cyprian: bishop of Carthage who was martyred in 258 (WEC 1:27).

j. Firmilian (d. 268): bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

k. Encratites: a general term for those espousing extreme ascetic practices.

l. Hydroparastatae: another term for the Aquarians, namely, those using water rather than wine in the celebration of the Eucharist.

canon authorizing communion with them because we received them as bishops.

1352 4. [. . .] As to those who have married three times, we exclude them for five years according to custom. This penalty we do not take from the canons but from our predecessors. It is not necessary to exclude them completely from the Church, but after two, perhaps three years let them be "hearers." Afterwards they may be allowed to stand with the others for prayer, but they must be excluded from Holy Communion. And when they have demonstrated some fruitful penance, they will be reinstated to the community.

1353 5. Heretics who repent at the time of death are to be received, yet not indiscriminately. They are to be examined as to whether they demonstrate true repentance and whether they have fruits to witness that they are zealous for salvation.

67-E-4. LETTER 199. TO AMPHILOCHIUS[†a]

1354 27. As to a priest who unknowingly is involved in an illicit marriage, I have determined that the following procedure be followed. He will retain his rank but is to refrain from other activities. Pardon suffices to a man in this situation. It is inconsistent to bless someone else when he should be tending to his own wounds. In fact, a blessing is the communication of holiness. But one who is not holy because he sinned out of ignorance—how can he bless another? Consequently he is not to bless, neither in public nor in private; he is not to distribute the Body of Christ. He is not to carry out any other sacred function, but he is to be content with his honorable place and with tears beseech the Lord to forgive the sin he committed in ignorance.

67-E-5. LETTER 207. TO THE CLERGY OF NEO-CAESAREA[††]

1355 2. [. . .] I wish you to know that we boast of having convents of men and women who lead the life of citizens of heaven, who have crucified their flesh with its passions and lusts, who concern themselves neither with food nor clothing, and who, protected and attentive to the Lord, persevere night and day in prayer. Their mouths do not celebrate human works. Rather, they continually sing hymns to our God, working with their hands so that they might be able to share with the poor.

1356 3. In response to the accusation regarding psalmody, an accusation with which our calumniators especially alarm the simple, I can say that the usages presently found in all God's churches agree and are in harmony with each other. Among us the people rise during the night to gather at

---

† Translated from Courtonne, vol. 2:159.

a. Written in 375.

†† Translated from Courtonne, vol. 2:185–86.

the house of prayer, and whether in sorrow, in affliction, or in constant mourning, they confess to God; finally they stand when the prayers have been completed in order to move on to the psalmody. Then, divided into two choirs, the faithful chant the psalms by responding to one another; in this way they give more solidity to their meditation on the words of Scripture, and at the same time they assure for themselves interior attention and steadfastness. Then there is a change. One person is given the task of leading the singing, and the others respond to him. And so having spent the night in a variety of psalmody interspersed with prayers, at daybreak, all together, as with one mouth and heart, send up to the Lord the psalm of confession,[a] making their own the words of repentance. If you shun us on this account, then you will have to do the same to the Egyptians; you will have to avoid the people of the two Libyas, the Thebans, the Palestinians, the Arabians, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and all who reside beside the Euphrates; in short, all those who honor vigils, prayers, and psalmody in common.

67-E-6. LETTER 217. TO AMPHILOCHIUS[†a]

56. Those who have willingly committed murder and then repented will 1357
be excluded from participating in the sacraments for twenty years. These twenty years will be divided: they will be mourners for four years; they will stand outside, at the door of the house of prayer; they will acknowledge their iniquity and ask the faithful who enter to pray for them. After four years they will be received among the hearers; and for five years they will leave with them. For seven years they will depart with the kneelers, praying with them. For four years they will stand with the faithful but will not take part in the offering. Once all these penances have been carried out, they will be allowed to share in the sacraments.

57. Those who have unwillingly committed murder will be excluded 1358
for ten years from participating in the sacraments. These ten years will be apportioned as follows: they will spend two years among the mourners, three years among the hearers, four years among the kneelers, and they will stand for one year, after which they will be admitted to the holy things.

58. Those who have committed adultery will be excluded from the sac- 1359
raments for fifteen years, spending four years as mourners, five years as hearers, two years as kneelers, and only one year as those who stand but do not receive Communion.

---

a. Namely, Psalm 1.

† Translated from Courtonne, vol. 2:210ff.

a. Written in 375.

1360 59. Those who have committed fornication will be excluded from participating in the sacraments for seven years, spending two years among the mourners, two years among the hearers, two years among the kneelers, one year with those standing, and being admitted to Communion in the eighth year.

1361 70. The deacon who has soiled his lips and who has been recognized as having sinned will be suspended from his functions but will be judged worthy to participate in the sacraments with the [other] deacons. The same holds true for the presbyter. If someone is caught in a more serious sin, he will be deposed no matter what his grade.

1362 73. Those who have denied Christ and violated the mystery of salvation will spend their whole lives among the mourners and are bound to do penance; at the moment of death they may be judged worthy of the sacrament because of their faith in God's goodness.

1363 74. If those who have committed the sins given above make great strides in doing penance, then he who has received from God the power to loose and to bind will not merit condemnation if he, seeing the extent of the sinner's penance, mercifully shortens their time for doing penance. History contained in the Scriptures teaches us that those who undertake a harsher penance will promptly obtain God's mercy.

1364 75. Those who have defiled themselves with their own sisters [or brothers] or mothers [or fathers] will be forbidden entrance to the house of prayer till they renounce such evil and criminal conduct. After becoming aware of such a horrible sin, they will be mourners for three years, standing at the door of the house of prayer and begging the people entering there to pray for them, to show pity to them, as the people address fervent petitions to the Lord on their behalf. After this they are to be admitted for another period of three years among the hearers. Having listened to the reading of the Scriptures and the instruction, they are sent out, not being considered worthy to pray. Then, if they ask it with tears and if they fall at the Lord's feet with sorrowful hearts and deep humility, they are allowed among the kneelers for another three years. And so, when they have demonstrated worthy fruits of penance,[1] they are to be admitted in the tenth year to the faithful at prayer, yet still being excluded from Communion. Once they have spent two years standing among the faithful for prayer, they may finally be judged worthy of Holy Communion.

1365 84. I write all these rules so that I can test the fruits of penance. It is not according to time that we judge such things. We pay attention to the manner in which penance is done. If sinners are not disposed to abandon their customary ways of acting, if they prefer to be slaves of bodily pleasures rather than those of the Lord, if they fail to live according to the Gospel, then we have no common ground with them. [. . .]

1. See Matt 3:8.

68. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

Gregory was born in 329/330 on his family's estate of Arianzum near Nazianzus in Cappadocia. The son of that town's bishop (Gregory the Elder), the younger Gregory was baptized in 358. He studied in Caesarea in Cappadocia, Caesarea in Palestine, Alexandria, and finally at Athens, where he began his friendship with Basil (WEC 2:67); although not always agreeing, they remained lifelong friends.

Ordained, albeit unwillingly, a presbyter by his father ca. 361, Gregory soon left Nazianzus and fled to Pontus, where he undertook various ascetic and monastic practices. However, he soon returned to Nazianzus when, shortly afterwards, Basil ordained him bishop of Sasima, seemingly an outpost of less than minor significance. Gregory never resided there but stayed in Nazianzus, where he assisted his father in the care of souls till the latter's death in 374. A year later Gregory went to Seleucia in Isauria, where he lived a life of prayerful solitude.

In 379 he proceeded to Constantinople, where he provided pastoral assistance to the city's small orthodox community, which was living, as it were, amidst a heretical environment. While participating in the Second Council of Constantinople, in 381 Gregory was appointed bishop of that city, but he soon resigned, returning to Nazianzus. Once his cousin Eulalius was made bishop there, Gregory retired to the family estate at Arianzum, where he engaged in various scholarly activities and monastic observances. Gregory died in 389/390.

Although Gregory was not a prolific writer, history has left us a large number of his poems, numerous letters (written between 383 and ca. 390), together with his well-known orations or speeches.

CPG 2: nos. 3010ff. * Altaner (1961) 345–51 * Altaner (1966) 298–303 * Bardenhewer (1908) 286–95 * Bardenhewer (1910) 249–56 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:162–88 * Bardy (1929) 131–36 * Bautz 2:331–34 * Campbell 64–67 * Hamell 104–6 * Jurgens 2:27–42 * Leigh-Bennett 219–36 * Quasten 3:236–54 * Steidle 116–18 * Tixeront 173–75 * Wright (1932) 339–42 * CATH 5:255–58 * CE 7:10–15 * CHECL 295–97 * DACL 6.2:1667–1711 * DCB 2:741–61 * DHGE 22:15–18 * DictSp 6:932–71 * DPAC 2:1707–12 * DTC 6.2:1839–44 * EC 6:1088–96 * EEC 1:361–62 * EEChr 1:491–95 * LTK 4:1004–7 * NCE 6:791–94 * NCES 6:513–17 * ODCC 711–12 * PEA (1894) 7.2:1859–63 * PEA (1991) 4:1214–15 * RACh 12:793–863 * TRE 14:164–73

H. Thurston, "The Early Cultus of the Reserved Eucharist," JThSt 11 (1910–11) 275–79. * J. Maier, "Die Eucharistielehre der drei grossen Kappadozier," diss. (Breslau, 1915). * O. Casel, "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie im Lichte der Tradition," JL 6 (1926) 148–51. * H. Frank, "Das Alter der römischen Laudes- und Vesperantiphonen der Weinachtsoktav und ihrer greichischen Originale," OC 36 (1939) 14–18. * A. Corvino, "Il Battesimo in s. Gregorio Nazianzeno," diss. (Aversa, 1943). * L. Brou, "Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et l'antienne 'Mirabile Mysterium' des Laudes de la Circoncision," EphL 58 (1944) 14–22. * J. Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, vol. 1, 1 (Freiburg i. B., 1955) 225–26, 284–85. * M. Jourjon, "Le

sacerdoce d'après l'Oratio secunda de s. Grégoire de Nazianze," BCE nos. 38–39 (1962) 375–83. * D.F. Winslow, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Love for the Poor," AThR 47 (1965) 348–59. * G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 6 (Princeton, 1968). * L.J. Patsavos, "The Image of the Priest according to the Three Hierarchs," GOTR 21 (1976) 55–70. * F. Trisoglio, "La conversione in s. Gregorio di Nazianzo," Aug 27 (1987) 185–217. * P. Jeffery, "'Parádoxon Mustérion': The Thought of Gregory the Theologian in Byzantine and Latin Liturgical Chant," GOTR 39 (1994) 187–98. * M. Nin, "Discorso I sulla Pasqua di San Gregorio di Nazianzo," EOr 16 (1999) 29–35.

68-A. Orations

These orations or speeches date from the time Gregory was ordained a bishop till his retirement, that is, from about 362 to 388. Some forty-four of these compositions, no doubt edited for publication, are attributed to him. They were given on the occasion of funerals, events in his own life, as well as on certain feasts of the saints and on other celebrations of the liturgical year. Most famous are the so-called theological sermons (nos. 27–31) given in 380 at Constantinople and earning for him the title of "the Theologian."

68-A-1. ORATION 8. ON HIS SISTER, GORGONIA†

1366 XVIII. What did this great soul do, this soul worthy of the greatest, and how did she cure herself of this illness? We now arrive at what has been a secret. Having renounced all other medicines, she had recourse to the physician of all.[1] She awaited the silence of the night, and at the moment when the illness allowed her to have a certain degree of relief, with faith she prostrated herself before the altar and cried out to him who is honored there. She employed every type of invocation, recalling all the miracles he had ever performed—for she was well instructed in both ancient and recent writings. Finally she was taken hold of by a pious and beautiful impudence. She imitated the woman whose source of blood had dried up at the very moment she touched the tassels of Christ's garment.[2] So what did Gorgonia do? With a similar cry she rested her head on the altar, and with an abundance of tears—like those of the woman who once inundated the feet of Christ[3]—she promised not to leave till she had regained her health. Then holding a little of the antitypes[a] of the precious Body and Blood, she smeared this remedy over her whole body, mixing it with her tears. What a miracle followed! She left immediately, knowing that she was cured. With lightness of body, soul, and spirit, for she had obtained the reward of her hope. By strength of soul she gained strength of body. How great

† Translated from *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6–12*, trans. and ed. J. Bernardi, SChr 405 (Paris, 1995) 284–87.

a. Antitypes: namely, the consecrated bread and wine.

1. See Matt 4:23. 2. See Matt 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–29; Luke 8:43–44. 3. See Luke 7:37–38; Matt 26:7.

this is! It is not false. All of you are to believe this, whether you are sick or in good health so that you may either retain or recover your own good health. [. . .]

68-A-2. ORATION 18. ON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER† a

XXVIII. [. . .] It was the holy and well-known Pasch, that queen of all 1367
days, that brilliant night which removes the darkness of sin, the night during which we with abundant light celebrate the feast of our salvation, the night when we undergo death along with the light that was once put to death for us, the night when we also rise with him who rose. [. . .]

68-A-3. ORATION 38. ON THE THEOPHANY OF CHRIST†† a

I. Christ is born, give glory. Christ descends from on high, go out to 1368
meet him. Christ is upon the earth, be exalted. "Sing to the Lord, all the earth."[1] If we say both together, "May the heavens rejoice and may the earth be glad,"[2] because of him who is "in heaven"[3] and then "on earth."[4] Christ is in the flesh. "Rejoice with trembling"[5] and with joy; with trembling because of your sins; with joy because you hope. Christ [born] of a Virgin. O ladies, practice virginity if you wish to be mothers of Christ. Who does not adore him who is "from the beginning"?[6] Who does not give glory to him who is "the last"?[7]

III. [. . .] The present solemnity is that of the Theophany or the Nativ- 1369
ity since this feast has two designations, two names given to one and the same reality. [. . .] The name Theophany comes from the fact that he appeared; that of the Nativity from the fact that he was born.

IV. [. . .] This is our feast; it is the feast we are celebrating today; it is the 1370
coming of God among humankind so that we might go forth or rather—and this is the better expression—so that we might return to God, putting off the old self and putting on the new.[8] Just as we died in Adam so we are to live in Christ,[9] being born with Christ, being crucified with him,[10] being buried with him,[11] and rising with him.[12] [. . .] And so may we observe this feast not as a profane solemnity but in a god-like manner, not in a worldly manner but in a heavenly manner, not as our own feast but as that belonging to him or rather to our Master, not as that of sickness but of health, not as that of creation[13] but of re-creation.

---

† Translated from PG 35:1017–18.

a. This oration was given in 334.

†† Translated from *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38–41*, trans. P. Gallay, intro., critical text, and notes by C. Moreschini, SChr 358 (Paris, 1990) 104ff.

a. This oration was given in 380.

1. Ps 96:1. 2. Ps 96:11. 3. See 1 Cor 15:47. 4. Ibid. 5. See Ps 2:11. 6. 1 John 1:1. 7. Rev 1:17; 2:8. 8. See Eph 4:22–24. 9. See 1 Cor 15:22. 10. See Gal 2:19. 11. Rom 6:4; Col 2:12. 12. See Eph 2:6. 13. See Gen 2:7; Ps 119:73.

1371 v. And how are we to do this? We are not to adorn our porches with garlands, to arrange dance choirs, to decorate the streets, to feast the eye, to charm the ear, to offer the nostrils effeminate perfume, to prostitute the taste, to caress the touch. Such lead to vice and are the doorways to sin. [. . .]

68-A-4. ORATION 39. ON THE LIGHTS[†a]

1372 I. [. . .] The Day of Lights, which we are observing today, has its origin in the baptism of Christ, who is "the true light that gives light to all who enter the world."[1] This day brings about my purification and assists the light which we from the beginning have received from him who is above, the light which we darkened and confounded through our sins.

1373 XVII. Since today's feast has baptism for its object, and since we must suffer a little for him who for our sake assumed our form, who was baptized and then crucified, let us briefly consider the difference among baptisms so that we might depart from here purified. Moses was baptized in water[2] and earlier in the cloud and in the sea.[3] This took place in a figurative manner as Paul also believed: the sea was a figure of the water; the cloud was a figure of the Spirit; the manna[4] was a figure of "the bread of life,"[5] the drink[6] was a figure of the divine drink.[7] John also baptized, not as the Jews did since he baptized not only in water but unto repentance;[8] he did not as yet baptize in an entirely spiritual manner since he did not add "in the Spirit." Jesus also baptized, but he did so in the Spirit.[9] This is perfect baptism. And how is he not God—if I may make a small passing observation—he by whom you also become God? Furthermore, I know a fourth baptism, that by martyrdom and blood; Christ himself was baptized by these. This baptism is far more venerable than the others since it cannot be stained by later blemishes. I also know a fifth baptism, that of tears, but it is more difficult. For example, whoever submits to it washes his or her bed and couch each night with tears.[10]

68-A-5. ORATION 40. ON BAPTISM[††a]

1374 III. [. . .] Of these births [natural birth, baptism, the resurrection] we need not presently speak of the first and the last. But the one I would like to speak to you about is the second baptism, that which our subject presently imposes on us and which gives its name to the Feast of the Lights. Illumination [baptism] is the splendor of souls, the conversion of life, "the

---

† Translated from SChr 358:168–69, 186–89.

a. This oration was given on January 6 in 381.

1. John 1:9. 2. See Exod 17:6. 3. 1 Cor 10:1–2; see Exod 14:21–22. 4. See 1 Cor 10:3. 5. John 6:35. 6. 1 Cor 10:4. 7. See John 6:56. 8. Mark 1:4; see Matt 3:2. 9. See Matt 3:11; 28:19; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16. 10. See Ps 6:6.

†† Translated from SChr 358:200ff.

a. This oration was given ca. 381.

appeal to God for a good conscience."[1] Illumination brings help to our weakness. It is the renunciation of the flesh,[2] docility to the Spirit, participation in the Word, the setting right of the creature, the deluge engulfing sin, the communication of light, the disappearance of the darkness. Illumination is the chariot leading to God;[3] it is dying with Christ, the support of faith, the perfection of the spirit, the key to the kingdom of heaven,[4] the modification of existence, the suppression of slavery, the removal of chains, the renewal of our whole person. Does Illumination need a longer list of names? It is the most beautiful and the most magnificent of God's gifts. Just as the Holy of Holies and the Song of Songs are more excellent and broader than all others, so this Illumination is more holy than any other illumination existing among us.

IV. But just as Christ, who gives this Illumination, has many names, the same is true for this gift. [. . .] We call it a Gift, Grace, Baptism, Anointing, Illumination, the Garment of Immortality, the Bath of New Birth, the Seal—in short, all that is excellent. We call it a Gift because it is given without any previous contribution; Grace because it is granted even to those who are in debt;[5] Baptism because sin is buried with it in the water; Anointing because it is priestly and royal since [priests and kings] were the ones who were anointed; Illumination because of its splendor; Clothing since it covers our shame; Bath because it washes us; Seal because it preserves us. [. . .] 1375

XVII. [. . .] Do you have a very young child? Do not allow sin to gain any opportunity, but let the infant be sanctified from childhood. Let the infant be consecrated by the Spirit from the very tenderest of age. Do you fear the seal because human nature is weak? O what a fearful mother! O what a mother of little faith! [. . .] 1376

XXV. [. . .] May we be like Peter and John. Just as they hastened toward the tomb and the resurrection,[6] so may we hasten to the bath, running together, doing so as rivals; let us vie against one another to obtain what is good. Do not say, "I will return. Tomorrow I will come to be baptized" since you can receive this benefit today. Do not say: "May I have with me my father, my brothers, my wife, my children, my friends, all whom I cherish, and at that time I will receive salvation. This is still not the moment to be made bright." If you say this, then we have reason to fear that those who you hope will participate in your joy will instead share in your sorrow. If they are present, be content; if they are absent, do not await them. It is shameful to say: "Where is the gift I am to offer on the occasion of the Illumination? Where is the white garment in which I am to be resplendent? Where are the means wherewith I can give a reception for those who will do the baptizing so that also in this I might be well-known?" In your eyes these things are all necessary; compared to them 1377

1. 1 Pet 3:21. 2. See ibid. 3. See 2 Kgs 2:11. 4. See Matt 16:19. 5. See Matt 6:12; Luke 11:4. 6. See John 20:3–4.

grace counts little for you. Do not toy with what is great. Do not yield to base feelings. The mystery is greater than what you see. Offer yourself. Put on Christ.[7] May your conduct be my nourishment. [. . .]

1378 XXVI. May nothing hinder you from making progress. May nothing curb your desire. [. . .] Seize the opportunity. May this bath be your great joy. Having spoken, be baptized; having been baptized, be saved. Even if outwardly you are an Ethiopian [black], become white in your soul. Obtain salvation. Nothing is higher, nothing is more valued for those who understand. Do not say, "I want to be baptized by a bishop or by a metropolitan or by the archbishop of Jerusalem"—grace does not depend on places but on the Spirit—"and I even wish that the person baptizing me be of noble birth since it would be inopportune that my own nobility be dishonored by the person who baptizes me. But if it is a presbyter, may he at least be unmarried or from one of those who themselves are teachers and who lead an angelic life since it would be inopportune that I contract a stain at the moment of purification." Do not seek to determine whether the person who baptizes or who proclaims the faith is worthy of trust. It is another who judges this and who values what is more hidden since "mortals see what is on the outside whereas God sees what is in the heart."[8] As for you, any person from among those approved is worthy of trust provided this person has not been openly condemned and is not outside the Church. [. . .]

1379 XXVII. [. . .] Do not reject the remedy of exorcism and be not discouraged by its length, for it is the touchstone of your sincerity in regard to grace. [. . .]

1380 XXVIII. "We admit all this," some will say, "in regard to those who request to be baptized. But what do you have to say about those who are still infants, those who know nothing about loss or about grace? Are we to baptize these also?" Certainly you are to do so when danger [of death] is imminent. It is better that they be unknowingly sanctified rather than depart without being sealed, without having been initiated. Our reasoning here lies in the fact that circumcision, being a figure of baptism, took place on the eighth day[9] and on those who still lacked reason; the same is true for the anointing of the doorposts which protected the first-born by means of material things.[10] As to the others, my advice is to wait till the third year—either somewhat less or somewhat more—a time when they are capable of listening and of responding to something about the mystery. Even if they do not understand completely, they will at least gain an impression of it. Thus their souls and bodies are sanctified by the great mystery of initiation. The situation is this: they begin to be responsible for their lives when they have full use of reason and when they have knowledge of the mystery since their sins, committed out of ignorance, are not imputed to them because of their

7. See Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27. 8. 1 Sam 16:7. 9. See Gen 17:12. 10. See Exod 12:22–23, 29.

age. From every point of view it is better to be sheltered by the bath from the dangers that unexpectedly confront us and are stronger than all help.

xxx. [. . .] Before being tempted[11] Christ fasted a little. We do likewise 1381
before the Pasch. The fasts are one and the same, but the difference in the reasons for fasting is not minor. He fasted as a barrier against temptation whereas the fast gives us the power to die with Christ; it is the purification that goes before the feast. Christ, being God, fasted for forty days; we fast according to our possibilities even though the zeal of some persuades them to exceed their strength. [. . .]

xxxi. [. . .] You will engage in a double struggle: one to purify your- 1382
selves before baptism, the other to preserve your baptism. It is, in fact, just as difficult to acquire a good that one does not have as it is to retain what has been acquired. Often enough negligence endangers what our activity has acquired. You will be assisted in obtaining what you desire by keeping vigil, by fasting, by sleeping on the ground, by tears, by showing compassion toward the needy, by almsgiving. In this way you may show your thanksgiving for what you have received. At the same time these may be a means of preserving it. You have the benefit of being able to recall so many commandments and precepts, none of which you are to transgress. A poor person is present? Recall how you were needy and became rich. A poor person lacks bread or has nothing to drink? Perhaps another Lazarus has been cast at your gate?[12] Respect the sacramental table that you approached, the bread you shared, the cup in which you participated when being initiated into the sufferings of Christ. [. . .]

xlvi. [. . .] The attitude you will assume, standing, immediately after 1383
your baptism, in front of the *bema*,[b] prefigures the glory to come. The psalmody with which you will be received is a prelude to the singing of hymns in heaven. The lamps that you will light will evoke the procession of light in heaven with which we will meet the Bridegroom, we, shining and pure souls,[13] resplendent with the lamps of our faith. [. . .]

68-A-6. ORATION 43. ON BASIL[†a]

lii. He [the emperor] entered the holy place, his whole retinue sur- 1384
rounding him. Being the feast of the Epiphany, there was a large crowd of people. [. . .] Upon entering he was struck by the sound of the psalmody, by the ocean of people before him, and by such beautiful order that reigned both on the *bema* and nearby. Basil stood erect, facing the people

b. *Bema*: a raised platform in the church used, among other things, for the proclamation of the Scriptures.

11. See Matt 4:2; Luke 4:2. 12. See Luke 16:20ff. 13. See Matt 25:1–13.

† Translated from *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 42–43*, trans. and ed. J. Bernardi, SChr 384 (Paris, 1992) 234–35, 300–303.

a. This sermon was given in the presence of the imperial court on the feast of the Epiphany in Caesarea, probably in 371.

as the Scripture relates concerning Samuel,[1] with body, eyes, and mind undisturbed. [. . .]

1385 LXXX. The funeral procession of saint [Basil], whose body was being held on high by the hands of holy men, moved on as each person attempted either to touch his garment[2] or its shadow[3] or the bier carrying the remains—for what could be more holy and more pure than this body? Others attempted to come close to those carrying the bier, and still others merely took delight in the sight, believing that even this would benefit them. Market places, porticoes, houses whether of one or two stories—all were full of people who were accompanying the procession, walking in front of it, behind it, or next to it as they jostled one another. There were thousands of people of every race and age—something never before seen. The singing of the psalms was overwhelmed by the sounds of mourning. [. . .] The body, having been rescued from those who wanted to seize it and making its way through those in the procession, was placed in the tomb of his father. The mighty voice which still echoes in my ears was added to those of the other preachers, and a martyr was added to the martyrs. Now he is in heaven where, I believe, hè offers [sacrifices] for us, where he prays for the people. Even though he has departed from our midst, he has not completely left us. [. . .]

68-A-7. ORATION 45.ON EASTER (SECOND ORATION)†

1386 II. The Lord's Pasch, the Pasch, again I say the Pasch in honor of the Trinity. For us this is the feast of feasts, the celebration of celebrations. It exceeds all other feasts, not only human ones, namely, those of earthly origin, but also those that are of Christ himself, those celebrated in his honor. Just as the sun surpasses the stars, so this feast is superior. Certainly beautiful to us was yesterday's display of the white garments and lights. [. . .]

68-B. Letters

Close to 250 letters written by Gregory have come down to us. They have been described as models of the epistolary art. The majority of them were written at Arianzum during Gregory's retirement years, namely, 383–ca. 390.

68-B-1. LETTER 231††[a]

1387 The father, should he so desire, may crown them. This is what I decided when I had occasion to be present for weddings. The father is to crown the couple; we are to say the prayers.

---

1. See 1 Sam 19:20. 2. See Matt 9:20; Luke 8:43–44. 3. See Acts 5:15.

† Translated from PG 36:623–24.

†† Translated from *Grégoire de Nazianze. Textes choisis*, vol. 2, ed. P. Gallay (Paris, 1941) 122–23.

a. This letter was written to a certain Eusebius, a friend of Gregory and who is not otherwise known.

69. GREGORY OF NYSSA

Gregory (ca. 330–ca. 395) was the younger brother of Basil of Caesarea (WEC 2:67), who was also one of Gregory's tutors. After the death of his wife, Gregory, influenced by Gregory of Nazianzus (WEC 2:68), entered monastic life. But Basil, attempting to consolidate his authority as metropolitan, in 371 ordained Gregory bishop of Nyssa, a small out-of-the-way village in Cappadocia. Problems soon arose, even acknowledged by Basil, since Gregory lacked, among other qualities, skill in church management. Under the pretext of fiscal malfeasance the Arians in his absence deposed Gregory in 376. In 378 he returned to Nyssa. Two years later he was made bishop of Sebaste.

Gregory played a major role in a number of church conclaves: for example, at Antioch in 379 and Constantinople (WEC 2:71-D). No more is heard of him subsequent to this gathering.

Most of Gregory's writing dates from the last years of his life. His abundant literary legacy has led many scholars to consider him the most eminent of the Cappadocian writers. Influenced by Origen (WEC 1:43), Gregory was keen of mind, well acquainted with philosophy, and a staunch defender of the orthodox faith.

CPG 2: nos. 3135ff. * Altaner (1961) 351–57 * Altaner (1966) 303–8 * Bardenhewer (1908) 295–307 * Bardenhewer (1910) 256–66 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:188–220 * Bardy (1929) 136–40 * Bautz 2:334–37 * Campbell 62–64 * Hamell 106–8 * Jurgens 2:42–59 * Leigh-Bennett 237–51 * Quasten 3:254–96 * Steidle 118–20 * Tixeront 175–79 * Wright (1932) 337–39 * CATH 5:259–62 * CE 7:16–18 * CHECL 297–300 * DCB 2:761–68 * DHGE 22:20–24 * DictSp 6:971–1011 * DPAC 2:1712–19 * DTC 6.2:1847–52 * EC 6:1096–1111 * EEC 1:363–65 * EEChr 1:495–98 * LTK 4:1007–8 * NCE 6:794–96 * NCES 6:517–21 * ODCC 712 * PEA (1894) 7.2:1863–67 * PEA (1991) 2:1212–14 * RACh 12:863–95 * TRE 14:173–81

C.J. Janini, "La penitencia medicinal desde la Didascalia Apostolorum a S. Gregorio de Nisa," RET 7 (1947) 337–62. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * J. Danielou, "Onction et baptême chez Grégoire de Nysse," EphL 90 (1976) 440–45. * D. Krueger, "Writing and the Liturgy of Memory in Gregory of Nyssa's 'Life of Macrina,'" JECS 8 (2000) 483–510.

69-A. The Great Catechesis[†]

This guide (*Oratio Catechetica Magna*) for instructing catechumens, written soon after 383, is Gregory's most important and best-known dogmatic work. It treats the chief dogmas of the faith: the Trinity, the Incarnation, the redemption, the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist.

XXXVII. [. . .] We must now consider how it is possible for the one body 1388
of Christ, though divided among so many of the faithful, to remain one.

[†] Translated from *Discours catéchétique*, trans. and ed. R. Winling, SChr 453 (Paris, 2000) 321–25, with assistance from Jurgens 2:49.

[. . .] By the indwelling of God's Word this body has been made over to a divine dignity. Rightly then, do we believe that the bread now sanctified by God's Word has been changed into the Body of God the Word. For that Body was, as to its potency, bread; but it has been made holy by the indwelling of the Word, who pitched his tent in the flesh.[1] A similar result now takes place, brought about by the same cause, by which the bread that was made over into that Body is made to change into divine strength. Formerly the grace of the Word sanctified that body [Christ's incarnational body] whose substance is from bread and which in a certain way is itself bread. So in this case also the bread, as the apostle says, "is consecrated by God's word and by prayer."[2] It becomes the Body of the Word not through its being eaten. No, the bread is changed into that Body by means of the word just as the Word himself stated, "This is my Body."[3] [. . .] Following the plan of his grace he spreads himself to every believer by means of that flesh whose substance is from bread and wine, blending himself with the bodies of believers. By this union with the Immortal we also may share in incorruption. These gifts he bestows through the power of the blessing which transforms the nature of visible things to the nature of what is immortal.

69-B. Life of Macrina†

Macrina, the younger sister of Gregory and Basil, was the head of a religious community located on the family estate. Shortly after her death in December 379, Gregory wrote this devotional biography so that others might imitate her example of holiness.

1389 XXII. While Macrina was speaking, I desired that the day be prolonged so that she not cease having us understand these sweet words. But the singing of the choir summoned me to the thanksgiving for the light, and the great Macrina, having sent me to the church, once again took refuge in God. [. . .]

[After the death of Macrina]

1390 XXVII. But when, as it were, I regained my composure, I looked at this holy person, and it seemed that she was reproaching me for the disorder caused by the noisy singing of a funeral song. I loudly called out to the sisters, "Look at her and remember how she instructed you to conduct yourselves properly in every circumstance. This divine soul appointed for you a time for tears and directed that you weep at the time of prayer. You may now do this by changing your sorrowful lamentations into harmonious psalmody." [. . .]

---

1. See John 1:14. 2. See 1 Tim 4:5. 3. Matt 26:26.

† Translated from *Vie de sainte Macrine*, trans. and ed. P. Maraval, SChr 178 (Paris, 1971) 232, 247–55.

xxxiii. While [. . .] the sisters were singing psalms mixed with lamenta- 1391
tions, the news of her death—I know not how—had suddenly spread to every place in the surrounding region. All living nearby began to come in great numbers to the place so that the vestibule could not hold all who were arriving. The whole night was spent in vigil with her. Hymns were sung as if a panegyric to a martyr. When dawn arrived, the crowd of men and women who came from every nearby region disturbed the psalmody by their groaning. As for me, even though my soul was upset by this calamity, I was reflecting, as far as possible, on how not to omit anything that would be appropriate for a funeral of this type. I divided up the people who came, men and women. The latter I placed with the choir of sisters; the former with the monks. I saw to it that the psalmody was sung by both men and women, in rhythmical and harmonious fashion, like the singing of a choir, perfectly blended because all know the melody. When the day had progressed and the area around this place of solitude was unable to hold the multitude of arrivals, Araxius, the bishop of the place—he together with all his clergy were present—ordered that the funeral procession begin. It was to move slowly since the procession's path was lengthy and the size of the crowd hindered its quick movement. He also enjoined his priests to carry Macrina's body.

xxxiv. Once these decisions had been made and carried out, I placed 1392
myself in front of the bier and invited Araxius to stand at my side while two other high ranking clerics took their places in the rear. As expected, we proceeded slowly. The people pressed in around us, always wanting to see more of this holy sight, so much so that it was difficult to make progress. On both sides of the bier there processed in a long line a large number of deacons and lower clerics, all carrying candles. It was like a liturgical procession since with one voice psalmody was sung from beginning to end, for example, the Canticle of the Three Children. Seven or eight stades[a] was the distance from the convent to the church of the holy martyrs where the bodies of our parents are buried. It was with difficulty that we completed this journey, which lasted the better part of the day since the crowd accompanying us continued to increase so that we were unable to move as quickly as we had hoped.

Once we arrived within the church, the bier was put down and prayer 1393
was begun, but this proved to be but an excuse for the crowd's lamentations. At a pause in the psalmody the sisters looked toward the holy one even though the tomb of our parents had already been opened. The decision had been made to inter her body in this place. One of the sisters began to weep uncontrollably, saying that we would no longer see her holy face. Then the other sisters did the same. What followed was utter confusion, disrupting the good order and holy character of the psalmody,

a. Stade: an ancient Greek measurement of length, varying anywhere from 607 to 738 English feet.

for all present burst into sobs upon hearing the wailing of the sisters. It was with difficulty that we obtained silence by our gestures. The cantor then invited all to pray, intoning the usual prayers of the Church, and the people were again predisposed for prayer.

69-C. Sermons and Orations

The sermons and orations of Gregory treat a variety of moral and dogmatic topics. Of particular interest are his sermons for the liturgical year and on the saints.

69-C-1. SERMON ON THE ASCENSION†

1394 [. . .] This psalm [Psalm 22] instructs the Church that you must first become a member of the Good Shepherd's flock by means of good catechesis. Such teaching is to lead you to the pastures and springs of divine doctrine so that through baptism you might be buried with him unto death, something not to be feared. Baptism is not death but merely a shadow and likeness of death. The psalm says, "For if I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not be afraid of evils for you are with me."[1] [. . .] Then he prepares the sacramental table which is just the opposite of the table of demons. For it is through idolatry that the demons, who are opposed by the table of the Spirit, strike down human life. This is why your head was anointed with the oil of the Spirit. In addition, there is the wine which gladdens the heart, which soberly intoxicates the soul, and which draws the mind from perishable and transitory things to those that are eternal.

69-C-2. SERMON ON THE DAY OF LIGHTS ON WHICH OUR LORD WAS BAPTIZED††

1395 Today I recognize my flock. Today I see the accustomed form of the Church when you, putting aside the less worthy affairs of the body, with full numbers assemble to worship God. There are so many people that space is limited. They burst into the holy sanctuary and, unable to secure a place within, like bees they fill the space outside. Some of the people labor inside the hive; others buzz around the outside. [. . .]

1396 [. . .] Water points to the cleansing. Because the human body is made filthy by dirt and mud, we habitually wash it with water. And so we also use water in sacramental actions. We show spiritual brightness by what is subject to our senses. Now if it seems appropriate, let us continue inquiring more closely regarding the washing. Our starting point will be what the Scriptures say, "No one can enter the kingdom of God without being

† Translated from PG 46:691–92.

1. Ps 22:4, LXX.

†† Translated from PG 46:577–78, 581–82, 583–84, 585–86.

born of water and the Spirit."[1] Why both? Why is not the Spirit alone considered sufficient for completing baptism? As we know, a human being is a composite, not a single element. For this reason kindred and similar medicines are designated for healing a human being, who is twofold and joined. For the visible body there is water, something that can be seen. For the invisible soul there is the Spirit, which cannot be seen, which is called upon by faith, and which comes in an inexpressible manner. "The wind [*Spiritus*] blows where it chooses, but you do not know from where it comes or where it goes."[2] The Spirit blesses the body that is baptized and the water used in baptism. Do not, therefore, despise the divine washing nor consider it as something ordinary just because it involves water. Something great happens, something producing wonderful effects. The altar at which we are standing is holy. Yet by nature it is ordinary, in no way differing from other stone slabs that build up our walls and adorn our pavements. But because the holy table is consecrated and dedicated to the worship of God and has been blessed, it is a spotless altar which no longer is touched by all but only by the priests as they venerate it. The same is true for the bread. Initially it is ordinary bread. But once the mystery sanctifies it, it becomes and is called the Body of Christ. The same is also true for the sacramental oil and the wine; of little value before the blessing, after their sanctification by the Spirit each works in a wondrous way.

1397 The same power of the word also makes the priest venerable and honorable, separated from the people in general by a new blessing. Yesterday he was one of the crowd of people; now he is a guide, a leader, an instructor in godliness, a teacher of the hidden mysteries. All this happens without any change in his body or form. Externally he is what he was previously; yet by some invisible power and grace his soul has been raised to a better condition. [. . .]

1398 [. . .] When we are baptized in accord with the example of the Lord, who is our teacher and guide, we are not buried in the earth, for the earth contains the dead human body and covers the infirmity and corruption of our nature. Rather we come to the water which is like the earth. We hide ourselves in the water as the Savior did in the earth. We do so three times, expressing the grace of the resurrection which was completed in three days. We receive the sacrament not in silence but while the names of the three holy persons are recited over us. We believe, we hope, in these names. From them come the present and the future. Perhaps you are offended, you who boldly fight against the glorious Spirit and begrudge the Paraclete the veneration rendered by the pious. Just stop arguing with me. Resist, if you are able, the words of the Lord who ordained that we invoke these names during baptism! What did the Lord command? "Baptize them

1. John 3:5. 2. John 3:8.

in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Why in the name of the Father? Because the Father is the origin of all things. Why the Son? Because he is the maker of creation. Why the Holy Spirit? Because the Spirit has the power to restore all things. [. . .]

69-C-3. SERMON ON THE FORTY MARTYRS†

1399 [. . .] I came to a town at a time when a vigil was being observed in a garden where the relics of the saints were being honored with psalmody. [. . .]

69-C-4. SERMON AGAINST THOSE WHO POSTPONE BAPTISM†† a

1400 [. . .] Those who are poor, those who have nothing, hasten to the distribution of the royal gifts. O sheep, hasten to the signation and to the sign of the cross which brings strength and healing to those in distress. Give me your names so that I might copy them in ink into visible books. God will inscribe them on indestructible tablets, writing with his own finger as he once wrote down the Law for the Hebrews.

1401 "Draw near to God and be enlightened, and your faces shall not be ashamed."[1] "Wash yourselves! Remove your sins!"[2] [. . .] O catechumens, you are outside Paradise. You are exiles, companions of Adam, our first parent. The door is open. Return to the place you left. Delay not lest death cut short your life and deny you entrance. [. . .]

1402 [. . .] Take off the old self like a dirty garment full of reproach and shame, a garment sewed from any number of sins and mended by the miserable rags of iniquity. Receive the incorruptible garment, one that Christ unfolds and extends over you. Reject not the gift lest you do harm to it. For a long time you have been wallowing in the mud. Now hasten to the Jordan, summoned not by John but urged to do so by Christ. [. . .]

69-D. Letters

Some thirty letters, on a variety of subjects, are attributed to Gregory.

69-D-1. LETTER 2. TO THOSE WANTING TO GO TO JERUSALEM†††

1403 9. To be truthful, if it were possible to recognize God's presence within what we can see, then we would be tempted to believe that God dwells in the nation of the Cappadocians rather than anywhere else. How many

---

† Translated from PG 46:785–86.

†† Translated from PG 46:417–18, 419–20.

a. Given on January 7, 381.

1. Ps 33:5, LXX. 2. Isa 1:16.

††† Translated from *Lettres. Grégoire de Nysse*, trans. and ed. P. Maraval, SChr 363 (Paris, 1990) 114–17.

sanctuaries there are where God's name is glorified! One can hardly count their number in the world. [. . .]

69-D-2. LETTER 5. TO THOSE WHO DOUBT THAT HIS FAITH IS ORTHODOX†

5. The power that gives life to those who are born again from death to 1404
eternal life[1] comes through the Holy Trinity to those who, having faith, are judged worthy of this grace. Likewise, imperfect is the grace when one of these names—whichever it may be—is omitted during the baptism of salvation. It is not only by the Son and the Spirit—omitting the Father—that the mystery of rebirth takes place. It is not only by the Father and the Spirit—omitting the Son—that perfect life comes to the baptized. It is not only by the Father and the Son—omitting the Spirit—that the grace of the resurrection is brought about. This is why all our hope, all assurance of our spiritual salvation, lies in the three Divine Persons who are known by these three names. We believe in the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the source of life,[2] and in his only Son,[3] who is the author of life, as the apostle says,[4] and in God's Holy Spirit concerning whom the Lord said, "It is the Spirit that gives life."[5]

69-D-3. LETTER 25. TO AMPHILOCHIUS††[a]

1. I am now persuaded that by the grace of God the design concerning 1405
the martyrion[b] is well on its way to completion. Would that you agree! The task will be completed by the power of God who can, whenever he speaks, transform words into deeds. Since, as the apostle says, "the one who began a good work among you will bring it to completion,"[1] I urge you in this also to be an imitator of the great Paul,[2] to bring about what we are hoping for, and to send us sufficient workers to complete this undertaking.

2. On the basis of what is estimated, it should be possible to inform your 1406
Excellency as to the dimensions that are projected for the whole building. For this reason I will try to give you a description of the overall structure.

3. The form of the oratory is cruciform, constituted on all sides, as is 1407
fitting, by four rooms. These rooms do not touch one another as is seen elsewhere in the cruciform plan. Within the cross there is a circle divided into eight angles—I have called this octagonal form a circle because it is round—so that the four sides of the octagon, which are diametrically

† Translated from SChr 363:158–61.

1. See John 5:24; 1 Pet 1:3. 2. See John 4:14. 3. See John 3:16. 4. See Acts 3:15. 5. John 6:63.

†† Translated from SChr 363:288–301.

a. Amphilochius: bishop of Iconium (d. ca. 400).

b. Martyrion: a word generally referring to a church constructed over the tomb or relics of a martyr.

1. Phil 1:6. 2. See 1 Cor 11:1.

opposed to one another, join by means of arches the central circle to the buildings on the four sides.

1408 The other four sides of the octagon, located between the rectangular buildings, will not themselves be so long as to form rooms. Rather, each of them will join a small apse which, in the form of a cone, is completed above by an arch. Thus there will be eight arches in all, which by means of the rectangular rooms and small apses will connect, side by side, with the center.

1409 5. Within the pillars formed by the angles will stand an equal number of columns, both for ornamentation and for strength. These in turn will support the arches constructed above them in the same manner as the exterior columns and will lean up against them.

1410 6. Above these eight arches, by reason of the proportions of the windows rising above them, the octagonal building will ascend four cubits.[c] What rises above will be in the form of a cone, the arch compelling the roof to pass from a large opening to a pointed wedge.

1411 7. The width of each rectangular room will be eight cubits; its length will be half as much again; its height will be proportionate to its width.

1412 8. Dimensions for the semicircular sections will be the same; the space between the pillars will measure eight cubits; the depth will be as much as given by the sweep of the compass with a fixed point placed in the middle of the side and extending to the end. Here also the height will be proportionate to the width.

1413 9. The density of the walls within the interior spaces that have already measured will be three feet.[d] They will encircle the whole building.

1414 10. While carefully explaining this, I have troubled your Excellency with the intent that you might ascertain the total number of feet based on the density of the walls and the interior dimensions. Because you are intelligent in all things and because with God's help you succeed in whatever you undertake, it will likewise be possible for you, based on this careful estimate, to calculate the total sum so that you might send us neither too few nor too many stoneworkers.

1415 11. I especially request that you take special care that some of these know how to build vaulting without supports. I have, in fact, learned that when one builds in this manner, the vaulting is more solid than vaulting that rests upon pillars. It is the lack of wood which suggests to us the idea of covering the whole building with a stone roof. In this area there is simply no lumber.

1416 12. Know, dear friend, that some people from here have contracted with me to furnish thirty workers for a piece of gold, for cut stonework, with a specified amount of food accompanying the goldpiece. But such a method

---

c. Cubit: a measure of length, extending from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, namely, about eighteen inches.

d. Foot: in Greek a measurement about twelve inches long.

of preparing the stones is not within our [financial?] possibilities, and so the construction material will be both brick made from clay as well as ordinary stones so that the workers need not spend time in correctly joining the sides of the stones to one another. As to competency and wages I know that your workers are better than those who labor here.

13. The work to be done by the stonecutters concerns not only the eight columns, which are to be finished and adorned, but also consists in making the bases of the columns in the form of an altar and of cornices sculpted in the Corinthian style. 1417

14. The entrance will be made of suitably decorated marble. Its doors will be adorned with the usual artistic representations along the molding of the entablature. It is to be understood that we will furnish the materials for these, but it is art that will give the form to be impressed on the materials. In addition, the colonnades will have no less than forty stone pillars. 1418

15. Now if my explanation has precisely described the work to be done, I hope that your Excellency, seeing what is needed, will reassure us in regard to the question of workers. A worker wishing to labor among us should, if possible, determine a specified amount of labor to be accomplished each day. In this way he will not pass the time doing nothing; having worked for so many days without having anything to show for it, he will not be able to demand payment. 1419

69-D-4. LETTER TO LETONIUS[†a]

[Canon 6.] [. . .] There are two kinds of theft: robbery and burglary. They share the same purpose, namely, taking what belongs to another. Nonetheless, there is a great difference regarding the intention of each of the two evil-doers. The robber may even murder to achieve his or her goal. Such a person, desiring to return to the Church by means of penance, must submit to the sentence given to murderers. Yet if someone secretly steals the property of another and afterwards confesses this sin to a priest, the sinner will cure such an evil by zeal for the opposite virtue, namely, by giving one's own possessions to the poor. [. . .] 1420

70. PSEUDO-IGNATIUS. LETTER TO THE ANTIOCHIANS[††]

Among the Ignatian corpus is this letter, probably written ca. 400 and coming from an Origenist milieu.

Jurgens 1:27–28

XII. I greet the holy presbyterate. I greet the holy deacons. [. . .] I greet the subdeacons, readers, cantors, doorkeepers, grave diggers, exorcists, 1421

[†] Translated from PG 45:233–34.

a. Letonius: bishop of Melitene, today Malatya, a city in eastern Turkey.

[††] Translated from PG 5:907–8.

confessors. I greet those in charge of the holy doors, the deaconesses in Christ. I greet the virgins, who are betrothed to Christ—on their account I rejoice in the Lord Jesus. I greet the most honorable widows. I greet the Lord's people, from the least to the greatest, as well as all my sisters in the Lord.

71. COUNCILS/SYNODS

71-A. Synod of Ancyra (314)†

Ancyra (now Ankora) in present-day Turkey was the city in which twelve to eighteen bishops gathered during the fourth week after Easter and issued twenty-five canons, the first nine concerning those who lapsed during time of persecution.

CPG 4: nos. 8501ff. * Hefele (1871) 1:199–222 * Hefele (1905) 1.1:298–326 * CATH 1:519–20 * CE 1:465 * DCA 1:82 * DDCon 1:35–36 * DTC 1.1:1173–76 * EEChr 1:50 * ODCC 59–60

W.F. Whitman, "The Thirteenth Canon of Ancyra," AThR 2 (1919–20) 225–26. * C.C. Richardson, "The Riddle of the 13th Canon of Ancyra," CH 16 (1947) 32–36. * R. Gryson, "Les élections épiscopales en Orient au IVe siècle," RHE 74 (1979) 301–45.

1422 Canon 1. Presbyters who sacrificed [during the persecutions] but afterwards, upon repenting, resumed combat not only in appearance but in reality, shall continue to enjoy the honors of their office, provided they have not employed any secret or devious means so that it only appears that they underwent torture; however, they shall neither sacrifice nor preach nor perform any priestly office.[a]

1423 Canon 2. Likewise, deacons who have sacrificed and then returned to combat shall retain the dignities of their office but shall no longer perform any holy function, shall no longer present the bread and the wine [to the celebrant or to the communicants], and shall no longer preach. But if any bishop, making allowance for their suffering, their humility, and their mild manner, wishes to increase or decrease their punishment, he has the power to do so.

1424 Canon 4. Concerning those who were forced to sacrifice and who have also eaten what was consecrated to the idols, namely, those who were constrained to take part in the sacrificial feasts: those who were forced to go to the sacrifice, who went cheerfully, who were dressed in their finest attire, and who ate of it as if there were no difference between this and other

† Canons translated from *Disciplina Generale Antique*, vol. 1.2, ed. P.-P. Joannou (Rome, 1962) 56–72.

a. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 1 (WEC 2:1270); Nicæa I (325) cans. 8, 11 (WEC 2:1449, 1451); Valence (374) can. 3 (WEC 2:1225); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 10–11 (WEC 3:3141–42); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

meals, shall remain one year among the hearers, three years among the kneelers; they shall take part only in the prayers for two years; then they will be admitted to full communion.[b]

Canon 5. Nevertheless, those who went there [to the sacrifices] in mourning clothing, who wept throughout the whole time they were sitting and eating, shall spend three years among the kneelers and then are to be admitted without taking part in the offering. But if they did not eat, they are to be kneelers for two years; during the third year they may stay but not participate in the offering so that in the fourth year they may be fully received. Having tested the conduct of each, the bishop shall have the power to ease the penalties or prolong the time of penance; first of all, there is to be an examination of their life both before and after, and leniency is to be given accordingly. 1425

Canon 6. Concerning those who sacrificed when merely threatened with punishment or with the confiscation of their goods or with exile and have delayed repenting or converting but who on the occasion of this synod have come and have resolved to convert: till the great feast [of Easter] they shall be among the hearers; after the great feast they will spend three years as kneelers; for two years they shall take part in the worship without participating in the offering, and only then will they come to Communion, this whole period lasting six years. For those admitted to penance before this synod, the beginning of the six years will be reckoned from the time they were admitted. If they are exposed to any danger or threatened with death due to any illness, or if there is any other serious reason, they should not be denied Communion provided they do six years of penance if they recover. 1426

Canon 7. Concerning those who participated in a heathen feast in a place appointed for heathens and yet took with them their own food to eat there: they shall spend two years as kneelers and then be received. As to the question of their being admitted to the offering, each bishop shall decide, examining the whole life of each person. 1427

Canon 8. Those who were two or three times forced to sacrifice shall remain kneelers for four years; for two years they will be present at worship 1428

b. The East generally knew four categories of penitents. There were the "mourners" or the "implorers," namely, those standing outside the church building who were requesting admittance into the official penitential process and were asking for the prayers of those entering the building for the liturgy. There were the "hearers," namely, those penitents who stood inside the building, in the narthex, and attended the Liturgy of the Word; these were dismissed with the catechumens but no special prayers were said on their behalf. There were also the "kneelers" or "prostrators" who were present within the nave for the Liturgy of the Word and after receiving a laying-on of the hand were dismissed with the catechumens. Finally, there were the "participants" or "standers" who stayed for the whole service but were not allowed to receive the Eucharist.

without sharing in the offering; the seventh year they shall be admitted to full communion.

1429 Canon 9. Those who have not only apostatized but, as enemies of their brethren, have compelled their brethren to apostatize and thus are guilty of their apostasy shall spend three years among the hearers, then six years with the kneelers; they shall then take part in worship without receiving for one year so that at the end of ten years they will be admitted to full communion. Their conduct during this time shall also be examined.

1430 Canon 12. Those who have sacrificed to the gods before baptism and who were subsequently baptized may be promoted to orders since [by baptism] they have been cleansed of all their former sins.

1431 Canon 13. Chorbishops[c] may not ordain presbyters and deacons,[d] and certainly not presbyters of the town without the written permission of the bishop of each diocese.[e]

1432 Canon 16. Those who have been or are now guilty of bestiality, if they were not yet twenty years old when they committed this sin, shall spend fifteen years as kneelers; they shall then be allowed to be present at the prayers for five years; after that time they may share in the sacrifice. An examination must also be made of their conduct as kneelers and then let them receive forgiveness. Those who have sinned in this way over an extended period of time are to undergo a long period of time as kneelers. Those who are over twenty and are married and who have nevertheless fallen into this sin shall be allowed to be present for the prayers only after being kneelers for twenty-five years; after five years of being present for the prayers they may share in the holy sacrifice. Married men fifty years and older who fall into this sin shall receive Communion only at the end of their lives.[f]

1433 Canon 20. Anyone who has violated a married woman or has committed adultery must for seven years undergo the different degrees of penance; at the end of this time admittance to full communion is given.

---

c. *Chorepiscopi* or chorbishops: bishops under the authority of the diocesan bishop and serving in rural areas. In time their powers were greatly reduced. This canon is the first mention of such ecclesiastics.

d. See Antioch (341) can. 10 (WEC 2:1950); Riez (439) can. 3 (WEC 3:3121).

e. Some translate this canon as follows: "[. . .] and deacons; neither is this permitted to the presbyters of the town in other dioceses without the written permission of the bishop of the place."

f. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 3:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

Canon 21. Concerning women who commit fornication and who kill the children they have conceived or who are involved with abortive drugs: a former rule excommunicated them till the hour of death. Although some still follow this procedure, we, however, ease their punishment and condemn them to the various appointed degrees of penance for ten years. 1434

Canon 22. Willful murderers must be kneelers; they are allowed to receive the last gift only at the end of life.[g] 1435

Canon 23. As to unpremeditated murder, an earlier rule allowed Communion at the end of a penance of seven years; our later rule requires only five years. 1436

71-B. Synod of Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320)[†]

The synod of Neo-Caesarea in Cappadocia, attended by seventeen bishops, issued fifteen canons. The meeting occurred early in the fourth century, certainly before 325, perhaps before 319.

CPG 4: nos. 8504ff. * Hefele (1871) 1:222–30 * Hefele (1905) 1.1:326–34 * Jurgens 1:274 * CATH 9:1156 * DCA 2:1385 * DDC 6:995–97 * DDCon 3:175–76 * DPAC 2:2354–55 * EEC 2:585 * EEChr 2:800 * ODCC 1136

Canon 5. If catechumens, having been introduced into the Church among the ranks of the catechumens, conduct themselves as sinners, they must, if they are kneelers become hearers until they sin no more.[a] If they continue to sin while they are hearers, they shall be completely excluded from the Church. 1437

Canon 6. A pregnant woman may be illuminated [baptized] whenever she requests this; the woman who is pregnant communicates nothing to the infant who will be born since each must express his or her own willingness [to be baptized] by a confession of faith.[b] 1438

Canon 7. No presbyter shall participate in a wedding feast of those who marry a second time;[c] for when the bigamist later on asks to do penance, what will the presbyter say since his very presence at the banquet shows that he approved the marriage? 1439

---

g. See Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699).

† Canons translated from P.-P. Joannou, vol. 1.2:77–82.

a. See Nicaea I (325) can. 14 (WEC 2:1454).

b. *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 54 (WEC 4:4689).

c. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 53 (WEC 2:1999); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 11 (WEC 3:3162); Agde (506) can. 39 (WEC 4:4559).

1440 Canon 8. If the wife of a layman has committed adultery and if her guilt is public knowledge, her husband cannot be admitted to the service of the Church; but if she has committed adultery after her husband's ordination, he must send her away. Should he nonetheless continue to live with her, he cannot continue the sacred functions that were entrusted to him.

1441 Canon 9. A presbyter who has committed a carnal sin before ordination and who confesses this afterwards must not offer the holy sacrifice; but he may continue his other functions because of his zeal in other areas, for many believe that sins can be blotted out by the imposition of the hand [by ordination to the presbyterate]. But if he does not confess it and if he cannot clearly be convicted of it, he may do as he so chooses [to offer the sacrifice or to refrain from doing so].

1442 Canon 10. Likewise, a deacon who has committed this same sin must only carry out the duties of a lower minister.

1443 Canon 11. No one is to be ordained a presbyter before he is thirty years old.[d] Even though such a person be in every respect worthy, he must delay being ordained, for our Lord was baptized when he was thirty years old, and only afterwards did he commence teaching the people.

1444 Canon 12. If a man is baptized when he is ill, he cannot be ordained a presbyter; for it was not of his own will but of necessity that he made a profession of faith, unless his great zeal and faith or the lack of candidates allow him to be ordained.

1445 Canon 13. Country priests must not offer the holy sacrifice[e] in the city's church [the cathedral] when the bishop or the presbyters of the city are present; nor are they to distribute the sanctified bread and the cup. But if the bishop and his presbyters are absent and if the country presbyters are invited to celebrate, they may distribute holy Communion.[f]

1446 Canon 14. The chorbishops[g] represent Christ's seventy disciples; as fellow-servants and because of their care of the poor, they have the honor [of offering the sacrifice in the cathedral].

1447 Canon 15. No matter how large the town, the rule calls for no more than seven deacons. This may be proved from the Acts of the Apostles.

71-C. Council of Nicaea I (325)[†]

Convoked by Constantine (still unbaptized) to resolve the question of Arianism as well as the date on which Easter was to be celebrated, this

d. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1-b (WEC 2:881); Agde (506) can. 17 (WEC 4:4553); Arles IV (524) can. 1 (WEC 4:4589); Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605).

e. Presumably as "concelebrants."

f. See *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 56 (WEC 4:4691).

g. Chorbishops: see WEC 2:**71-A**, note c.

† Canons translated from DEC 6–16.

gathering, generally considered the first ecumenical council, took place in early summer of 325 in the city of Nicaea (now Iznik) in Bithynia. We do not know the numbers attending but some estimate that between 220 and 250 bishops, all but a handful from the East, were present. The acts of the meeting do not exist, but a creed, a synodal letter, and twenty canons on a number of issues have come down to us.

CPG 4: nos. 8511ff. * Hefele (1905) 1.1:335–632 * Hefele (1871) 1:262–447 * Jurgens 1:280–89 * CATH 9:1196–1201 * CE 11:44 * DCA 2:1389–94 * DDC 6:1000–1006 * DDCon 3:186–90 * DPAC 2:2395–97 * DTC 11.1:399–417 * EC 8:1828–32 * EEC 2:594–95 * EEChr 2:810–12 * LTK 7:884–85 * NCE 10:432–34 * NCES 10:346–48 * ODCC 1144–45 * TRE 24:429–41

L. Duchesne, "La question de la Pâque au concile de Nicée," RQH 28 (1880) 5–42. * R. Proost, "Le comput pascal," RB 16 (1899) 25–35, 145–58. * H. Linck, *Zur Ueberzetsung und Erlaeuterung der Kanones IV, VI und VII des Konzils von Nicaea* (Giessen, 1908). * P. Galtier, "Les canons pénitentiels de Nicée," Greg 29 (1948) 288–94. * R.G. Coquin, "Une réforme liturgique du concile de Nicée (325)?" CRI (Paris, 1967) 178–90. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * L. Stan, "Pour que tous les chrétiens fêtent Pâques le même jour," Ist 19 (1974) 471–85. * R. Gryson, "Les élections épiscopales en Orient au IVe siècle," RHE 74 (1979) 301–45. * P.J. Levesque, "Eucharistic Prayer Posture: From Standing to Kneeling," QL 74 (1983) 30–42.

71-C-1. CANONS

Canon 2. Many things, either from necessity or due to the pressure of certain individuals, have occurred that are contrary to the ecclesiastical canon. As a result, those who have just been converted from paganism to the faith and whose instruction has lasted only a very short time have been brought to the spiritual washing; after baptism they have even been raised to the office of presbyter or bishop. It is right that in the future this should not take place since time is required for sound instruction in doctrine and for further testing after baptism.[a] [. . .] 1448

Canon 8. Concerning those calling themselves Cathars[b] who come over to the Catholic and apostolic Church, this holy and great synod decrees that they must receive the imposition of the hand,[c] and they may then remain in the clerical state; they must above all promise in writing to conform to and follow the doctrines of the Catholic and apostolic Church, namely, 1449

a. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 3 (WEC 2:1957); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 1 (WEC 3:3139); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 22 (WEC 4:4678).

b. Namely, the Novatianists, members of a rigorist schismatic group objecting to leniency toward those who compromised their faith during times of persecution.

c. Commonly understood as the imposition connected with the act of reconciliation.

they must be in communion with those who have married a second time and with those who have lapsed under persecution but for whom a time [of penance] has been appointed and an occasion [for reconciliation] has been determined.[d] They must then follow in every respect the doctrines of the Catholic and apostolic Church. [. . .]

1450 Canon 9. If any have been admitted to the presbyterate without inquiry, or if upon inquiry have confessed their crimes, and if the imposition of the hand has nevertheless been conferred upon them in violation of the canon, this ordination is declared invalid; for the Catholic Church requires men who are blameless.

1451 Canon 11. Concerning those who lapsed without being forced to, without the confiscation of their property, without any kind of danger, as occurred during the tyranny of Licinius,[e] this synod decrees that they should be treated with mercy, although in truth they have shown themselves unworthy of it. Those among them who are truly penitent and who before their fall were believers, must do penance for three years among the hearers and seven years among the kneelers.[f] For the following two years they can join the people at prayer but without themselves participating in the sacrifice.

1452 Canon 12. Those who have been called by grace, who have shown initial zeal, who have laid aside their military belts but afterwards returned like dogs to their vomit[1]—some even have given money and presents in order to be re-admitted into military service—shall spend three years among the hearers and ten years among the kneelers. For these, their intention and the nature of their penance must be examined. In fact, those among them who through their fear and tears together with patience and good works show by deeds that their conversion is real and not merely outward, after having finished their time of penance among the hearers, may appropriately take part in the prayers; it is in the bishop's power to treat them with still greater leniency. Those who consider this matter lightly and who think that the outward form of entering the church is all that is needed for their conversion must fulfill completely the whole period.

1453 Canon 13. With respect to the dying, the ancient rule of the Church shall continue to be observed, namely, that no one on the point of death is to

---

d. See Ancyra (314) cans. 1–12 (WEC 2:1422–30); Nicaea I (325) cans. 11, 14 (WEC 2:1451, 1454); Valence (374) can. 3 (WEC 2:1225); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 10–11 (WEC 3:3141–42); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

e. Licinius, a coemperor with Constantine, was initially tolerant toward Christians, an attitude that changed ca. 319. Constantine defeated him in 324 at Chrysopolis.

f. For the various classifications of penitents in the East see WEC 2:**71-A**, note b.

1. See Prov 26:11.

be deprived of the last and most necessary Viaticum.[g] Such individuals, should they not die and having been allowed to share in the offering, must be placed among those who take part in prayer only. Generally speaking, the bishop shall, however, after necessary inquiry allow the Eucharist to be granted to the dying when they request it.[h]

Canon 14. This holy and great synod orders that catechumens who have lapsed be hearers for three years; afterwards they can pray with the catechumens.[i] 1454

Canon 18. This holy and great synod has learned that in certain districts and cities deacons give the Eucharist to presbyters although neither the canon nor custom permits Christ's Body to be distributed to those who offer the sacrifice by those who cannot offer it. The synod has also learned that some deacons receive the Eucharist even before the bishops. All this must now cease: deacons must remain within the limits of their functions and remember that they are servants of the bishops and are subordinate to the presbyters. They must receive the Eucharist according to their order, after the priests and with a bishop or a priest presenting it to them. Deacons shall no longer sit among the presbyters[j] since this is against rule and order. Those refusing to obey after these rules have been promulgated are to be deposed from the diaconate. 1455

Canon 19. With respect to the Paulianists[k] who wish to return to the Catholic Church, the rule which orders them to be re-baptized must be observed. Those among them who were formerly members of the clergy must be re-ordained by the bishop of the Catholic Church after they have been re-baptized provided they have been blameless and without reproach. If, upon inquiry, they are found to be unworthy, they must be 1456

g. Viaticum: "provisions for the journey." See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

h. See Ancyra (314) can. 22 (WEC 2:1435); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699).

i. See Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320) can. 5 (WEC 2:1437).

j. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 20 (WEC 2:1972); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 15 (WEC 3:3144).

k. Followers of Paul of Samosata (3rd century), a heretical bishop in Antioch.

deposed. The same is true in regard to the deaconesses; and the same rule will generally be followed for all those who are on the [clerical] register of the church. We refer to deaconesses who are in this position; not having received the imposition of the hand, they are in all ways to be numbered among the laity.[l]

1457 Canon 20. Whereas some kneel on the Lord's Day and during the days of Pentecost, this holy synod has decreed that all shall stand while offering prayers to God, thus ensuring the same practice in all dioceses.[m]

71-C-2. SYNODAL LETTER TO THE EGYPTIANS[†]

1458 By the grace of the holy and great God the bishops assembled at Nicaea in a great and holy synod send greetings to the Church at Alexandria, to our dear brethren throughout Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.

1459 [. . .] So that you might know what was proposed and discussed, what was decreed and affirmed, it seemed necessary that we send you a letter. [. . .] Furthermore, we send you good news in regard to Easter; in answer to your prayers this matter has been settled. All our brethren in the East who in the past followed the custom of the Jews are from now on to observe the most holy feast of Easter at the same time as do the Romans, yourselves, and all those who have observed the feast of Easter from its very beginning.[a] [. . .]

71-D. Council of Constantinople I (381)[††]

Convoked by the emperor Theodosius I, this council began in May 381 and lasted till July 9 of the same year. The doctrine espoused by the council against the Arians and the Macedonians was so well received in both East and West that the meeting is considered the Second General Council of the Church. Yet the canon given below, not found in the oldest Greek canonical collections, is generally considered spurious; it is not in canon "form" but is more descriptive of what its author understood to be the common practice and probably dates from the mid-fifth century.

---

l. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 11 (WEC 2:1964); Nîmes (394) can. 2 (WEC 2:1226); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 100 (WEC 3:3119); Orange I (441) can. 25 (WEC 3:3136); Chalcedon (451) can. 15 (WEC 3:3379); Epaon (517) can. 21 (WEC 4:4577); Dvin (527) can. 17 (WEC 4:4844); Orleans II (533) can. 18 (WEC 4:4600).

m. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 67 (WEC 3:3099); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 57 (WEC 4:4692).

[†] Translated from DEC 16–19.

a. See Antioch (341) can. 1 (WEC 2:1947); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 1 can. 1 (WEC 2:880); Carthage V (401) can. 73 (WEC 3:2747); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 78 (WEC 3:3103); Orleans IV (541) can. 1 (WEC 4:4615).

[††] Translation from DEC 35.

CPG 4: nos. 8598ff. * Hefele (1905) 2.1:1–48 * Hefele (1871) 2:340–74 * Jurgens 1:397–401 * CATH 3:113–14 * CE 4:308 * DCA 1:436–39 * DDC 4:424–28 * DDCon 1:323–25 * DHGE 13:754–57 * DPAC 1:813–16 * DTC 3.1:1227–31 * EEC 1:195–96 * EEChr 1:282–83 * NCE 4:237–38 * NCES 4:190 * ODCC 406–7

Canon 7. Those who turn to orthodoxy and are counted as being saved from the heretics are received as follows: those who are Arians[a] and Macedonians,[b] Sabbatians,[c] Novatians,[d] those calling themselves Cathars or Aristeri [. . .] are first sealed or anointed with holy oil[e] on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears. While sealing them we say, "The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit." But the Eunomians,[f] who baptize with only one immersion, and the Montanists,[g] who are here called Phrygians, and the Sabellians,[h] who believe that the Father and the Son are one or who grievously err in other ways, and all other heretics—there are many of them here, especially those coming from Galatia—these, when they desire to turn to orthodoxy, we receive as we do the Greeks. On the first day we make them Christians; on the second day, catechumens; on the third day we exorcise[i] them by a triple exsufflation on the face and ears; thus we instruct them, having them spend a great amount of time in church in listening to the Holy Scriptures; then we baptize them. 1460

72. INSCRIPTION. FOURTH CENTURY. ASIA MINOR

72-A. From a Dokimeion marble slab[†]

Dokimeion was the site of Phrygia's major marble quarry and home to a large population of stoneworkers. This stone—found in the town museum

a. Arians: followers of Arius (ca. 260–336) who espoused a subordinationist explanation of Christ's divinity.

b. Macedonians: disciples of Macedonius (d. ca. 362). They denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

c. Sabbatians: followers of the ascetic Sabbatius who celebrated Easter on the Jewish Passover.

d. Novatians: followers of Novatian (3rd century), who espoused a rigorist policy in regard to those who compromised or abandoned the faith during the persecutions.

e. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 7 (WEC 2:1960); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 17, 26 (WEC 3:3145, 3148); Epaon (517) can. 16 (WEC 4:4576).

f. Eunomius: the Arian bishop of Cyzicus in Mysia (d. 394).

g. Montanism: an apocalyptic movement calling for a return to Christianity's primitive fervor and simplicity.

h. The Sabellians explained the Trinity by means of "modes" or "operations."

i. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 26 (WEC 2:1978); Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); Braga II (572) can. 1 (WEC 4:4755).

† Translation from G.J. Johnson, *Early-Christian Epitaphs from Anatolia* (Atlanta, 1995) 149.

of Kütahya, located in west central Turkey—commemorates a Christian named Akakios, the son of Menodoros.

1461 [. . .] I leave behind an evil world.
God preserves the Seal[a] for me, [his] child.
I, a mortal, have landed in the immortal lap
of Abraham. I am a servant of God.
I live in Paradise.

SYRIA

73. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Born ca. 325–35, apparently in Antioch and probably of noble birth, Ammianus served in the military from an early age. Upon retiring he settled in Rome, where in old age he wrote in Latin his famous *Rerum gestarum libri.* Although a pagan, he was knowledgeable in the affairs of Christianity. The date of his death is unknown, but it certainly occurred after 391 since he mentions Aurelius Victor as the prefect of Rome during that year.

Bautz 1:147 * CATH 1:497 * DCB 1:99–101 * DHGE 2:1304–7 * DPAC 1:159–60 * DTC 1.1:1113–15 * EC 1:1080–82 * EEC 1:30–31 * EEChr 1:45 * LTK 1:531 * NCE 1:449 * NCES 1:361–62 * PEA (1894) 1.2:1845–52 * PEA (1991) 1:596–98 * RACh 1:386–94

73-A. Rerum gestarum libri[†]

Although this history originally contained thirty-one books spanning the years 96 to 378, only the last eighteen of these survive, covering the years 353 to 378. The author provides much valuable information on the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the declining years of the Roman Empire.

1462 XXI.II.4. In order to gain the favor of all and to have opposition from none, Julian[a] pretended to belong to the Christian religion from which he had long since secretly withdrawn; making a few men sharers in his secrets, he engaged in soothsaying, auguries, and other practices always followed by those who worship the pagan gods.

1463 XXI.II.5. So as to temporarily conceal this, on the feast celebrated by Christians in the month of January and called the Epiphany,[b] he went to their church and, after solemnly offering a prayer to their deity, he departed.

---

a. Apparently a reference to the "seal" of baptism.

[†] Translated from *Rerum gestarum libri*, vol. 2, trans. J.C. Rolfe, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1937) 98–101.

a. Julian: Roman emperor 361–63; an ardent promoter of the pagan religion, he utilized his imperial office to hinder the spread of Christianity.

b. Namely, January 6.

74. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Born of Christian parents at Antioch ca. 347, John studied law in his native city and then theology, being baptized in 369. Attracted to the monastic lifestyle, he lived such a life at home and then, after his mother's death, became a hermit where years (ca. 378–ca. 381) of rigorous mortification caused lifelong health problems. Ordained a deacon in 381, then a priest in 386, he served at Antioch, where he was given the task of preaching in one of the city's principal churches. So famous was he for his discourses on Scripture that he eventually came to be called Chrysostom (the "golden-mouthed").

Made bishop and patriarch of Constantinople in 398, Chrysostom initiated a reform of church practice while at the same time strongly urging the royal court to depart from its excesses. Such teaching as well as John's very personality gave rise to numerous enemies, including the powerful Empress Eudoxia as well as Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria. The thirty-six bishops at the Synod of the Oak (August 403) convicted Chrysostom of various charges and had him removed from the see of Constantinople. Although initially recalled, Chrysostom was eventually exiled to Cucusus in Lesser Armenia, where his followers were wont to visit him. Consequently, he was then sent to Pityus in Pontus, a place he never reached since he was forced to travel there on foot and in very inclement weather. He died on September 14, 407.

Certainly Chrysostom's numerous sermons make him the best known and most beloved of the Greek Fathers, earning for him a place among the Doctors of the Church. It should be noted that according to recent scholarship Chrysostom apparently played some role in the early formation of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom prayed in the Byzantine Churches.

CPG 2: nos. 4305ff. * Altaner (1961) 373–87 *Altaner (1966) 322–31 * Bardenhewer (1908) 323–49 * Bardenhewer (1910) 297–314 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:324–61 * Bardy (1929) 115–19 * Bautz 1:1018–21 * Campbell 68–75 * Hamell 113–18 * Jurgens 2:84–127 * Leigh-Bennett 252–71 * Quasten 3:424–82 * Steidle 123–27 * Tixeront 200–205 * Wright (1932) 342–46 * CATH 6:498–511 * CE 8:452 * CHECL 344–47 * DACL 7.2:2184–86 * DCB 1:518–35 * DHGE 26:1408–15 * DictSp 8:331–55 * DPAC 1:1551–58 * DTC 8.1:660–90 * EC 6:534–43 * EEC 1:440–42 * EEChr 1:622–24 * LTK 5:889–92 * NCE 7:1041–44 * NCES 7:945–49 * ODCC 342–43 * PEA (1894) 9.2:1811–28 * PEA (1991) 5:1059–61 * TRE 17:118–27

Initiation

L.L. Mitchell, "The Baptismal Rite in Chrysostom," AThR 43 (1961) 397–403. * H.C. Green, "The Significance of the Pre-Baptismal Seal in St. John Chrysostom," SP 6, TU 8 (Berlin, 1962) 84–90. * T.M. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom*, SCA 15 (Washington, D.C., 1967). * E. Braniste, "L'explication du baptême dans les catéchèses du s. Jean Chrysostome," *Studii teologicae* 22 (1970) 509–27. * H.M. Riley, "The Rite of Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia

and Ambrose of Milan," diss. (Regensburg, 1971). * E.J. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1972). * L.L. Mitchell, "Four Fathers on Baptism: Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Ephraem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsia," in *The Eastern Churches*, ed. J. Welham, Series 6 (Kottayam, 1973) 37–56. * H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan*, SCA 17 (Washington, D.C., 1974). * R. Tura, "Il battesimo dei bambini. Revisione in vista? Simposio su una prassi pastorale millenaria," StP 21 (1974) 511–85. * A.-M. Malingrey, "Une méthode de catéchèse pour les enfants d'après Jean Chrysostome," PrOChr 37 (1987) 52–57. * E. Mazza, *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age* (New York, 1989). * P. Rodgerson Pleasants, "Making Christian the Christians: The Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom," GOTR 34 (1989) 379–92. * J.-P. Cattenoz, *Le baptême, mystère nuptial: théologie de s. Jean Chrysostom*, Collection Centre Notre-Dame de Vie, Série Théologie 5 (Venasque, France, 1993). * J. Knupp, *Das Mystagogieverständnis des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Benediktbeuer Studien 4 (Munich, 1995). * P. Papageorgiou, "The Paschal Catechetical Homily of St. John Chrysostom: A Rhetorical and Contextual Study," GOTR 43 (1998) 93–104.

EUCHARIST

F. Probst, "Die antiochenische Messe nach den Schriften des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus dargestellt," ZkTh 7 (1883) 250–303. * J. Sorg, "Die Lehre des hl. Chrysostomus über die reale Gegenwart Christi in der Eucharistie und die Transsubstantiation," ThQ 79 (1897) 259–97. * A. Nägele, *Die Eucharistielehre des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus, des Doctor Eucharistiae* (Freiburg i. B., 1900). * E. Michaud, "Saint Jean Chrysostome et l'eucharistie," RIT 11 (1903) 93–111. * P. De Puniech, "La promesse de l'Eucharistie (Joann., VI), interprétée par s. Jean Chrysostome," RT 15 (1907) 584–612. * S. Salaville,"L'épiclèse d'après s. Jean Chrysostome et la tradition occidentale," OC 11 (1908) 101–12. * P. de Puniet,"Les paroles de la consécration et leur valeur," RHE 13 (1912) 34–72. * A. d'Alès,"Un texte eucharistique de s. Jean Chrysostome: 'Hom. IX De Paenitentia,' P.G. XLIX, 345," RSR 23 (1933) 451–62. * W. Lampen,"Doctrina s. Joannis Chrysostomi de Christo se offerente in missa," Ant 18 (1943) 3–16. * L. Morins,"Eucharistiae promissio secundum Joannem Chrysostomum in Hom. ad Joannem 6," diss. (Rome, 1949). * G. Fittkau, *Der Begriff des Mysteriums bei Johannes Chrysostomus: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff des "Kultmysteriums" in der Lehre O. Casels*, Theophaneia 9 (Bonn, 1953). * A. Hoffmann, "Der Mysterienbegriff bei Johannes Chrysostomus," FZPT 3 (1956) 418–22. * G. Tilea, "Eulavia eucharistica dupa Sfîntul Joan Gură de Aur," *Studii Teologice* 9 (1957) 631–48. * G. Stöcker, "Eucharistische Gemeinschaft bei Chrysostomus," ST 2, TU 64 (Berlin, 1957) 309–16. * F. van de Pavard, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts: Analyse der Quellen bein Johannes Chrysostomos*, OCA 187 (Rome, 1970). * A.-M. Malingrey, "L'Eucharistie dans l'oeuvre de s. Jean Chrysostome," PP 52 (1972) 338–45. * A.J. Festugière, "Le voile de l'épiclèse," RHE 186 (1974) 45–53. * E.J. Kilmartin, "John Chrysostom's Influence on Gabriel Qatraya's Theology of Eucharistic Consecration," TS 42:3 (1981) 444–57. * F. van de Pavard, "Anaphoral intercessions, epiclesis and communion-rites in John Chrysostom," OCP 49 (1983) 303–39. * O. Pasquato, "Eucaristia e Chiesa in Giovanni Crisostomo," EphL 102 (1988) 240–52.* R.F. Taft, "St. John Chrysostom and the Byzantine Anaphora that

Bears His Name," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 195–226.

RECONCILIATION

P. Martain, "St. Jean Chrysostome et la confession," RevAug 6 (1907) 460–62. * J. Turmel, "St. Jean Chrysostome et la confession," RCF 49 (1907) 294–308. * P. Galtier, "Saint Jean Chrysostome et la confession," RSR 1 (1910) 209–40, 313–50. * A. Lagarde, "S. Jean Chrysostom a-t-il connu la confession?" RHL 4 (1913) 540–91; 5 (1914) 26–62. * H. Keane, "The Sacrament of Penance in St. John Chrysostom," ITQ 14 (1919) 305–17. * J.F. Gilliam, "Scylla and Sin," *Philological Quarterly* (Iowa) 29 (1950) 345–47. * F. Leduc, "Péché et conversion chez s. Jean Chrysostome," PrOChr 26 (1976) 34–58; 27 (1977) 15–42; 28 (1978) 44–84. * I.R. Torrance, "'God the Physician': Ecclesiology, Sin and Forgiveness in the Preaching of St. John Chrysostom," GOTR 44 (1999) 163–76.

LITURGICAL YEAR

A. Baumstark, "Die Zeit der Einfürung des Weihachtsfestes in Konstantinopel," OC 2 (1902) 441–46. * K. Lübeck, "Die Einführung des Weinachstfestes in Konstantinopel," HJG 28 (1907) 109–18. * H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, 2nd ed. (Bonn, 1911) 379–84. * E. Mahler, "Zur Chronologie der Predigten wegen der Weinachtsfeier," OLZ 24 (1921) 59–63. * R.V. Schoder, "St. Chrysostom and the Date of Christ's Nativity," TS 3 (1942) 140–44. * E. Bickersteth, "John Chrysostom and the Early History of the Hypapante," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 8 (1953) 401–4. * C. Mohrmann, "Note sur l'homélie pascale VI de la collection pseudo-chrysostomienne dite Des petites trompettes," in *Mélanges M. Andrieu* (Strasbourg, 1957) 351–60. * J. Bauer, "A propos d'un passage à corriger de l'homélie pascale VI de la collection pseudo-chrysostomienne," VC 13 (1959) 184–86. * E. Theodorum, "Saint Jean Chrysostome et la fête de Noël," in *Noël, Epiphanie, retour du Christ*, LO 40 (Paris, 1967) 9–23. * J. Fotopoulos, "John Chrysostom: On the Holy Pascha," GOTR 37 (1992) 123–34. * E. Ferguson, "Preaching at Epiphany: Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom on Baptism and the Church," CH 66 (1997) 1–17.

OTHER TOPICS

E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * P. Stockmeier, *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus*, Trier Theologische Studien 18 (Trier, 1966). * A. Nocent, "Il sacerdozio dei fedeli secondo Giovanni Crisostomo," VetChr 7 (1970) 305–24. * R. Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomus*, FThSt 94 (Freiburg i. B., Basel, and Vienna, 1974). * L.J. Patsavos, "The Image of the Priest according to the Three Hierarchs," GOTR 21 (1976) 55–70. * E. Dekkers, "Limites sociales et linguistiques de la pastorale liturgique de s. Jean Chrysostome," Aug 20 (1980) 119–29. * J-R. Boucher, "Jean Chrysostome: le Christ, les pauvres et la prédication," VS 140 (1986) 89–100. * J.-P. Mondet, "Clartés sur le sacerdoce ministériel: le témoignage de s. Jean Chrysostom dans son 'Commentaire sur l'épître aux Hébreux,'" *La foi et le temps*, n.s., 18 (1988) 259–86. * M. Lochbrunner, *Ueber das Priestertum: historische und systematische Untersuchung zum Priestbild des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Hereditas, Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte 5 (Bonn, 1993). * S. Zincone, "Valore e funzione della preghiera communitaria secondo Giovanni Crisostomo," Aug 35 (1995) 705–13. * W. Mayer, "Who Came to Hear John Chrysostom Preach? Recovering a Late Fourth-Century Preacher's Audience," ETL 76 (2000) 73–87.

74-A. Homilies on the Psalms

This series of fifty-eight homilies—the manuscript tradition calls them "explanations"—on Psalms 4–12, 43–49, 108–17, 119–50 (the numbering here being that of the LXX) comes from Chrysostom's days in Antioch, perhaps ca. 396. It has been suggested that these sermons were never actually preached.

74-A-1. ON PSALM 7[†]

1464 15. [. . .] God has accepted sacrifices without needing them. As he says, "If I were hungry I would not tell you." Yet because he desired to allow us the opportunity of praising him, so he accepts hymns, not because he needs beautiful sounds but because he desires our salvation. [. . .]

74-A-2. ON PSALM 49[††]

1465 [. . .] Since God saw the frivolity of many, their distaste for reading about spiritual things, and their disinclination for the effort that accompanies it, he wished to make this task more pleasant and less arduous. This is why God linked melody to his words. He desired that our souls, influenced by the lilt of the melody, might most willingly send up holy hymns to him. Nothing so edifies and gives wings to the soul, frees it from the earth and from the chains of the body, makes it contemplative and contemptuous of earthly things as the melody of music and a godly and rhythmic song. [. . .]

74-A-3. ON PSALM 140[†††]

1466 1. Certainly almost all know the words of this psalm and constantly sing it throughout every season. Yet they do not understand its meaning. [. . .] Pay close attention. Why did the fathers enjoin that this psalm be said each day in the evening? I believe they had a reason but not because of the words "the raising of my hands like an evening sacrifice,"[1] for the same is also found in other psalms where we read, "Evening and morning and at noon I will declare and make known."[2] Also, "Yours is the day and yours is the night."[3] Also, "Weeping shall tarry for the evening, but joy shall be in the morning."[4] Many other psalms are appropriate for the evening. And so it was not because of suitability that the fathers enjoined this psalm; rather, they appointed it as a salutary medicine and as a means for expiating sins so that whatever stains or faults beset us throughout the day, whether in the market, at home, or in any other place, we, when we come to the evening, might wipe away [sins] through this spiritual song. It is a remedy that removes all these sins.

[†] Translated from PG 55:104.

[††] Translated from PG 55:156.

[†††] Translated from PG 55:426–27.

1. Ps 140:2. 2. Ps 54:17. 3. Ps 73:16. 4. Ps 29:5.

The same is true for the morning psalm, namely, Psalm 62, and nothing 1467
prohibits us from briefly calling this psalm to mind. It inflames our desire for God; it stirs up and excites the soul, filling it with great joy and love so that it can approach God. Let us see how it begins and what it teaches us: "O God, my God, early I wait for you. My soul thirsts for you."[5] [. . .]

74-A-4. ON PSALM 144†

1. Pay careful attention to this psalm; its text is continuously sung by 1468
those who have been initiated into our holy mysteries. "The eyes of all look to you, and you will give them food in due time."[1] Those who are children and who take delight at the spiritual table have worthily given glory to the Father. For he says, "A child glorifies the father, and a servant will fear the master."[2] You have been made children [of God], and you take pleasure at the holy altar as you eat the Body and Blood of him who gave you rebirth. Give thanks for such a benefit and give glory and honor to him who provided you with all these. [. . .]

74-A-5. ON PSALM 145††

2. [. . .] David once sang the psalms; today we join him in doing so. His 1469
cithara was made from inanimate strings; the Church's cithara is full of living strings. Our tongues are the chords of the cithara which come forth as a diverse sound yet form a divine harmony. Women, men, the aged, youth, are all certainly individual persons, but they are not individuals when they sing hymns, for the Spirit, governing the voice of each, brings about one melody in all. [. . .]

74-A-6. ON PSALM 149†††

2. [. . .] To be sure, some understand these instruments metaphorically: 1470
the tambourine signifying the mortality of our flesh; the psaltery signifying our gazing up toward heaven. For this instrument [the tambourine] is played with a downward stroke, not with an upward one as is the cithara. I would say that the Jews played these instruments in times past because of their dull temperament and so that they might be torn away from idols. Just as God allowed them to sacrifice, so God, accommodating himself to their weakness, allowed them these instruments.

74-B. Homilies on Isaiah

Some of Chrysostom's six homilies on Isaiah 6 were delivered in Antioch, others in Constantinople.

---

5. Ps 62:1.

† Translated from PG 55:464.

1. Ps 144:15. 2. Mal 1:6.

†† Translated from PG 55:521.

††† Translated from PG 55:494.

74-B-1. HOMILY 1†

1471 1. [. . .] Why do I think that my words will result in actions? Surely by the present gathering of the people, by the zeal you show in taking your places in the church, which is the mother of us all, by standing throughout the night, by the singing of hymns in imitation of the angelic choir, in all these ways you continually present offerings to the Creator. So many gifts of Christ! The legions of angels above reciting the liturgical invocation![a] Here below the people forming choirs in the churches as they repeat the same invocation! The seraphim above have resounded the hymn of the three-fold Holy; here below the crowd of people singing the same hymn! Those in heaven and those on earth form one festive assembly. There is but one thanksgiving, one happiness, one joyful choir. This choir, in fact, is the inexpressible descent of the Master who formed it; the Holy Spirit gives it cohesion; the approval of the Father gives it the ability to sing in harmony; also from on high comes the rhythm of its singing; touched by the Trinity as by a bow, it resounds with a pleasing and joyful song, with an angelic melody, with an uninterrupted symphony. It is the result of your zeal here; it is the fruit of your assembling. It is for this reason that I am so happy to hold all of you in such great esteem, why I am happy to see joy in your souls, why I am happy to see such spiritual joy, such divine joy.

1472 Nothing gives more joy to our lives than the satisfaction we feel at church. In church we see the jubilation of a happy people, courage given to the disheartened, happiness given to the sorrowful, relief given to the exhausted, repose granted to the weary. "Come to me," he says, "all who are weary and carrying heavy burdens, and I will grant you rest."[1] What is more desirable than to hear these words, to hear this invitation? It is a feast to which the Lord invites you when he calls you to church. It is the repose that he pledges you when you are fatigued. It is the calm he provides for you when you are worried. It is by easing the burden of sin through well-being that he heals discouragement. By happiness he heals all sorrow.

74-B-2. HOMILY 4††

1473 1. [. . .] Enter the church and see what makes this city noble. Enter and see the poor who remain there from midnight till dawn. See the holy vigils held day and night. See a people in love with Christ, a people who during the day fear not the constraint of poverty, who during the night fear not the tyranny of sleep. [. . .]

---

† Translated from *Commentaire sur Isaïe. Jean Chrysostom*, trans. A. Liefooghe, introduction, critical text, and notes by J. Demortier, SChr 304 (Paris, 1983) 44–47.

a. The *Glory to God*?

1. See Matt 11:28.

†† Translated from SChr 304:138–41.

74-C. Homilies on Hannah

Chrysostom's five homilies on Hannah, the mother of Samuel, were preached at Antioch during the Pentecost season in 387.

74-C-1. HOMILY 4†

5. [. . .] You ask whether a lay person, someone engaged in secular af- 1474
fairs, should hasten to the church and pray three times a day. Although it may not be convenient to do this, nonetheless such a person can pray in public places. To do so is more a matter of the mind than of the voice, more of the soul rather than of the lifting up of the hands. [. . .]

6. [. . .] By these words I urge you to be continually present in the 1475
church; at home with great peace may you pray at your leisure, doing so on bended knee and with upraised hands. But if the time or the place finds you out in public, do not forsake your accustomed prayers. I urge you, beloved, to pray and invoke God, no less certain that by such desired prayer you will obtain what you request. [. . .]

74-C-2. HOMILY 5††

1. [. . .] Pentecost is over, but the feast is not since every assembly is a 1476
feast. How can we prove this? Through the words of Christ himself who said, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them."[1] Now if Christ is in the midst of the assembled faithful, then what further evidence is needed that there is a feast? [. . .]

2. I say these things not to reproach all who have gathered but that I 1477
might persuade you neither to suffer nor to be sad at the small number of those who have assembled. For in church we require not a multitude of bodies but of hearers. [. . .]

74-D. Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew

This series of ninety homilies, preached at Antioch in 390, is the oldest complete commentary on Matthew's Gospel.

74-D-1. HOMILY 25†††

3. [. . .] Paul said, "Give thanks"[1] since the best way to retain a benefit 1478
is to remember it, to continually offer thanks for it. And so even the awesome mysteries, so salutary, which we celebrate at each gathering are called the Eucharist [i.e., the "Thanksgiving"] because they commemorate many benefits, signifying the very sum of God's care for us. In every way

† Translated from PG 54:667–68.

†† Translated from PG 54:670.

1. Matt 18:20.

††† Translated from PG 58:351.

1. Matt 1:22.

they call us to be thankful. [. . .] We are to be thankful not only for our own blessings but also for those of others. In this way we can remove envy and foster charity by making it more sincere. Nor will it be possible for you to continue envying those for whom you give thanks to the Lord. And so, as you know, the priest, when the sacrifice is offered, also enjoins us to give thanks for the whole world, for those who lived before us, for our contemporaries, for those already born, for those to come in the future. [. . .]

74-D-2. HOMILY 50[†]

1479 4. [. . .] If you wish to honor Christ's Body, then do not neglect him when he is naked. Do not honor him here [in the church] with silken garments while neglecting him outside as he perishes from the cold and from a lack of clothing. He who said, "This is my Body,"[1] also said, "You saw me hungry and did not feed me."[2] [. . .] Spend your wealth on the poor since God has no need of golden vessels but of golden souls.

1480 5. [. . .] Is it useful for Christ's table to be loaded with golden vessels when another person is perishing due to hunger? You should first feed the hungry, and then from what remains adorn the Lord's table. [. . .]

74-D-3. HOMILY 71[††]

1481 4. [. . .] The first prayer—this we say for the energumens[a]—is a prayer that throughout recalls God's mercy; the second, said for those doing penance, also requests an abundance of his mercy; the third is for ourselves when innocent children appear before the assembly to implore God's mercy. [. . .]

74-E. Homilies on the Gospel of John

Chrysostom's eighty-eight homilies on the Gospel of John are noted for their brevity, each taking about ten to fifteen minutes to deliver. They date from ca. 391.

74-E-1. HOMILY 11[†††]

1482 1. [. . .] I have one favor to ask of you before I proceed to the text of the Gospel. Refuse not my request since what I ask is neither heavy nor burdensome. Yet if granted, it will benefit both me who requested it as well as you; perhaps it will even be most useful to those of you who grant my request. What I ask is that each of you take in hand that section of the

---

[†] Translated from PG 58:508–9.

1. Matt 20:26. 2. Matt 25:42.

[††] Translated from PG 58:666.

a. Energumens: those afflicted with mental illness.

[†††] Translated from PG 59:77.

Gospels which is to be read to you on the first day of the week or even on the Sabbath. Then previous to that day sit down at home and go over it a number of times, carefully considering and examining what is said, noticing what is clear and what is obscure, what words seem to create contention but really do not. Once you have considered everything, then go to hear it read. Both of us will greatly profit from this. For our part, we need not apply ourselves to clarifying the meaning of the words since you will already be familiar with their meaning. And by doing this you will obtain greater understanding of and insight into what you hear and learn as well as in what you teach. [. . .]

74-E-2. HOMILY 46†

2. [. . .] We must learn how wonderful are the mysteries, why they 1483
were given, what is their benefit. "We are," he says, "one body, members of his flesh and of his bones."[1] Let the initiated [the baptized] follow what I am going to say.

3. So that we may become [his members] not in love alone but in very 1484
deed, we are to be mixed into his flesh. This is brought about by the food he gave us to show his love for us. This is why he has mixed himself with us and made us into a whole body so that we might be one, like the body joined to its head. This is a sign of his great love. [. . .]

74-F. Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles

The fifty-five homilies on the Acts of the Apostles form the oldest commentary on the Acts that has come down to us. The homilies were given at Constantinople in 400.

74-F-1. HOMILY 18††

4. [. . .] Should not each individual believer construct a church? [. . .] 1485
I beseech and implore you, I entreat you as a favor, yes even as a law do I require that no estate should lack a church. Don't tell me that a church is close by. Or that there is one in the vicinity. Or that the expense is great whereas available funds are modest. [. . .] Forever will prayers for you be offered there. Because of you there will be gatherings for prayer as well as the sacrifice on each Lord's Day. What is more admirable? That others have constructed magnificent tombs and for this posterity remembers them? Or that you have built churches? Remember that at Christ's coming you will be rewarded for having raised up God's altar.

5. Imagine that the emperor ordered you to build him a house in which 1486
he will reside. Would you not do everything in your power? Here it is the

† Translated from PG 59:260.

1. Eph 5:30.

†† Translated from PG 60:147–48.

palace of Christ, the church, which you are building. Pay no attention to the cost. Just reckon the profit. [. . .] Start by constructing a small building as a temple. Someone after you will build a porch; later on another will make further additions, and the whole will be credited to you. You gave only a little and yet receive the whole reward. At any rate, begin by laying a foundation. Encourage one another; see who can outdo another in this matter. But now, where straw, grain, and the like are stored, it is easy to build. Yet for a place where spiritual fruit may be gathered, no one cares. Consequently the people are forced to travel long distances, to undertake lengthy journeys, so that they may go to church. How good it is when the priest calmly comes to the church so that he may draw near to God and each day pray for the village and for the estate. It is no small thing that your name is always recalled in the holy offerings, and that each day prayers are offered to God for the village. [. . .]

74-F-2. HOMILY 26†

1487 4. [. . .] The church is to be a household having both men and women. There is no problem if there is only one man and only one woman. "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them."[1] Where Christ is among us, there is a great multitude. Where Christ is, there the angels together with the archangels and all the other Powers must be. And you are not alone since the Lord of all is with you. Also listen to the prophet who says, "Better one person who does the will of the Lord than ten thousand transgressors."[2] Nothing is weaker than a crowd of ungodly people; nothing is stronger than those whose lives are governed by God's law. If you have children, wake them up. May your whole household become a church during the night. But if the children are very young and cannot endure such keeping a night vigil, they can remain for the first or second prayer, and then send them back to bed. [. . .]

74-G. Homilies on the First Letter to the Corinthians

This series of forty-four homilies was preached at Antioch ca. 392.

74-G-1. HOMILY 8††

1488 1. [. . .] It may happen that the rulers are wicked and dissolute whereas their subjects are good and pious. It may happen that the laity live in godliness whereas the priests live in godlessness. But if grace required merit, then we would not have baptism or the Body of Christ or sacrifice. Yet as it is, God works even through those who are unworthy. In no way is the grace of baptism harmed by the conduct of the priest. Otherwise, the

† Translated from PG 60:203.

1. Matt 18:20. 2. See Eccl 16:3.

†† Translated from PG 61:69.

receiver would suffer loss. And so although such things happen but rarely, still we must admit that they do happen. [. . .]

74-G-2. HOMILY 24†

1. [. . .] "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not communion with 1489
the Blood of Christ?"[1] Very trustworthily and awesomely does he say, "The cup contains what flowed from his side, and we partake of it." He called it the cup of blessing because when we hold it in our hands this is how we praise him as we are struck by wonder and astonishment at his indescribable gift, blessing him because he poured out this very gift so that we may not remain in error; we also bless him not only for having poured it out but also for sharing it with us. [. . .]

2. [. . .] Under the old Law people were very imperfect, and so God 1490
did not scorn to receive the blood they were offering to idols. He did so in order to draw them away from those idols; and this very thing again was because of his indescribable tender affection. But now he has transformed the priestly action into something that is most awesome and magnificent. He has changed the sacrifice itself; he commands not the butchering of dumb animals but the offering up of himself. [. . .] What is the bread? It is the Body of Christ. What do those who partake of it become? They become the Body of Christ. Not many bodies, but one Body. For just as the bread, consisting of many grains, is made one,[a] and the individual grains are no longer apparent yet still exist, so too we are joined to one another and to Christ. For you are not nourished by one Body while another person is nourished by a different Body. Rather, all are nourished by the same Body. [. . .]

4. [. . .] When you see [the Body of Christ] upon the altar, say to your- 1491
self, "Because of this Body I am no longer earth and ashes, no longer a prisoner but free. Because of this Body I hope for heaven, and I hope to receive the good things that are in heaven, immortal life, the lot of the angels, intimacy with Christ. This Body, scourged and nailed to the cross, death did not overcome. [. . .] This Body was stained with blood and was pierced by a lance; from it gushed forth those saving streams, one of blood and the other of water, for all the world." [. . .] This is the Body he gave us, both to reserve [for future consumption?] and to eat. [. . .]

5. Let us then approach him with fervor and burning love so that we 1492
may avoid punishment. In proportion to the greatness of the benefits we have received, so the more we are chastised when we show that we are unworthy of these benefits. [. . .] Let us therefore rouse ourselves and be filled with awe. May we show a reverence far exceeding that of the barbarians [the three Magi] so that we may not bring down fire upon our

† Translated from PG 61:199–205.

a. See *Didache* IX.4 (WEC 1:186).

1. 1 Cor 10:16.

heads by recklessly and carelessly approaching. I say all this not to keep anyone from approaching but from thoughtlessly doing so. [. . .] In royal palaces what is most glorious is not the walls or the golden roofs, but the king sitting on the throne; likewise in heaven it is the body of the King. Yet you are allowed to see this on earth. It is not angels, not the archangels, not the highest heavens that I show you, but the very Lord of all these. Do you not see what is most precious on earth? Not only see but touch? Not only touch but eat? And after eating you return home? Cleanse your soul; prepare it for receiving these mysteries. [. . .]

74-G-3. HOMILY 27[†]

1493 5. [. . .] You have tasted the Blood of the Lord, and yet you do not acknowledge your brethren. And so just how worthy are you? Even though you did not acknowledge them formerly, it was fitting for you to do so at this table, a table you disgrace when those who are worthy to share it with you [for the Eucharist], you do not believe worthy to participate with you in a meal. [. . .] All join the poor in approaching the holy table. But upon leaving we do not appear to have seen the poor; we are drunk and carelessly pass by those who are hungry, something the Corinthians were accused of. When does this happen? Always but especially at feasts, a time when this should not occur. It is then that drunkenness and contempt for the poor immediately follow Communion. [. . .]

74-G-4. HOMILY 36[††]

1494 5. [. . .] At that time all came together and sang psalms. This we now do. At that time all were of one heart and one mind; today, however, such unity cannot be discerned since great warfare is found everywhere. The presider in church prays for peace upon all who enter, as it were, into his Father's house. The word "peace" is heard frequently but not its reality.

1495 At that time houses themselves were churches. Now the church itself is a house or rather something worse than a house. Much good order may be seen in a house: the mistress sitting on her chair with all dignity; the maid-servants silently weaving; the servants all carrying out their proper tasks. But here there is great tumult, great confusion. In no way do our assemblies differ from what happens in the inn, so great is the laughter, so great the disturbance. They resemble the baths and the markets where all engage in shouting and making noise. It is only here that these things happen since elsewhere it is not permitted to speak with one's neighbor in the church, not even when encountering a long-lost friend; such things are done outside the church and properly so. The church, you see, is not a barber shop, a perfume store, a place of business in the square. No, it is

[†] Translated from PG 61:230–31.

[††] Translated from PG 61:313–15.

the place of angels, the place of archangels, the kingdom of God himself. And so if someone were to lead you into heaven and even if you would see there your father or your brother, you would not dare speak. Only spiritual things are to be said. This place also is a heaven. [. . .]

6. [. . .] "What, do you not have houses wherein you can eat and drink? 1496
Do you not show contempt for the Church of God and humiliate those having nothing?"[1] This is what Paul said to those who despised the poor and feasted alone. May I say the same to those of you who carry on and hold conversations in this place. [. . .] The church is not a place of conversation but of teaching. Now, however, it is no different than the market or, if I not be too bold, the stage. [. . .] Our assemblies are anything but a church. [. . .] In truth there should always be only one voice in the church just as there is only one body. Therefore the reader speaks alone while the bishop sits in silence; the cantor sings alone and, though all give the response, the sound resounds as if coming from one mouth. The one who preaches to the people speaks alone. [. . .]

74-G-5. HOMILY 40†

1. [. . .] First I wish to remind all the baptized regarding the answer you 1497
were requested to make by those who during the night [of the Pasch] introduced you to the mysteries. I will then explain what Paul said so that this also will be clearer to you. Indeed I want to speak openly but I dare not do so because of the uninitiated, who make our exposition more difficult, compelling us either not to speak openly or to reveal the things that are hidden. Nonetheless, as I am able, I will speak cautiously, as if through a veil.

And so after uttering these mystical and awesome words and the ter- 1498
rifying rules of the doctrine that have come down from heaven, we add the following just before we baptize. They say, "I believe in the resurrection of the dead." It is upon this faith that we are baptized. After we have confessed with the others, we are led down into the fountain of the holy waters. This is what Paul had them recall when he wrote, "If there is no resurrection, then why are you baptized for the dead?"—namely, for dead bodies. This is why you were baptized, believing in the resurrection of your dead body. Your words speak of the resurrection of the dead, but the priest, as in a kind of image, shows you by very deed what you believed and confessed in words. When you believe without a sign, he then gives you the sign also. When you have done your own part, then God makes you more certain. How? By water. Being baptized, immersed, and then emerging is a symbol or sign of descending into and returning from hell. For this reason Paul refers to baptism as burial, saying, "And so we are buried with him by baptism into death."[1] [. . .]

---

1. 1 Cor 11:22.

† Translated from PG 61:547–48.

1. Rom 6:4.

74-H. Homilies on the Second Letter to the Corinthians

The thirty homilies on Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians were preached in Antioch, perhaps ca. 392.

74-H-1. HOMILY 2[†]

1499 5. [. . .] The laws of the Church command that we are to pray not only for the faithful but also for the catechumens. The law inspires the faithful to make supplication for the uninitiated. When the deacon says, "Let us pray earnestly for the catechumens," he does nothing other than urge all the members of the faithful to pray for the catechumens even though they are still outside [the Church]. They have not yet been inserted into the Body of Christ; they have not as yet shared in the mysteries; they still remain apart from the spiritual flock. But if we are to make intercession for the catechumens, then all the more we are to do so for our own members. [. . .] The words "Let us pray" are not only addressed to the priests but also to all the people, for when the deacon says, "Let us stand in order to pray," the deacon exhorts all to pray. [. . .]

74-H-2. HOMILY 18[††]

1500 3. [. . .] Notice how powerful is the assembly of the Church: it freed Peter from his chains; it opened the mouth of Paul;[1] yet in no small way does it plead successfully on behalf of those who come for spiritual honors. So it is that at the time of ordination he who will be ordained requests its prayers, with the people adding their votes and giving their assent by means of acclamations known by those who have been initiated into the mysteries; for it is not lawful to reveal all things to those who have not been initiated. Nonetheless, there are some occasions when there is no difference at all between the priest and those under him. An example would be when we share in the sacred mysteries; all are equally admitted to the same thing. It is not as under the Old Testament when the priest ate one thing and those under him ate something else, it being unlawful for the people to partake of what the priest partook. This is no longer true since one Body, one cup, are given to all. Also in the prayers the people are seen as contributing much. Whether for the possessed or for the penitents prayers are made in common both by the priest and by the people; all say one prayer, a prayer requesting mercy. Again, when we exclude from these holy precincts those who are unable to share at the holy table, another prayer is offered and all alike prostrate and all alike rise up. Again, in the most sacred mysteries themselves, the priest prays for the people who in turn pray for him since this is the meaning of the

---

[†] Translated from PG 61:399.

[††] Translated from PG 61:527–28.

1. See Acts 12:5.

words "And with your spirit." The offering of thanksgiving again is common, for the priest does not give thanks alone but all the people join him in doing so. Once they respond by assenting that it is "meet and right to do so," he begins the thanksgiving. Why do you marvel that the people speak with the priest when indeed with the Cherubim and the Powers above they join together in sending up to heaven these sacred hymns? I have said this so that all the laity also may be vigilant. Let us understand that we are all one body, having only such differences among ourselves as there are among members of the [physical] body. Let us not refer everything to the priest, but we also are to care for the whole Church as being a body common to us. Doing so will bring us greater safety and provide us with greater growth in virtue. Listen to how the apostles frequently allowed the laity to share in their decisions. For when the apostles created the seven deacons,[2] they first conferred with the people. And when Peter ordained Matthias, they conferred with all who were present, both men and women.[3] [. . .] The Church is to dwell as one household; it is to come together as one body just as there is but one baptism, one table, one font, one creation, and one Father. Why, then, are we divided when such great things unite us? [. . .]

74-I. Homilies on the Letter to the Ephesians

The twenty-four homilies in this series were given at Antioch between 392 and 397.

74-I-1. HOMILY 3†

4. [. . .] I notice that many share in Christ's Body casually and lightly, 1501
doing so out of custom and habit rather than from serious thought and understanding. When the holy season of the Forty Days occurs or when the Epiphany arrives, then, no matter what, some share in the Mysteries. Yet it is neither the Epiphany nor Lent that makes a time appropriate for receiving; it is sincerity and purity of soul. Possessing these, approach at all times. Without them, never.

74-I-2. HOMILY 14††

4. Consider what you just said. Of what table are these words worthy? 1502
Think of what your mouth touches, what it tastes, what kind of food it eats? Do you believe that you are doing nothing grievous when you revile your brother? How, then, can you call him a brother? Yet if he is not your brother, how can you say "Our Father"? For the word "Our" signifies many persons. Think with whom you are standing at the time of the

2. See Acts 6:2–3. 3. See Acts 1:15.

† Translated from PG 62:28.

†† Translated from PG 62:103–5.

mysteries. With the cherubim. With the seraphim. The seraphim do not revile. No, their mouths have only one task, namely, to sing the hymn of praise, to glorify God. And how will you be able to say with them "Holy, Holy, Holy" if you use your mouth for reviling? [. . .]

74-J. Homilies on the Letter to the Philippians

The fifteen homilies on the Letter to the Philippians were most probably delivered in Constantinople, thus between 398 and 404.

74-J-1. HOMILY 1†

1503 1. [. . .] [Writing to the Philippians, Paul begins,] "To the fellow bishops and deacons."[1] What is this? Were there a number of bishops in the city? Certainly not! Yet he used this word [i.e., "bishops"] to designate the presbyters. At that time titles were still interchangeable, and even the bishop was called a deacon [a servant]. And so when writing to Timothy, who was a bishop, Paul said, "Fulfill your ministry," your *diakonia*. That Timothy was a bishop is evident from the fact that Paul said to him, "Lay hands hastily on no man."[2] And also, "The gift that was given you with the imposition of the hands of the presbyterate."[3] Presbyters would not have imposed hands on a bishop. [. . .]

74-J-2. HOMILY 3††

1504 4. [. . .] Let us mourn for them [the deceased]; let us help them as we are able; let us provide assistance for them, small though it may be, yet as we can. How and in what way? By praying for them and entreating others to pray for them, by continually giving alms to the poor on their behalf. Doing so brings relief. [. . .] Not in vain did the apostles order that the deceased be remembered in the sacred mysteries. They understood that the deceased greatly benefit when all the people with open hands are standing as a priestly assembly and when the awesome sacrifice is displayed. How do we not please God when we pray for them? This we do for those who have departed in faith; the catechumens, however, are not deemed worthy even of this consolation. They lack all means of help except one, namely, that we give alms to the poor on their behalf. When we do so, they receive refreshment.

74-K. Homilies on the Letter to the Colossians

The twelve homilies on the Letter to the Colossians were given in Constantinople, probably in 399.

---

† Translated from PG 62:183.

1. Phil 1:1. 2. 1 Tim 5:22. 3. 1 Tim 4:14.

†† Translated from PG 62:204.

74-K-1. HOMILY 12[†]

4. [. . .] After the monks have completed their morning prayers and 1505
hymns, they betake themselves for the reading of the Scriptures. [. . .] Then they perform Terce, Sext, None, and the evening prayers. Dividing the whole day into four parts, in each part they honor God with psalmody and hymns. [. . .]

5. [. . .] What need is there for dancing? Dances are found in the pagan 1506
mysteries, but among us there is silence and decency, modesty and peacefulness. The mystery we celebrate is a great mystery. Out with the harlots, out with the unclean! How great a mystery it is! Two come together and form one. Why no dancing when the bride enters? Why no cymbals? Why only profound silence and calm? When you gather, making not a lifeless image or the image of an earthly creature but becoming the image of God himself, why do you introduce such a pagan uproar, disturbing those present and filling their souls with shame and confusion? [. . .] Tell me, do you celebrate the mystery of Christ and then invite the devil? [. . .] Where flutists are, there Christ is not. Even if he should come, he first expels the flutists and only then he does wonders. What can be more disagreeable than such diabolical pomp? [. . .]

74-L. Homilies on the Second Letter to the Thessalonians

The five homilies on Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians were given at Constantinople between 398 and 404.

74-L-1. HOMILY 4[††]

4. [. . .] All things are equal among us, even the very source of our 1507
blessings. I do not partake of the holy table with greater abundance and you with less; we both partake equally. If I am the first to receive, it is no great privilege since even among children the oldest is the first to eat; nonetheless, there is no advantage in this. With us all things are equal. The saving life that maintains our souls is given with the same honor to both of us. I do not partake of one Lamb and you of another. We partake of the same. Both of us share the same baptism. We have both been judged worthy of the same Spirit. We are both hastening to the same kingdom. We are both Christ's brethren. All things we have in common. [. . .]

74-M. Homilies on the First Letter to Timothy

The eighteen homilies on the First Letter to Timothy were preached in Antioch, probably after 392 and before 398.

[†] Translated from PG 62:576–77.

[††] Translated from PG 62:492.

74-M-1. HOMILY 5[†]

1508 3. [. . .] Since priests cannot know those who are sinners and thus who unworthily partake in the mysteries, God often delivers them to Satan as follows. When diseases, attacks, sorrow, calamities, and the like occur, it is for this reason that they are inflicted. Paul shows this when he says, "For this reason many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep."[1] "But how," you ask, "when we approach only once a year?" It is indeed evil that the worthiness of your approach is measured not by purity of heart but by the length of time. You believe that not to receive more often is a sign of godliness; you forget that receiving unworthily, even if only once, burns a mark. [. . .] But why is time to be measured out here? Let us approach when our conscience is pure. The mysteries celebrated at the Pasch are not of more value than the mysteries celebrated today. They are one and the same. It is the same grace of the Spirit. It is always a Pasch. You, the initiated, know this. On the Preparation Day, on the Sabbath, on the Lord's Day, on the day of the martyrs, it is the same sacrifice. "For as often," he says, "as you eat this bread and drink this cup you proclaim the death of the Lord."[2] There is no time when the sacrifice may not be offered. So why is it called the paschal feast? Because at that time Christ suffered for us. Let not the time, therefore, make any difference as to when you approach. At all times there is the same power, the same dignity, the same grace, one and the same Body; one celebration is not more or less holy than another. [. . .]

74-M-2. HOMILY 6[††]

1509 1. "I exhort that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all."[1] [. . .] But what is "first of all"? It means daily worship. The initiated know that each day there are prayers in the evening and in the morning. They know how we make supplication for the whole world, for kings, and for all in authority. [. . .]

1510 2. [. . .] Let nothing bitter come forth from the mouth that has been considered worthy of such holy mysteries. Let the tongue, upon which the Lord's Body has been placed, never say anything offensive. Let it be kept pure. Let it utter no curses. [. . .]

74-M-3. HOMILY 14[†††]

1511 3. [. . .] Go to the dwelling of a holy man. What you will see there is not what can be seen in a private home. Nothing impure is found. Only silence and profound quiet. The words "mine" and "yours" are not used.

[†] Translated from PG 62:529–30.

1. 1 Cor 11:30. 2. 1 Cor 11:26.

[††] Translated from PG 62:530–31.

1. 1 Tim 2:1.

[†††] Translated from PG 62:575–77.

[. . .] As soon as it is day, or rather before daybreak, the cock crows. What you see is not a house where the servants are sound asleep, where the doors are closed, where all are at rest like the dead, while the mule-driver is ringing his bells without. None of this. All, immediately shaking off sleep, reverently rise when their president summons them. They form themselves into a holy choir. Standing, they raise their hands and all sing holy hymns. [. . .]

4. [. . .] As I said, at cockcrow the leader comes and gently touches the 1512
sleepers with his foot, rousing them all, for none sleep without clothing. Then as soon as they are awake, they stand and sing the prophetic hymns with much harmony and well-composed tunes. Neither the harp nor pipe nor any other musical instrument utters such sweet melodies as you hear from the singing of the saints in their deep and quiet solitude. The songs themselves are suitable, full of the love of God. [. . .] And when day is approaching, they again take rest. [. . .] Having performed their morning prayers and hymns, they proceed to reading the Scriptures. [. . .] Then at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and in the evening they perform their devotions, having divided the day into four parts. At the conclusion of each they honor God with psalms and hymns. [. . .]

5. [. . .] They die there since their bodies are not immortal. Yet they 1513
do not know death as death. The departed are carried to the grave with hymns. It's called a procession, not a funeral. When someone is reported to have died, great is the joy, great is the delight. No one dares say that a person is dead, only that he or she is completed. Then there is thanksgiving, much praise and joy as all pray that such be their own destiny, that their own struggles may end, that they may rest from labor and strife, and that they may see Christ. If any are sick, they have recourse to prayers rather than to tears and lamentations. Often enough it is not the physician's care but faith alone that heals the sick. [. . .]

74-N. Homilies on the Second Letter to Timothy

Ten homilies on the Second Letter to Timothy have come down to us. They were preached at Antioch between 392 and 398.

74-N-1. HOMILY 2[†]

4. [. . .] The offering is the same, no matter who offers, whether it is an 1514
ordinary mortal, whether it is Peter or Paul. It is the same that Christ gave to his disciples and which the priests now minister. The present offering is in no way inferior to the former because it is not men who sanctify but Christ himself who sanctifies it. The words are the same. The words spoken by God are the same as the priest now says. And so the offering is the same as is also true for the baptism he gave. [. . .]

[†] Translated from PG 62:612.

74-O. Homilies on the Letter to the Hebrews

These thirty-four homilies date from the last years of Chrysostom's time in Constantinople, namely, from 405 to 406. They were published after his death by Constantine, a priest of Antioch.

74-O-1. HOMILY 8[†]

1515 4. [. . .] Do you know the source of these words? Personally, I do not think you do, notwithstanding some exceptions. Yet every week these words are read two or even three times. The reader upon going up [to the *bema*[a]] first gives the name of the prophet, apostle, or evangelist who authored the book. The reader then proclaims [what is written] so that you might notice and observe these things and not only know the contents of the writing but also the reason for the writing along with its author. [. . .]

74-O-2. HOMILY 17[††]

1516 3. [. . .] What then? Do we not offer every day? Certainly we offer. We make remembrance of his death, and this [remembrance] is one, not many. How is it one and not many? Because the sacrifice was offered once, as was true in the holy of holies. This sacrifice is a figure of the former, and this is a remembrance of that, for we always offer the same, not one today, another tomorrow, but always the same. Wherefore the sacrifice is one. [. . .]

1517 4. But since I mentioned this sacrifice, I wish to say a few words to those of you who have been initiated into the mysteries. Although my words may be few in number, they have great force. They are useful. For they are not my words but those of the Holy Spirit. What then is it? Many partake of this sacrifice once a year, others twice, still others more often. What we say is directed to all, not only to those who are present here, but also to those who dwell in the desert, for these receive once a year, often every two years.

1518 What, then? Whom shall we approve? Those receiving once [a year]? Those receiving many times? Those receiving but rarely? I approve those who come with a good conscience and a pure heart, those whose lives are beyond reproach, whether they receive once, twice, or more often. Let these always draw near; those who are not without reproach should never do so. And why not? Because they bring down upon themselves judgment, condemnation, and punishment. [. . .]

1519 Tell me, I ask, when after a year you receive Communion, do you think that the Forty Days are sufficient so that you can purify the sins you committed. Again, when a week has passed, do you relapse into your former sins? Tell me now, if after a lengthy illness you have been in good health

---

[†] Translated from PG 63:75–76.

a. *Bema*: a raised area or platform used, for example, by the readers and cantors.

[††] Translated from PG 63:131–33.

for forty days, will you again eat the food that caused the illness and have you not also lost all that you previously did? [. . .] I say this not to forbid you from receiving annually but as wishing that you continually draw near to the things that are holy.

The priest [deacon?] proclaims this when he calls upon those who are 1520
holy, and by speaking in this way he sees to it that no unprepared person approaches. These are to be separated from the former. The same is true for the Church where some are in good health, others are diseased. By saying this he separates one from the other. [. . .]

5. [. . .] When he [the priest or deacon] says, "Holy things for the holy," 1521
he means "those who are not holy should not approach."

74-P. Homilies on Lazarus

The homilies on Lazarus, seven in number, were preached at Antioch in 388.

74-P-1. HOMILY 4†

4. [. . .] Why, I ask, are you ashamed? Why do you blush to acknowl- 1522
edge your sins? Do you relate them to another person who might reproach you? Do you confess them to a fellow-servant who might make them public? No, you show your wounds to the Lord, to the Guardian, to the Benefactor of all. [. . .] Unless you speak of the magnitude of your debt, you do not experience the abundance of grace. "I do not oblige you," he says, "to go to the middle of a theater and to call upon many witnesses. Tell your sins to me alone, doing so in private, so that I might heal your wounds and release you from your pain." [. . .]

74-Q. Homilies "On the Incomprehensible Nature of God"

The twelve homilies under this title are actually two series. The first series, consisting of five homilies, was preached at Antioch in 386–87. The second set was delivered at Constantinople in 397.

74-Q-1. HOMILY 3††

[. . .] Just as people cut olive branches and wave them before the king in 1523
order to obtain his pity and favor, so do the angels at this moment as they present not the olive branches but the very Body of the Lord as they invoke the Lord on behalf of all people. They say something like the following: "We beseech you for those whom you yourself have judged worthy of your love to the extent that you gave up your own life. For these we pour forth

† Translated from PG 48:1012.

†† Translated from *Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu. Jean Chrysostom*, trans. R. Flacelière, introduction by J. Daniélou, critical text and notes by A.-M. Malingrey, 2nd ed., SChr 28 bis (Paris, 1970) 224–25.

our supplications just as you shed your blood for them. We plead to you for these on whose behalf you offered your body in sacrifice."

1524 It is also at this time that the deacon has the possessed come forward and enjoins them to bow their heads so that they might supplicate by means of their bodily posture, doing so because they are not allowed to take part in the prayers of the assembly of their brethren. [. . .]

1525 You have approved what I have said. By means of loud applause you have shown that you agree with what I have said. [. . .]

74-Q-2. HOMILY 4†

1526 [. . .] Why do we habitually exhort you? Our intent is that you may pray with a sober spirit and a vigilant soul. I recently spoke to you about this, and I noted that you are eagerly conforming yourselves to my desires. Yet it would be illogical, after finding fault when you slack off, not to praise you when you improve your conduct. And so I intend to praise you today and show that I recognize your compliance. I will do so by teaching you why this prayer is said before the other prayers and why the deacon at this moment orders that the possessed and those held prey to pernicious ravings bow their heads. The influence of the demons is a pernicious and unbearable chain, a chain more unyielding than one made from the strongest iron. When the judge appears in public and proceeds to sit on his elevated chair, the prison wardens lead all the prisoners—dirty, with unkempt hair, covered in rags—to the iron railings and hangings of the court. In like manner our fathers established that at the moment when Christ will come to be seated, so to speak, on an elevated chair and show himself in the mysteries themselves, the possessed are to be brought in like prisoners, not to answer for their sins, as regular prisoners do, nor to undergo any penalty or punishment, but so that all the people, the whole village gathered in this building, might make common supplication on their behalf. With one heart all petition the Master of us all and loudly implore God to be merciful to the possessed.

1527 And so we censure those who are not present for this prayer and who, at such a moment, stay outside. I also wish to censure those who remain within, certainly not because they do so but rather, while inside they carry on conversations with one another at such an important time; consequently their conduct is no better than that of those who have departed the church. [. . .]

74-Q-3. HOMILY 5††

1528 [. . .] This is why I ask you, why I request you, why I admonish you to unceasingly confess your sins to God. My intent is not to lead you into a

† Translated from SChr 28 bis, 256–57.

†† Translated from SChr 28 bis, 316–19.

theater so that you might acknowledge your sins in front of your companions in misery, for in no way are you to reveal your sins to others. Lay bare your conscience before God, showing him your wounds and imploring his remedies. Address yourselves to him not as if to someone who lays blame but as to a physician. Furthermore, you gain nothing by being silent since God is omniscient. Speak out, then, it's to your advantage. Speak so that, putting aside all your sins, you may depart as being pure and freed from your sins and that you be thus exempt from an unbearable public acknowledgement [at the Last Judgment?]. [. . .]

74-R. Homilies against the Jews

Chrysostom preached eight sermons, *Adversus Judaeos*, at Antioch in 387. Extremely anti-Jewish and highly partisan, these sermons seem to have been occasioned by what, in his mind, was too close a relationship between the Christian (perhaps converts from Judaism) and Jewish inhabitants of that city.

74-R-1. Homily 3†

4. [. . .] The Pasch [the eucharistic celebration] and the Forty Days [Lent] 1529
are not the same. The Pasch is one thing; the Forty Days another. Whereas the Forty Days are celebrated only once a year, the Pasch is celebrated three times a week, sometimes four times, or even as often as we wish. The Pasch does not call for fasting but offering and sacrifice, these taking place at each gathering [of the faithful]. You may learn the truth of this from Paul who said, "Our Pasch is Christ who was sacrificed for us."[1] Also, "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord."[2] And so as often as you approach with a pure conscience, you celebrate the Pasch, not by fasting but by sharing in this sacrifice. [. . .] Truly the Pasch is to proclaim his death. What is offered today was offered yesterday, and what is celebrated on individual days is akin to and the same as what is celebrated on the Sabbath [Sunday]. One is not more or less valuable than the other. Both are considered awesome and salutary.

Why, it is asked, do we fast for the forty days. In the past and especially at 1530
this time of year when Christ gave us the holy mysteries, many approached these mysteries in a heedless and thoughtless fashion. And since the fathers knew how much harm is done by a careless approach, they agreed to designate forty days of fasting, praying, gathering together to listen to God's word. On these days all—by means of prayer, almsgiving, fasting, vigils, tears, confession—are to be cleansed. In this way we may approach with a pure conscience. [. . .] Should a Jew or a pagan question you as to why you are fasting, do not say that it is because of the Pasch or because of the cross.

† Translated from PG 48:867–70.

1. 1 Cor 5:7. 2. 1 Cor 11:26.

By answering in such a fashion you make us subject to reproach. We do not fast because of the Pasch nor because of the cross. We do so because of our sins since we will soon approach the mysteries. The Pasch is an occasion not of fasting and mourning but of joy and happiness. [. . .]

1531 5. Although the catechumens fast each year, they do not celebrate the Pasch because they do not share in the offering. Those who do not fast, if they approach with a pure conscience, celebrate the Pasch, whether today, tomorrow, or any other time. The most appropriate time to approach the mysteries is judged not by the observance of certain seasons but by purity of heart. [. . .]

1532 6. [. . .] When the bishop enters and before going to his chair, he prays that peace may come upon all of you, and upon rising [from his chair?] he does not begin to instruct you till he has given the peace to all. When priests are about to give the blessing, they first pray for peace and then give the blessing.

1533 When the deacon invites you to pray together, he also does so by means of prayer in which we ask for the angel of peace and for all that will bring about peace. And he dismisses you from the assembly by requesting peace, saying, "Go forth in peace." [. . .]

74-S. Liturgical Homilies

74-S-1. HOMILY ON THE BAPTISM OF JESUS† [a]

1534 2. [. . .] This is the day on which he was baptized, the day on which he sanctified the nature of the waters. Also on this feast all who gathered in the middle of the night, having drawn water, set it aside in their houses and preserve it throughout the year. Today these waters are sanctified. What is wonderful is that the water has not been polluted due to the long period of time that has passed; the water drawn today will remain pure and fresh for an entire year, indeed for two or three years. Even after so long a time it will rival water that has just been drawn from the spring.

74-S-2. HOMILY 1 ON HOLY THURSDAY††

1535 6. [. . .] Christ is present, and he who prepared the Lord's table [at the Last Supper] now also prepares this table. It is no mere man who causes the gifts to become the Body and Blood of Christ, the very Christ who was crucified for us. The priest is playing a role when he says these words; the power and the grace, however, are God's. "This is my Body," he says. The word transforms the gifts; and just as the words "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth"[1] were said only once and yet give us the power to bring

† Translated from PG 49:365–66.

a. This homily was preached in 387.

†† Translated from PG 49:380.

1. Gen 1:28.

forth children throughout all time, so also these words, spoken only once, accomplish the perfect sacrifice upon every table of the churches till the present day and will do so up to the time of his coming. [. . .]

74-S-3. HOMILY 1 ON PENTECOST†

4. If there were no Holy Spirit, there would be neither shepherds nor 1536
teachers in the Church, for as Paul says, "The Holy Spirit has appointed you shepherds and overseers."[1] Do you see how this happens through the Spirit? Unless the Holy Spirit were dwelling within in this father and teacher of us all [within Flavianus the bishop] then when he ascended to his chair in the holy place and extended the peace to all, you acclaimed, "And also with your spirit." You would not have done this unless the Holy Spirit were actually dwelling within him. For this reason not only when he goes up, not only when he is ushered in, and not only when he prays for you, do you acclaim him in this way. You also do so when he stands at this holy table, when he offers this most sacred sacrifice. [. . .]

74-T. Other Homilies

74-T-1. HOMILY 2 ON PRAYER††

[. . .] Why do we lift up our hands when we pray? Our hands are 1537
involved in many types of sins and so we lift them up in order that our prayer may fetter evil and destroy wickedness. Therefore when you are tempted or otherwise burdened or stricken, you might recall that you lift up your hands as your advocates before God and that through them you offer a spiritual sacrifice. Do not obscure them or make them unworthy by doing anything evil. Rather, cleanse them by means of almsgiving, acts of mercy, protecting the poor. [. . .] This gesture is not yet permitted for the catechumens because they have not yet reached the fullness of the faith. You, however, are required to pray for the whole world, for the Church which extends to the far corners of the world, for those governing and ruling. When you eagerly obey, you witness the extent of the Church's prayer, a prayer offered together by the people. [. . .]

74-T-2. HOMILY 2 ON THE DEVIL†††

6. [. . .] We have indicated to you five ways of doing penance: the first 1538
is to condemn the offense; the second is to forgive our neighbor's sins; the third is to pray; the fourth is to bestow alms; the fifth comes from being humble. [. . .] Having learned, then, how our wounds are healed, we are to apply these remedies with perseverance so that, once we have regained

† Translated from PG 50:458.

1. Acts 20:28.

†† Translated from PG 63:586.

††† Translated from PG 49:264.

true health, we may confidently participate at the holy table and with much glory meet Christ the King of glory. [. . .]

74-T-3. HOMILY 2 ON THE OBSCURITY OF PROPHECIES[†] [a]

1539 4. [. . .] If the prayer of many people was able to free Paul from danger, is it not right that we should expect to benefit greatly from the assistance given by a similar type of prayer? When sick, we pray alone. But when physically stronger, we gather together and, supported by our many companions, we offer prayer to God. In like manner a king, condemning someone to death, does not permit one person to intercede for the person condemned. On the other hand, a king is easily moved by the pleading of the whole city. In this case the person about to be led away to punishment, now reprieved, is freed by the supplication of the multitude. So great is its prayer. This is why we gather and assemble in this place, namely, that we might more intensely beseech God to be merciful. As I have already said, when we pray by ourselves we are weak. We exhort God to grant—out of his love for us—what we request. Such is not given us by chance or only because of ourselves, but so that you might always hasten to the gathering. You are not to ask, "Can I really pray at home?" Certainly you can pray at home, but your prayer does not have as much power as when it is offered with your fellow members, with the whole body of the Church, doing so with one voice as it prays in the presence of the priests who present the prayers of those who have gathered.

1540 5. Are you anxious to learn how powerful is the prayer that is offered in a church? [. . .] If an ordinary person would command that you pray for the bishop's health and that you do this by yourselves, alone, each would have an excuse for not doing so. It's as if an insurmountable burden has been removed. Yet all of you hear the deacon commanding this when he cries out, "Let us pray for the bishop, for the elders, and for the clergy that they may properly preach the truth; let us pray for those who are absent; let us pray for the whole world." In this case you do not refuse to do what is enjoined. Rather, with great effort of the heart you offer prayers because you well know how great is the power of your assembly. Those already initiated into the mysteries understand what I am saying. The catechumens, however, are not allowed to participate in this prayer since they are not yet allowed to speak in church. You, however, pray for the whole world, for the Church which extends to the ends of the earth, and for all the bishops who guide the Church. It is with the utmost zeal that you comply with the deacon's request. By so doing you show the greatness of the power of the prayer that is unanimously offered in the church by the people. [. . .]

[†] Translated from PG 56:182–83.

a. This homily was composed in Antioch in 386.

74-U. Panagyrics

74-U-1. ON BERENICE AND PROSDOCE[†] [a]

3. [. . .] Early on there were lamentations and signs of grief for the 1541
dead. Now, however, there is the singing of psalms and hymns. The people spent forty days crying for Jacob, and for the same number of days did the Jews mourn for Moses[1] because at that time death was indeed death. At present it is different because now there are hymns, prayers, and psalms, all showing that the event is joyful. In fact, the psalms are a symbol of spiritual joy. "Is anyone among you happy? Let them sing psalms."[2] Since we are full of joy, we sing psalms over the deceased, the psalms exhorting us to have confidence when faced with death.

74-U-2. ON LUCIAN[††] [a]

2. [. . .] Be not surprised that I call martyrdom a baptism since here also 1542
the Spirit comes with its fullness; here also sins are forgiven; here also is a wonderful and astounding spiritual cleansing. Just as those being baptized are washed in water, so the martyrs are washed in their own blood. [. . .]

74-V. Baptismal Catecheses

We have two major collections of baptismal instructions given by Chrysostom, presumably in Antioch between 386 and 397. There is the collection of four instructions, given in 388–89, which were published in 1909 by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus from two tenth-century manuscripts[aa] Then in 1957 appeared a series of eight sermons issued by A. Wenger from a manuscript found in a monastery on Mount Athos. Excluding duplications and including a text found elsewhere (PG 49:231–40), twelve baptismal instructions are attributed to Chrysostom.

74-V-1. CATECHESIS 2[†††] (WENGER)

9. All of you, now that you have merited to have your names inscribed 1543
in this heavenly book, are to demonstrate a generous faith and a strong resolve. Faith is needed to bring about what occurs here; the eyes of the soul

---

[†] Translated from PG 50:634.

a. Berenice and Prosdoce: sisters martyred in Syria under Diocletian between 302 and 310.

1. See, however, Gen 50:3 and Deut 34:8. 2. Jas 5:13.

[††] Translated from PG 50:522–23.

a. Lucian: a presbyter of Antioch who was martyred in 312.

aa. See PG 49:231–40.

[†††] Translated from *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédits*, ed. A. Wenger, SChr 50 (Paris, 1957) 138ff.

are needed so as not to think only about what is seen but, starting from what is seen, to picture for oneself what is not seen. This, in fact, is what the eyes of faith do. Our bodily eyes see only objects perceived by the senses; the eyes of faith, however, are just the opposite since they see nothing that is visible, but they see what is invisible as if what cannot be seen is actually seen by their eyes. Faith properly grasps what we do not see as if we saw it. "Faith," according to Scripture, "is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things that are not seen."[1]

1544 10. What does all this mean? Why did I say that it is not necessary to pay attention to visible things but to look with spiritual eyes? It is so that when you see the pool of [baptismal] water and the hand of the priest extended over your head, you do not believe that it is purely and simply water nor that it is merely the hand of the bishop extended over your head since this is done not by a human being but by the grace of the Spirit. It is the Spirit who sanctifies the natural waters; it is the Spirit who descends upon you through the hand of the priest. Was I not correct in saying that we need the eyes of faith so that we might believe in the invisible without mixing therein a suspicion of what is physical?

1545 11. Burial and resurrection! Such is baptism. The old self is buried with its sin and the new self rises, "remade according to the image of its Creator,"[2] putting on a garment, putting off a garment. We put off a garment dirtied by the heap of our sins, and we put on a new garment, one that is cleansed of every stain. What shall I say? We put on Christ himself, "for all of you," says Scripture, "who have been baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ."[3]

1546 12. But since we are now at the threshold of your reception of such precious gifts, learn then from me, as much as possible, the reasons for the various rites. Knowing them well, you will leave here armed with more than enough knowledge. It is necessary, then, that you know why after daily instruction we send you to those who will exorcise you. This rite lacks neither gravity nor reason. It is the King of heaven whom you will receive within you. This is why after our sermon those designated for this task will take you as if to a house where the king will dwell; they will completely purify your soul by awesome words; expelling all the wiles of the evil one, they make your soul worthy for the coming of the King. It is impossible that the demon, as fierce and unmoving as it is, should not hastily depart after such wonderful words and after the invocation of the common Master of all beings. This rite also imprints on the soul great godliness and leads it to deep compunction.

1547 13. Finally—and this is admirable and unbelievable—all distinctions, all differences in dignity are here swept away. Should some be held in honor by this world or possess riches, should some be proud of their birth or the

1. Heb 11:1. 2. Col 3:10. 3. Gal 3:27.

glory they enjoy in the present life, they now stand alongside the beggar and the person clothed in rags or, as often happens, next to the blind and the crippled. They do not consider themselves unworthy of doing such since they now realize that nothing of this matters in the world of spiritual realities where what is sought is only a soul that is well-disposed.

14. See what fruit these words, these wonderful and powerful words, 1548
bring with them! But the exterior attitude—bare feet, hands lifted up toward heaven—all show us something else. Those suffering bodily captivity show by their posture that they are experiencing unhappiness; this is also true for the captives of the devil. Since they will soon be delivered from the devil's tyranny and come under the yoke of goodness, they recall by means of their posture their former condition so that they may understand from what they are now being delivered and toward what they are hastening, and to find in this understanding a further reason for giving thanks and for nourishing their good sentiments.

15. Do you wish that we now address those [the sponsors] who will re- 1549
spond in your name. We do this so that they also will know what rewards they will merit if they show great care in your regard and what condemnation their negligence will bring about? Listen to me, beloved. Those who stand bail for another are at more risk than the person who is paid the money. In fact, those who borrow show that they are well-disposed; they lessen the burden of the bail. But in a contrary case, if you grant bail, consider yourself as bound.[4] If, then, those who stand bail in the matter of money for another are liable for the whole amount, so those who offer spiritual bail, when it is a balance-sheet of virtue that is at risk, should show greater vigilance, exhorting, counseling, and reforming with parental love.

16. They should not think that this is just an ordinary thing. Let them 1550
understand that they share in the credit if by their personal admonitions they lead those confided to their care along the path of virtue. On the other hand, if they are negligent, they themselves will undergo grave condemnation. This is why we customarily call them "spiritual parents" so that they may learn what affection they should witness when instructing in spiritual matters. For if it is a beautiful thing to inspire noble zeal for virtue in those who are not related to us, all the more should we fulfill this precept in regard to those receiving the title "spiritual child." And so you, the sponsors, know that no small danger threatens you should you be negligent.

17. Now let us speak to you about the mysteries themselves and of the 1551
contract that will be made between you and the Master. In fact, just as in the affairs of this life, those desiring to entrust their goods to another must draw up a contract between the person entrusting the deposit and the one

4. See Sir 8:13.

receiving it. The same is true here since the sovereign Master will entrust you with non-earthly goods, goods that are spiritual and heavenly rather than corruptible and perishable. This is called "faith" since it concerns what is not visible but things that can only be seen through spiritual eyes. Thus it is necessary that the contract be enacted not with ink on paper but with God through the Spirit. In fact, the words that you say here on earth are recorded in heaven, and the promises proclaimed by your mouth remain forever with the Master.

1552 18. Recognize here the external signs of your captivity. The priests escort you in. First they instruct you to kneel, to raise your hands toward heaven, and thus to pray so that by this posture you might recall the one from whom you are freed and the one to whom you will be joined. Then the priest comes to each of you as he requests the contracts and the confessions; he has you pronounce these awesome words so full of unbelievable consequences, "I renounce you, Satan."

1553 20. [. . .] Then you say, "I renounce you, Satan, your pomp, your service, and your works." How few the words! How great their power! The angels who are present and the invisible powers who rejoice at your conversion receive the words pronounced by your mouth and lift them up to the common Master of all things where they are inscribed in the heavenly books.

1554 21. Have you seen the terms of this contract? After renouncing the evil one and all that benefits him, [the priest] again has you say, "I attach myself to you, O Christ." Have you not seen his unfathomable goodness? From you he has received only words, and he entrusts you with so great a treasure of realities. He forgets your former ingratitude; no longer does he remember your past deeds; he is content with these brief words.

1555 22. Then, after this contract of renouncing and attaching, after you have proclaimed Christ's sovereignty, and after your words have attached yourself to him, then, as if to a combatant enlisted for the spiritual arena, [the priest] anoints your forehead with spiritual myron and signs you as he says, "[He or she] is anointed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

1556 23. The priest knows that henceforth the enemy is furious, is gnashing his teeth, going about like a roaring lion as it sees that those who just recently were subject to his tyranny have suddenly defected, have renounced him, and have passed over to Christ, being obedient to him. This is why [the priest] signs you with the anointing and traces on you the sign [of the cross], doing this so that the enemy may turn away his eyes. In fact, the enemy does not dare look you in the face when he sees the lightning flash which leaps forth from it and blinds him. Henceforth there are struggles and counter-struggles against him, and it is for this purpose that the priest leads you by means of this anointing into the spiritual arena where you are athletes of Christ.

1557 24. When night arrives [the priest] removes all your garments and, as if leading you into heaven by that action itself, he anoints your whole body

with the spiritual oil to strengthen all your members and to render them invulnerable to the arrows coming from the adversary.

25. After this anointing, he has you go down into the holy waters, bury- 1558
ing the old self and at the same time raising up the new person who is renewed in the image of the One who created it. It is now that by the priest's words and hand the Holy Spirit descends; another person rises up, completely washed from every stain of sin, having laid aside the old garment of evil and being clothed with a royal garment.

26. That you might also learn that the Father and the Son and the Holy 1559
Spirit are but one subsfance, baptism is conferred as follows. When the priest says, "So and so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," three times does he plunge the person's head into the water and lift it up again, thus preparing this person by this mystical rite to receive the coming of the Holy Spirit. It is not only the priest who touches the head; it is also Christ's right hand. This is shown from the very words of the person baptizing who does not say, "I baptize so and so," but "So and so is baptized," thus showing that he is only the minister of the grace, that he only lends his hand, being ordained to do this by the Spirit. It is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the indivisible Trinity which accomplished all these things. This faith in the Trinity gives us the gift of the remission of sins; this confession grants us filial adoption.

27. What follows shows what those deemed worthy of this mystical rite 1560
have been liberated and what they have gained. As soon as they emerge from the holy waters, all embrace them, greet them, give them the kiss, congratulate them, and share in their joy since, formerly slaves and captives, they have become in an instant free people, children invited to the royal table. In fact, as soon as they come out of the pool, they are led to the wonderful table, the source of a thousand favors. There they taste the Body and Blood of the Lord and become the dwelling place of the Spirit. They have been clothed with Christ himself and as such, wherever they go, they are like angels on earth, radiant as the rays of the sun.

74-V-2. CATECHESIS 3[†] (WENGER)

5. "Blessed be God," we repeat it, "for he has done wonderful things,"[1] 1561
he who makes and renews all things. Those who yesterday were captives are today free, being citizens of the Church. Those who recently were in the shame of sin are now assured of justice. They are not only free, but also holy; not only holy, but just; not only just, but children; not only children, but inheritors; not only inheritors, but brothers [and sisters] of Christ; not only brothers [and sisters] of Christ, but also his joint heirs; not

[†] Translated from SChr 50:153–54, 158.

1. Ps 72:18.

only his joint heirs, but his members; not only his members, but also the temple; not only the temple, but also instruments of the Spirit.

1562 6. "Blessed be God who alone does wonderful things." You have seen how numerous are the benefits of baptism. Although many believe that its only benefit is the remission of sins, we have counted ten honors that are conferred by it. This is why we baptize small infants even though they are sinless. We do so that they may be given justice, filial adoption, inheritance, that they may become brothers [and sisters] and members of Christ and may become the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit.

1563 12. [. . .] God has also prepared a food that is more powerful than any armor. He does so that you may not hesitate to join the combat. Your victory is to be that of someone who has been joyfully filled at a meal. Now if the devil merely sees you returning from the Master's feast, he, the devil, flees faster than the wind as if he had seen a lion breathing forth fire. If you show him your tongue stained with the precious Blood, he will not be able to stand it. If you show him your purple mouth, he will make a full retreat like a pitiful animal.[2]

74-V-3. CATECHESIS 8† (WENGER)

1564 16. This is why I ask you to seek the goods that always remain and never change. If in the past I spoke about this, it was to interest you, both those who were formerly initiated as well as those who just recently merited the grace of baptism. On the days when we were continuing to gather at the tombs of the holy martyrs, we fully received the blessings coming from them, and we profited from their teaching. But since the rest of our gatherings will be interrupted, I believe it necessary that I remind you, my beloved, to always keep alive the memory of this important teaching and always to consider spiritual things as being more important than all worldly things.

1565 17. Show great zeal in coming here to the church at dawn, bringing to the God of the universe your prayers and praise, thanking him for benefits already received, and requesting his powerful assistance in preserving this treasure for the future. Then, upon leaving the church, may all devote themselves to their daily chores, one doing manual labor, another serving in the military, still another engaging in public life. May all go to their affairs with fear and trembling, and may the whole day be passed remembering that in the evening one will return to the church in order to render to the Master an account of the whole day and to request the forgiveness of sins. [. . .]

1566 18. This is why each evening we are to ask pardon from the Master. This is why we must flee to the goodness of God and invoke divine assistance.

---

2. See Exod 11:1–11; 12:1–20.

† Translated from SChr 350:256–57.

We must pass the hours of the night in spiritual sobriety, thus preparing ourselves anew for confession at dawn. If we rule our lives in this manner, we will be able to cross the sea of the present life without danger and merit the goodness of the Master. And when the hour for gathering in church summons us, we must prefer this gathering and all things spiritual over all others so that even what we now have will be placed in safe hands.

74-V-4. CATECHESIS 1† (PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS)

4. If you look into the very heart of the one lying there,[a] you will find 1567
it even more somber. In fact, just as the winds violently confront one another and divide the sea into numerous waves, so the representation of the terrors that beset him fall upon the sick man's soul and torture his spirit with innumerable cares. If he looks upon his children, he sees them as orphans; if he looks at his wife, he thinks about her as a widow; if he looks at his servants, he considers how empty the household will be; if he thinks about himself, he recalls his present life; on the verge of being separated from it, he allows himself to be engulfed by a cloud of discouragement. Then, in the midst of confusion within and without, the priest arrives, and his entrance is a greater cause for fear than the fever itself and is harder than death itself for the sick man's relatives. When the priest enters, the despair of the relatives is greater than the physician's announcement that there is no longer any hope. And so what is a sign of eternal life is seen as a sign of death.

6. It is necessary that those who approach these sacred and awe- 1568
some mysteries be ever vigilant and alert. They are to be free from every worldly care, chaste, and full of zeal so that they might expel from their minds all reflection incompatible with the mysteries; they are to clean their houses, making them ready as if to receive a king. Such should be the way you dispose your hearts; such should be your thoughts; such should be the determination of your souls. Having prepared yourselves spiritually, you are to await God's just reward, for he outdoes those who are obedient to him. Since servants must bring their personal contributions, so we are to bring what is ours or what the Lord has given us. "What do you have," asks the apostle, "that you did not receive? And if you have received it, why do you take glory in it as if you had not received it?"[1]

7. Above all and before proceeding to another topic, I would like to 1569
explain why our fathers, leaving aside the rest of the year, prescribed that the Church's children be initiated at this particular time; and why, once

† Translated from *Trois catéchèses baptismales*, ed. A. Piédagnel and L. Doutreleau, SChr 366 (Paris, 1990) 118–29, 136–37.

a. Chrysostom is speaking about the person who, having postponed baptism, is at death's door.

1. 1 Cor 4:7.

you have been instructed by us, your sandals and clothing are removed before, with bare feet and wearing only a small tunic, you are led in procession to hear the words of the exorcists. It is not without reason or purpose that this removal of clothing and this season have been appointed; both have a mystical and hidden reason, and it is this that I would like to explain to you. But I notice that today my discourse impels me to treat another subject, one that is more urgent.

1570 8. Now to explain what baptism is, why it was introduced into our life, and the numerous benefits it brings us. Yet if you agree, we will first speak about the names of this mystical purification, for it has more than one name. There are many different types. In fact, this rite of purification is called the *bath of rebirth.* "It has saved us," says [the apostle], "by a bath of rebirth and of renewal in the Holy Spirit."[2] It is also called *illumination,* and it was the apostle Paul himself who so designated it when he said, "Recall these first days when, after being illuminated, you endured a great conflict of suffering."[3] Also, "It is impossible to restore to penance those who were once enlightened, those who have tasted the heavenly gift and yet have fallen, to bring about in them the renewal of their conversion."[4] It is also called *baptism*: "All of you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."[5] Also *burial*: "You were buried with Christ," says the apostle, "into his death."[6] It is also called *circumcision*: "It is likewise in him that you have been circumcised by a spiritual circumcision by putting off from your body the sins of the flesh."[7] It is also called a *cross*: "Our old self has been crucified with Christ so that this body of sin was destroyed."[8] Other names can also be given. [. . .]

1571 12. Someone might say that if this bath removes all our sins, why not call it the "bath of the remission of sins," or even the "bath of purification" rather than the "bath of rebirth"?[9] The reason is that baptism does not simply remit our sins, simply purify us of our misdeeds; rather, its power is so great that it is as if we were born anew.[10] In fact, it makes us a new creation, not modeling us from the earth[11] but allowing a different element, namely, the nature of these waters, to create. In fact, the vase is not only wiped dry but the vase itself is recast, completely so. [. . .]

74-V-5. CATECHESIS 2† (PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS)

1572 3. I also wish to recall a promise I made to you during my previous sermon. At that time I failed to keep it because we were then drawn to a more urgent topic. Now what did I promise?

1573 I was asking why our elders, laying aside the rest of the year, ruled that our spiritual initiation take place during this season; I mentioned that the observance of a chosen time took place neither lightly nor by accident. It is

2. Titus 3:5. 3. Heb 10:32. 4. Heb 6:4, 6. 5. Gal 3:27. 6. Rom 6:4. 7. Col 2:11. 8. Rom 6:6. 9. See Titus 3:5. 10. See John 3:3, 7. 11. See Gen 2:7.

† Translated from SChr 366:174ff.

always the same grace, a grace unfettered by the season since grace is divine. And yet the observance of a designated season has, in itself, a mystical meaning. Why, then, did our fathers fix the date at this particular time? Because at this moment our King won the war against the barbarians—the demons, in fact, are all barbarians and even more cruel than the barbarians. This is when he destroyed sin, the moment when he annihilated death, overcame the devil, and took captives.[1] It is on this day that we celebrate the memory of this victory.

Why then did our fathers decide that the royal gifts be distributed at 1574
this time. It is, in fact, the law of triumph. The kings of this world act in like manner; they honor the days of triumph by numerous marks of honor. Yet their honor is most contemptible. In fact, what type of honor is found in the spectacles and in all that is said or done there? Are not these spectacles full of dishonor, meriting simple derision? The honor of this season, on the contrary, equals the goodness of him who gives it.

The reason our fathers appointed the present time for baptism is that 1575
this appointed time might recall the Lord's victory, and so that there be participants in his triumphal procession, so that these participants, wearing shining white garments, may go forward to honor the King. Yet this was not their sole motive; it was also so that you might join the Lord: "He," Scripture says, "was crucified on the wood."[2] You were crucified by means of baptism since baptism is also a cross and a death, but it is the death of sin and the cross of the former self.[3]

6. The motive for our fathers determining that your initiation take place 1576
at the present time has, I believe, been sufficiently shown by what I just said. Yet I want to fulfill another promise I made to you, provided you have not grown tired of listening. I wish to tell you why at this time we lead you, unclothed and bare-footed, in procession to hear the exorcists. Indeed, there also appears the same reason, namely, that the King, the victorious warrior, has taken prisoners.[4] As to what happens to prisoners, listen, for example, to what God said to the Jews: "'Just as Isaiah my servant walked without clothing and bare-footed,'[5] so the children of Israel will walk toward captivity, nude and without sandals." Wishing that you remember by your appearance the former tyranny of the devil, God thus leads you to recall your previous low condition. This is why you not only stand upright, without clothing and sandals, but even with raised hands you proclaim the sovereignty of the God toward whom you are now advancing. [. . .]

74-V-6. CATECHESIS 3† (PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS)

3. [. . .] I promised to explain to you why we are called "faithful." Why 1577
do we bear this name? We, the faithful, have received in deposit certain

1. See Eph 4:8; Ps 68:19. 2. See 1 Cor 1:23; Gal 3:13; Col 2:12. 3. See Rom 6:6.
4. See Eph 4:8; Col 2:15; Ps 68:19. 5. Isa 20:3.

† Translated from SChr 366:220ff.

realities that our bodily eyes cannot see, realities so great and awesome that they exceed our very nature. Human reason cannot discover them. Nor can human words explain them. It is only the teaching of the faith that understands them well. For this reason God has given us two types of eyes, those of the body and those of faith. When you enter to be initiated into the holy mysteries, the eyes of the body see water whereas those of the spirit discern the Spirit. The first contemplate the immersed body; the second see the tomb of the old self.[1] The former see flesh being washed; the latter see the soul being purified. The former see the body coming up out of the water; the latter see the new self[2] all resplendent coming forth from this holy purification. The former see the priest raise and then impose his right hand, touching the head; the latter see the High Priest who invisibly extends his right hand from the heavens on high and who touches the head. As to the person who baptizes, he is not a man but the only Son of God in person. [. . .]

1578 The priest who baptizes does not say, "I baptize so and so," but "So and so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." This shows that it is not the priest who baptizes but the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit whose name is invoked. [. . .]

1579 4. [. . .] Tomorrow, [Good] Friday, at the ninth hour you will be asked certain questions whereby you will enter a contract with the Lord. It is not without reason that I have recalled to you that day and that hour; it is possible to draw a mystical teaching from these. In fact, it was on the Preparation Day, at the ninth hour, that the good thief entered paradise,[3] that the darkness that ruled from the sixth to the ninth hour[4] was dispersed, and that [he who is] the physical and spiritual light was offered in sacrifice for the whole world, for it was then that Christ said, "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit."[5] It was then that the sun of the physical world, seeing the Son of Justice[6] shining down from the cross, turned aside its rays.[7] When at the ninth hour you are on the point of being led [into the church], recall the greatness of these marvels and count the gifts awaiting you. No longer will you be riveted to the earth, but you will rise again and your soul will be attached to heaven itself.

1580 Without any doubt it is necessary that you be led in together. Notice this. Everything is given to you in common so that the rich do not scorn the poor and so that the poor not believe they have less than the rich, for "in Christ Jesus there is neither man nor woman, neither Scythian nor barbarian, neither Jew nor Greek,"[8] and not only differences in age or nature but even those of condition will no longer exist. There will be only one dignity for all, one gift, one place of loving affection between us, one grace. And so it is necessary that once having been led in, all of you together kneel rather than stand, that you raise your hands upward to

---

1. See Eph 4:22. 2. See Eph 4:24. 3. See Luke 23:43. 4. See Luke 23:44.
5. Luke 23:46. 6. See Mal 3:20. 7. See Luke 23:44–45. 8. See Col 3:11; Gal 3:28.

heaven to thank God for the gift God has given you. The holy laws require that you kneel since by doing so you acknowledge the authority of the Lord. Kneeling is appropriate for those who recognize their servitude. Listen to what Paul says, "Every knee will bend before him, in heaven, upon the earth, and under the earth."[9]

6. "I renounce you, Satan." What is happening here? What does this 1581
strange and unexpected formula mean? You who are fearful, you who tremble, have you stood up against the tyrant? Do you scorn his cruelty? Who has pushed you on to such utter foolhardiness? What is the origin of your recklessness? You respond, "I have strong armor." But tell me, what armor? What ally? And you reply, "I am attached to you, O Christ. This is why I have confidence and face forward. I have, in fact, a powerful means of escaping the devil; this made me stronger than the devil although formerly I was fearful and trembling; also it is not only the devil that I renounce but all his pomp."

As to the pomp of the devil, there is every kind of sin: indecent spec- 1582
tacles, horse races, gatherings where there is laughing and shameful talk. The devil's pomp includes portents, oracles, omens, observing the seasons,[10] superstitious comparisons, amulets, and incantations.

The cross itself is an admirable amulet and a very powerful incantation. 1583
Happy is the soul that pronounces the name of the crucified Jesus. Invoke this name, and every sickness will depart, every satanic scheme will take flight. [. . .]

7. After these words, after renouncing the devil, after adhering to Christ, 1584
and in that you henceforth belong to Christ's family and no longer have anything in common with the evil one, [the priest] immediately requests that you be sealed and he traces the cross on your forehead. Since it is likely that the savage beast upon hearing these words will become even more savage—for he is shameless—and since he desires to attack you on sight, [the priest] by marking your forehead with the sign of the cross with the oil of the anointing, holds in check all the devil's fury. For the devil no longer dares to look upon such a sight. It is as if he had looked at the sun's rays and then jumped away; so in like manner he will lose his sight and depart.

The cross is impressed by means of the chrism, and the chrism used is 1585
made of olive oil and myrrh: myrrh for the sake of a bride, oil for the sake of an athlete. Once again, because it is not a man but God himself who performs this anointing through the hand of the priest, listen to what Paul says, "It is God who strengthens us and you in Christ and who gives the anointing."[11] Once he has anointed all your members, you will fearlessly be able to contain the serpent and will be protected from all harm.

8. After this anointing, then, all that remains is to proceed to the pool 1586
of the holy waters. Then the priest removes your garments and has you

9. Phil 2:10. 10. See Gal 4:10. 11. 2 Cor 1:21.

go down into the flowing water. Why without garments? This recalls your former bodily nudity when you were in Paradise and when you felt no shame, for as Scripture says, "Adam and Eve were nude and felt no shame"[12] till they took up the garment of sin, a garment loaded with immense shame. Do not feel any shame here since the pool is indeed better than Paradise. There is no serpent here; Christ is present, initiating you into the rebirth brought about by water and the Spirit.[13] There are no beautiful trees here, trees pleasing to the sight,[14] but there are spiritual graces. Here there is no celebrated tree of good and evil,[15] no longer the Law nor the commandments[16] but only grace and gifts. "Sin will have no dominion over you since you are not under the Law but under grace."[17]

1587 10. [. . .] I now wish to say something about the kiss. Each time that we approach the holy table we are invited to love one another and to share with one another a holy kiss. And why? Because, just as our bodies are apart, so we join our souls at this particular moment by the kiss. In this way our assembly becomes like that of the apostles when believers formed one heart and one soul.[18] In this way that we are to approach the holy mysteries, strictly bound one to another. Listen to Christ. "If you present your offering at the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, first go and be reconciled with your brother and then present your offering."[19] He did not say, "First offer" but "First be reconciled and then offer." This is why when the offering is there before us, we should first be reconciled with one another and only then go on to approach the sacrifice.

1588 There is likewise a second explanation, mystical, for the kiss. The Holy Spirit has made us temples of Christ.[20] And so, by giving one another a kiss with the mouth, we are kissing the entrance to the temple. No one is to do this with an evil conscience, with a hypocritical heart, for this kiss is holy. "Greet one another," says the apostle, "with a holy kiss."[21]

74-W. On the Priesthood†

Certainly among the most celebrated books of the patristic era is Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood.* The six chapters of this panegyric on the priestly office are written in the form of a dialogue between a certain Basil and John. Numerous conjectures have been made as to Basil's identity, some scholars believing that the person of Basil was simply a literary device.

1589 III.4. The priesthood, in fact, is exercised on earth but it takes place among heavenly things. It is rightly named since it is not the work of a man, an angel, an archangel, or another created power. No, the Paraclete

12. Gen 2:25. 13. See John 3:5; Titus 3:5. 14. See Gen 2:9. 15. See Gen 2:17. 16. See Gen 3:3. 17. Rom 6:14. 18. See Acts 4:32. 19. Matt 5:23–24. 20. See 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19. 21. 1 Cor 16:20.

† Translated from *Sur le sacerdoce: dialogue et homélie*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, SChr 272 (Paris, 1980) 132–55, 314–19.

itself has instituted this order by persuading men who are still in the flesh to imitate the service given by the angels. [. . .] When you see the Lord sacrificed and lying upon the altar and the priest standing as he prays over the victim and all present being stained with that precious Blood, do you think that you are still among humans and living upon the earth? Do you not think that you have been transported to heaven? Thrusting aside all earthly thoughts, do you not see around you, with your soul alone and as with a pure spirit, what is seen in heaven? How wonderful is God's love! He who sits at his Father's right hand is now held by all as he gives himself to those who desire to grasp him, to touch him. This is done through the eyes of faith. [. . .]

Do you wish to learn from another the sublime holiness of this [priestly] 1590
office? Picture to yourself Elijah before a vast multitude, the victim lying on the altar, and all those present being calm and greatly silent.[1] The prophet prays alone. Then fire suddenly descends upon the victim. All are amazed and greatly terrified. Now pass from this scene to what is happening at present. You will see that present realities are not only wonderful but even transcend any feeling of terror. In fact, the priest is standing there, requesting the descent not of fire but of the Holy Spirit. He prays at length not that fire from on high may come and consume the offerings but that grace, falling upon the victim, might thereby inflame the souls of all, rendering them more brilliant than purified silver. Would any, other than those who are mad or insane, scorn this celebration which inspires such great awe? Do you not know that no human being could have survived the fire of the sacrifice? All people with no exceptions would have been destroyed, would have been completely destroyed if God had not graciously bestowed upon them the assistance of his abundant grace.

III.5. [. . .] Priests have received a power given neither to the angels 1591
nor to the archangels. Were not the following words said to priests: "All that you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and all that you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven"?[2] The mighty of the earth have the power to bind, but they bind only the body. Priests, on the other hand, bind what concerns the soul, and this passes into the heavens; all that priests do here below is approved by God on high. The Master confirms the sentence given by his servants.

Did not God give all heavenly power? "Whose sins you shall forgive 1592
they are forgiven them; whose sins you shall retain they are retained."[3] What power could be greater than this? "The Father has given his Son the power to judge all things."[4] It is from the Son that priests have received this power. In fact, it is just as if they already were in heaven, as if they had already gone beyond human nature and separated themselves from human restraints. [. . .]

---

1. See 1 Kgs 18:22ff. 2. Matt 18:18. 3. John 20:23. 4. John 5:22.

1593 III.6. If no one can enter the kingdom of heaven without having been born of water and the Spirit[5] and if one who does not eat the Lord's Body and drink his Blood is denied eternal life,[6] and if all these things come to be only by means of holy hands, namely, those of the priest, then can anyone without priests escape the fire of hell and obtain the crown that has been prepared?[7] It is to these—yes, to these—that spiritual childbirth has been entrusted; it is these who have been entrusted with the birth that comes through baptism. Through them we put on Christ, we are buried with the Son of God, and we become members of this wondrous head. So it is that we hold priests in greater awe than rulers and kings; we honor them more than our parents, our parents who brought us into the world through blood and human choice.[8] The priest, however, is the author of our birth in God, a wonderful new birth, one of true freedom and of becoming children through grace.

1594 The Jewish priests were unable to deliver from bodily leprosy; all they could do was to state that someone had been released, and you know how the priestly office was desired at that time. But for our priests, on the other hand, it concerns not bodily leprosy but spiritual purification; they have received the power not just to determine whether someone has been delivered but the power to do so themselves. [. . .]

1595 [. . .] God has granted his priests a power greater than that given to their natural parents. The difference between them is as great as that between the present life and the future life since parents bring about birth to the first life, priests to the second life. The former are incapable of warding off physical death and are not strong enough to heal any sickness; the latter often save the sick soul or a person on the point of perishing, doing so by inflicting on some sinners a very moderate penalty or by preventing others from sinning. They do so not only by their teachings and warnings but also through the help of their prayers. They have the power to forgive sins not only when they bring us to rebirth but also after baptism. "Are any," asks the apostle, "sick among you? They are to call in the presbyters of the Church who are to pray over them after having anointed them in the name of the Lord. The prayer of faith will save the sick and the Lord will raise them up; even if a person has sinned, the Lord will grant forgiveness."[9] Furthermore, our earthly parents, if their children have offended important and powerful people, can do nothing for them, whereas the priest can grant reconciliation not with authorities and kings but with God himself. [. . .]

1596 VI.4. [. . .] It is, in fact, as if he were in charge of the whole world, as if he himself were the father of all, that the priest approaches God while asking him to end all wars, to put an end to troubles, to request peace, abundance, and quick deliverance from all the evils that threaten each of

5. See John 3:5. 6. See John 6:53–54. 7. See 2 Tim 4:8. 8. See John 1:13. 9. Jas 5:14–15.

us, whether these evils afflict us in public or in private. Just as those who govern must surpass the members of the community, so the priest must in every way excel those for whom he prays. So when the priest invokes the Holy Spirit, when he offers the sacrifice which inspires such great awe, when he constantly handles the Master of all, where, tell me, do we place him? What purity and godliness do we demand of him? Imagine, in fact, what are to be the hands that carry out such a service? What should be the tongue that utters such words? Should not the soul that receives this Spirit be purer and holier than all others? At such a time the angels stand around the priest; the *bema*[a] and the space surrounding the altar are all filled with heavenly powers honoring him who is there. What is celebrated gives proof to what we believe.

As for me, I have heard it said that an old man, an admirable man, 1597
someone who customarily had revelations, spoke of being favored by such a sight; at that moment he suddenly saw, insofar as possible, a host of angels garbed in sparkling robes, encircling and surrounding the altar, bending down as soldiers do when the king is present. I believe him. Someone else told me—this person not learning from another but personally seeing and hearing it—that those about to depart this life, if they partake in the mysteries with a pure conscience when on the verge of breathing their last, are led by the angels from here below because of what they have received. [. . .]

74-X. Letter 1 to Pope Innocent[†]

3. [. . .] Who am I to relate what happened next? It exceeded every 1598
tragedy. What words will we use to describe these events? What kind of ear will hear them without shuttering? During our exhortation, as I already said, a band of soldiers broke into the church toward evening on the great Sabbath. Violently did they expel all the clergy who were there with us, and, armed, they surrounded the church. The women from the oratories who had removed their clothing for baptism fled unclothed, terrified at this grievous assault; they were not allowed to put on a modest apparel fitting for women. Many people were wounded before being expelled. The baptismal pools were filled with blood, the holy waters being stained. This was not the end of it. Soldiers, some of whom we know were not baptized, entered the place where the vessels were stored and saw all that was within. As happens in such confusion, Christ's most holy Blood was spilled on the garments of these soldiers; every outrageous act was committed; it was like a siege carried out by the barbarians. Some people fled to the wilderness; many stayed outside the city; the churches were empty on this great feast; without reason more than forty bishops in

a. *Bema*: a raised platform customarily used for proclaiming the Scriptures.

† Translated from PG 52:533.

communion with us were driven away together with the people and the clergy. [. . .]

75. APHRAATES

Little biographical information on Aphraates exists. Writing during the early fourth century (died ca. 345), he belonged to some type of ascetic movement and held an office in the Church, that of bishop as some suggest. Known as "the Persian Sage," Aphraates is also considered the first Father of the Syrian Church. His theology is rather primitive, anti-Jewish, yet highly scriptural.

Altaner (1961) 400 * Bardenhewer (1908) 385–87 * Bardenhewer (1910) 333–35 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:327–40 * Bautz 1:51–52 * DPAC 1:58–61* Hamell 124 * Jurgens 1:302–7 * Steidle 137 * Tixeront 216–17 * CATH 1:686 * CE 1:593–94 * DHGE 3:936–39 * DictSp 1:746–52 * DTC 1.2:1457–63 * EEC 1:54 * EEChr 1:71–72 * NCE 1:653–54 * NCES 1:542–53 * ODCC 82 * PEA (1991) 1:835–36 * RACh Sup. 4:497–506 * TRE 1:625–35

A. Vanbeck, "La discipline pénitentielle en Orient de Denys de Corinthe à Athanase," RHL, n.s., 6 (1920) 181–229. * E.J. Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates the Persian Sage*, SCA 8 (Washington, D.C., 1945). * A. Vööbus, *Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 1 (Stockholm, 1951). * E. Beck, "Symbolum-Mysterium bei Aphraat und Ephräm," OC 42 (1958) 19–40. * R. Murray, "The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syriac Church," NTS 21 (1974–75) 59–80.

75-A. Demonstrations[†]

Aphraates is especially noted for his *Demonstrations*—also, though incorrectly, called "Homilies"—wherein he presents a summary of orthodox belief. The work has twenty-two sections, all of which—other than the last—are arranged according to an alphabetical (Syriac) acrostic.

1599 XII.10. Israel, in fact, was plunged into the midst of the sea during the night of Passover, the day of salvation. Our Lord washed the feet of his disciples on Passover night as a sacrament of baptism. What you should know, my friend, is that during this night our Lord gave true baptism. Throughout the time he spent with his disciples the priests were baptizing with the baptism of the Law, the baptism spoken of by John who said, "Turn away from your sins."[1] During this night he showed them the sacrament of baptism, namely, the suffering of his death as the apostle said, "We have entered with him through baptism unto death, and we have

[†] Translated from *Les exposés. Aphraate le Sage Persan*, vol. 2, trans. and ed. M.-J. Pierre, SChr 359 (Paris, 1989) 582, 587.

1. Matt 3:2.

risen with him by the strength of God."[2] Know then, my friend, that John's baptism does not bestow the pardon of sins but only conversion.

XII.13. What is required of us is that we observe the feast at its proper time, season after season: the fast in its purity, prayer that perseveres, praise that is constant, singing the psalms as is fitting, anointing and baptizing as necessary, blessings of consecration at their proper time, and carrying out all that pertains to worship. 1600

76. EPHRAEM THE SYRIAN

A native of Nisibis—today Nusaybin in Turkey—and born ca. 306, probably of Christian parents, Ephraem was ordained a deacon before 338, remaining in this order throughout his life. Sometime after 361 he and other Christians departed Nisibis, a town ceded by the Romans to the Persian invaders. Settling in Edessa—today Urfa in Turkey—where he continued teaching and preaching, Ephraem is generally credited with being the founder of the "School of the Persians," so-called because many young people left Persia to become his disciples there. Famous for both learning and holiness, he died in 373. Early accounts of his life often contain fanciful details, as deemed becoming by not a few biographers of the time.

Ephraem wrote in Syriac, but early on many of his writings were translated into various Eastern languages, Greek and Armenian among others. His literary output was voluminous, and yet not all compositions historically attributed to Ephraem are authentic. Although a number of studies on Ephraem have recently appeared, for all practical purposes we are still in an initial stage of research on his theological and spiritual thinking.

CPG 2: nos. 3905ff. * Altaner (1961) 401–5 * Altaner (1966) 343–46 * Bardenhewer (1908) 387–93 * Bardenhewer (1910) 335–40 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:342–74 * Bautz 1:1519–20 * Hamell 125 * Jurgens 1:309–15 * Steidle 137–39 * Tixeront 217–20 * CATH 4:299–301 * CE 5:498–500 * CHECL 362–71 * DCB 2:137–44 * DHGE 15:590–97 * DictSp 4.1:788–822 * DPAC 1:1103–7 * DTC 5.1:188–93 * EC 5:126–29 * EEC 1:276–77 * EEChr 1:376–77 * LTK 3:708–9 * NCE 5:463–64 * NCES 5:277–78 * ODCC 551 * PEA (1894) 6.1:17–19 * PEA (1991) 3:1090–91 * RACh 5:520–81 * TRE 9:755–62

INITIATION

E. Beck, "Le baptême chez s. Ephrem," OrSyr 1 (1956) 111–36. * J.P. de Jong, "La connexion entre le rite de la consignation et l'épiclèse dans s. Ephrem," in TU 64, Studia Patristica 2 (Berlin, 1957) 29–34. * L.L. Mitchell, "Four Fathers on Baptism: Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Ephraem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai," in *The Syrian Churches,* Series 6, ed. J. Vellian (Kottayam, 1973) 37–56. * G. Saber, "La typologie sacramentaire et baptismale de s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 73–91. * G. Saber, *Le théologie baptismale de s. Ephraem* (Kaslik, 1974). * E. Beck, *Dorea und charis: Die Taufe: zwei Beiträge zur Theologie Ephräms de Syrers,* Corpus Scriptorum

2. See Rom 6:3–4; Col 2:12.

Christianorum Orientalium 457, Subsidia 72 (Louvain, 1984). * V. van Vossel, "L'onction baptismale chez s. Ephrem," diss. (Baghdad, 1984). * S.P. Brock, "Some Important Baptismal Themes in the Syriac Tradition," Harp 4 (1991) 189–214.

EUCHARIST

E. Beck, "Die Eucharistie bei Ephräm," OC 38 (1954) 41–67. * L. Mariès, "Une 'Antiphona' de s. Ephrem sur l'Eucharistie," RSR 42 (1954) 394–403. * F. Graffin, "L'Eucharistie chez s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 93–121. * P. Youssif, "L'eucharistie et le Saint-Esprit d'áprès Ephraem de Nisibe," in *A Tribute to A. Vööbus*, ed. R. Fischer (Chicago, 1977) 235ff. * P. Yousif, *L'Eucharistie chez s. Ephrem de Nisibe*, OCA 224 (1984). * J.P. Amar, "Perspectives on the Eucharist in Ephraem the Syrian," Wor 61:5 (September 1987) 441–53. * S.P. Brock, "A Hymn of St. Ephrem on the Eucharist," Harp no. 1 (1987–88) 61–68. * S.H. Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread; Fire in the Wine': The Eucharist as 'Living Medicine' in the Thought of Ephraem the Syrian," *Modern Theology* 15 (1999) 225–46.

HYMNS

H. Grimme, *Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrers: mit einem Anhange über den Zusammenhang zwischen syrischer und byzantinischer Hymnenfor* (Fribourg i. S., 1893). * L. Mariès, "Une 'antiphona' de s. Ephrem sur l'eucharistie," RSR 42 (1954) 394–403. * I.-H. Dalmais, "L'apport des Eglises syriennes à l'hymnographie chrétienne," OrSyr 2 (1957) 243–60. * G. Khouri-Sarkis, "La Passion dans la liturgie syrienne occidentale," OrSyr 2 (1957) 193–204. * L. Mariès, F. Graffin, and L. Froman, "Mimré de s. Ephrem sur la bénédiction de la table," OrSyr 4 (1959) 73–109, 163–92, 285–98. * J. Gelineau, "Données liturgiques contenues dans les sept madrosé 'De la Nuit,'" OrSyr 5 (1960) 107–21. * L.-M. Froidevaux, "Sur un recueil arménien d'hymnes de s. Ephrem," RSR 51 (1963) 558–78. * J. Gribomont, "Les hymnes de s. Ephrem sur la Pâque," Mel 3 (1967) 147–82. * J. Gribomont, "La tradition liturgique des hymnes pascales de s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 191–246. * T. Kronholm, *Motifs from Genesis 1–11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian: With Particular Reference to the Influence of Jewish Exegetical Tradition*, Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series 11 (Lund, 1978). * E. Beck, "Glaube und Gebet bei Ephräm," OC 66 (1982) 15–50. * S.P. Brock, "A Hymn of St. Ephraem on the Eucharist," Harp no. 1 (1987–88) 61–68. * E.R. Hanbye, "St. Ephraem and His Prayers," Harp nos. 2–3 (1987–88) 47–52. * G.A.M. Rouwhorst, *Les hymnes pascales d'Ephrem de Nisibe: analyse théologique et recherche sur l'évolution de la fête pascale chrétienne à Nisibe et à Edesse et dans quelques Eglises voisines au quatrième siècle*, Supplements to *Vigilae Christianae* 7 (Leiden, 1989).

OTHER TOPICS

J.-M. Fiey, "Les évêques de Nisibe au temps de s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 123–35. * J. Gribomont, "Le triumphe de Pâques d'après s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 147–89. * I. Ortiz de Urbina, "L'évèque et son rôle d'après s. Ephrem," PO 4 (1973) 137–46. * L. Leloir, "Ephrem, diacre au service du peuple de Dieu," ComL 67:2 (1985) 153–59. * J. Naduvilezham, "Paschal Lamb in Ephrem of Nisibis," Harp 5 (1992) 53–66.

76-A. Hymns

Ephraem is most famous for his poetic works (he was called the "lyre of the Holy Spirit") and is considered the greatest of the Syrian poets, having left us over five hundred hymns or *madrāshē*. After his death these

compositions were gathered into collections or hymn cycles, for example: "On Faith," which includes five hymns titled "On the Pearl"; "On Paradise" (fifteen hymns); "On Nisibis," his hometown (seventy-seven hymns—four have not survived); "On the Church and on Virginity" (fifty-two hymns, some under the title "On Oil and the Olive"); "On the Epiphany" (thirteen hymns); etc.

76-A-1. *ON OIL AND THE OLIVE*[†]

VII.6. That oil is a friend 1601
of the Holy Spirit, and his servant.
Like a disciple, it accompanies him,
that with which the priests and the anointed are sealed.
By means of the oil, the Holy Spirit impresses
His seal upon the sheep;
Like a signet pressed in wax,
He impresses his seal.
So also the invisible seal of the Spirit
is impressed on our bodies with the oil
With which we are anointed in baptism
whereby we bear his seal.

76-B. Homilies

Called *mēmrē*, these homilies, also known as verse homilies, are written in a metrical style.

76-B-1. HOMILY 4 FOR HOLY WEEK[††]

IV.4. Our Lord Jesus took into his hands what in the beginning was only 1602
bread; and he blessed it, signed it, and sanctified it in the name of the Father and in the name of the Spirit; he broke it and in his gracious kindness he distributed it to each of his disciples. He called the bread his living Body, and himself did fill it with himself and the Spirit.

Extending his hand, he gave them the bread which his right hand had 1603
made holy: "Take, all of you, eat of this, which my word has made holy. Do not regard as bread what I have given you; but take, eat this Bread, and do not scatter the crumbs; for what I have called my Body, that it is indeed. One particle from its crumbs is able to sanctify thousands and thousands, capable of giving life to those who eat of it. Take, eat, entertaining no doubt of faith because this is my Body, and whoever believes eats it in Fire and Spirit. But if any doubters eat it, for them it will be only bread. And believers who eat the bread made holy in my name will be pure.

[†] Translation from Jurgens 1:313.

[††] Translation (with modifications) from Jurgens 1:311.

They will be preserved in their purity; if they are sinners, they will be forgiven." Those who despise it, reject it, or treat it with ignominy surely revile the Son, who called it and actually made it his Body.

1604 IV.6. After the disciples had eaten the new and holy Bread, and when they understood by faith that they had eaten of Christ's Body, Christ went on to explain and to give them the whole Sacrament. He took and mixed a cup of wine. Then he blessed it, signed it, and made it holy, declaring that it was his own Blood, which was about to be poured out. [. . .] Christ commanded them to drink, and he explained to them that the cup which they were drinking was his own Blood: "This is truly my Blood, which is shed for all of you. Take, all of you, drink of this, because it is a new covenant in my Blood. As you have seen me do, do you also in my memory. Whenever you are gathered together in my name in churches everywhere, do what I have done, in memory of me. Eat my Body and drink my Blood, a covenant new and old."[1]

76-C. Biblical Commentaries

Ephraem wrote a number of biblical commentaries of which only a few survive.

76-C-1. *ON JOEL* 2:24†

1605 "And your floors shall be filled with wheat, and the presses shall overflow equally with wine and oil." [. . .] This has been fulfilled mystically by Christ, who gave to the people whom he had redeemed, that is, to his Church, wheat and wine and oil in a mystic manner. For the wheat is the mystery of his sacred Body; and the wine his saving Blood; and again, the oil is the sweet unguent with which those who are baptized are signed, being clothed in the armaments of the Holy Spirit.

76-D. Sermon on Our Lord††

1606 [. . .] [The Spirit] used oil to put his mark on priests and kings. With oil the Holy Spirit puts his seal on his sheep. [. . .] When persons are anointed and signed in baptism, they are anointed with holy oil so that the body may be purified [. . .] in that baptism becomes as it were a second womb for them. [. . .] Priests assist this womb in giving birth. Anointing precedes the birth. [. . .] Oil, the source of healing, is applied to the body, which is the source of sicknesses because oil destroys sins as did the flood. [. . .] The oil lovingly accompanies the person who is immersed. [. . .] Oil, which by its nature penetrates within, unites itself to the body that is

---

1. See Matt 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24; Luke 22:19–20; 1 Cor 11:23–24.

† Translation from Jurgens 1:314.

†† Translation from R. Cabié and others, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3, *The Sacraments*, new edition (Collegeville, 1987) 40, note 112.

immersed, and when it is immersed it brings back from the depths a rich treasure. Christ, who by his nature is incapable of dying, put on a mortal body, immersed himself, and brought from the waters the treasure of life which our first parents had possessed.

76-E. Last Will or Testament†

[. . .] When thirty days have passed after my death, offer the holy sacri- 1607
fice for me; for the deceased profit from the sacrifices offered by the living.

77. *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS*††

Being the largest collection of legislative and liturgical material that has come down to us from early Christian antiquity, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (its full title is *Ordinances of the Holy Apostles through Clement*) was redacted in Syria or perhaps Constantinople not earlier than 341, probably about 380. The various authors (or final author) of the work show Arian tendencies, and for this reason the book as such was condemned by the Trullan Synod in 692. Among possible authors is Julian, bishop of Neapolis, who was the person responsible for the longer recension of the letters of Ignatius of Antioch (WEC 1:9). The author, who lists the *Constitutions* among the Scriptures of the Church, claims an apostolic origin for the work and says its instructions were written out and distributed to all priests and bishops by Clement of Rome (WEC 1:8)—this being a tad more than just a legitimate literary device.

Divided into eight books, the *Apostolic Constitutions* greatly relies on and modifies previous Church orders. Books I to VI are a revision of the *Didascalia* (WEC 1:38). The first half of Book VII (I–XXXII) is an enlargement of the *Apostolic Tradition* (WEC 1:31-A), whereas its second half (XXXIII–IL) reproduces the texts of what appear to be ancient Jewish blessings. Book VIII, using the *Apostolic Tradition* as its base, begins by considering various charisms (chapters I–II) and then proceeds to give various texts for ordinations and blessings (chapters III–XVI). Here we find the oldest complete text of the Mass, the so-called Clementine Liturgy (chapters VI–XV). The Book continues with providing a number of legal regulations (chapters XXVII–XLVII); the last chapter (XLVIII) contains eighty-five prescriptions, mostly for the clergy and called the *Apostolic Canons*.

† Translated from M.J. Rouet de Journel, *Enchiridion Patristicum: Loci SS. Patrum, Doctorum, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (Freiburg i. B., 1913) 256, no. 741.

†† Translated from *Les constitutions apostoliques*, trans. and ed. M. Metzger, SChr 320, 329, 336 (Paris, 1985–86). Headings are based on those given by the editor in SChr. For a commentary on the liturgical directives of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, see W.J. Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions* as listed in the initial bibliography.

CPG 1: no. 1730 * Altaner (1961) 57–60 * Altaner (1966) 255–56 * Bardenhewer (1908) 349–58 * Bardenhewer (1910) 319–26 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:262–75 * Bardy (1929) 124–25 * Hamell 83–84 * Jurgens 2:127–30 * Quasten 2:183–85 * Steidle 269–70 * Tixeront 213–14 * CATH 3:125–26 * CE 1:636–37 * DACL 3.2:2732–95 * DCA 1:119–26 * DDC 4:453–60 * DPAC 1:825–26 * DTC 3:1520–37 * EC 4:781–82 * EEC 1:62 * EEChr 1:92–93 * LTK 1:872–73 * NCE 1:689–90 * NCES 1:581 * ODCC 90 * PEA (1991) 1:898

TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

F.X. Boxler, *Bibliothek der Kirchväter* (Kempten, 1874) [German]. * ANF 7, 391–505 [English]. * R.H. Cresswell, *The Liturgy of the Eighth Book of the "Apostolic Constitutions," Translated into English with Introduction and Notes* (London, 1900). * F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1905); photo-mechanically reproduced (Turin, 1964). * H. Lietzmann, *Kleine Texte* 61 (Bonn, 1910). * R. Stord, "Das achte Buch der Apostolischen Konstitutionen," in *Griechische Liturgien übersetz: mit Einleitungen versehen von Th. Schermann* (Kempten, 1912) 17–79. * J. Quasten, *Monumenta Eucharistica et Liturgica Vetustissima* [liturgical selections] (Bonn, 1935–37) 178–233. * B. Wigan, *The Apostolic Constitutions Book VIII*, Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1953). * M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SChr 320, 329, 336 (Paris, 1985–87) [Greek and French]. * W.J. Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions*, Liturgical Studies 13–14 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1990) [English].

GENERAL STUDIES

F.X. Funk, *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen, eine literarhistorische Untersuchungen* (Rotterdam, 1891). * D.L. O'Leary, *The Apostolic Constitutions and Cognate Documents with Special Reference to Their Liturgical Elements* (London, 1906). * A. Baumstark, *Aegyptischer oder antiochenischer Liturgietypus in AK 1–VII*, OC 7 (1907). * W. Bousset, "Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen," in Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, *Phil.-hist. Kleine Texte* (1915) 449–79. * L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1925) 57–66. * A. Faivre, "La documentation canonico-liturgique de l'Eglise ancienne," RevSR 54 (1980) 204–19, 273–97. * M. Metzger, "Les Constitutions apostoliques," RevSR 62 (1988) 306–12. * M. Metzger, "A propos d'une édition des Constitutions apostoliques," RDC 46 (1996) 161–63.

INITIATION

D. van den Eynde, "Baptême et confirmation d'après les Constitutions Apostoliques VII 44, 3," RSR 27 (1937) 196–212. * P. Galtier, "Imposition des mains et bénédictions du baptême," RSR 27 (1937) 464–66. * J. Quasten, "The Blessing of the Baptismal Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century," TS 7 (1946) 309–13. * J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950) 186–87. * E. Ferguson, "Baptism from the Second to the Fourth Century," ResQ 1 (1957) 185–97. * F. Manns, "La liturgie de renvoi des catéchumènes d'après les 'Constitutions Apostoliques 8, 6, 5' et un parallel juif possible," EphL 102 (1988) 234–39. * A.H.B. Logan, "Post-Baptismal Chrismation in Syria: The Evidence of Ignatius, the 'Didache' and the 'Apostolic Constitutions,'" JThSt, n.s., 49 (1998) 92–108.

EUCHARIST

A. Baumstark, "Das eucharistische Hochgebet und die Literatur des nachexislischen Judentums," ThGl 2 (1910) 353–70. * W.H. Frere, *The Primitive Consecration Prayer*, Alcuin Pamphlets 8 (London, 1922). * H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*

(Bonn, 1926) 122–36. * G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945) 477–80. * W.E. Pitt, "The Anamnesis and Institution Narrative in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions Book 8," JEH 9 (1958) 1–7. * MRR-1, 35–37. * MRR-2, 24–26. * L. Ligier, "Autour du sacrifice eucharistique: anaphores orientales et anamnèse juive de Kippur," NRTh 82 (1960) 40–55. * M. Metzger, "Les deux prières eucharistiques des Constitutions Apostoliques," RSR 45 (1971) 57–77. * M. Metzger, "The Didascalia and the Constitutiones Apostolorum," in W. Rordorf and others, *The Eucharist of the Early Christians* (New York, 1978) 194–219. * E. Mazza, "La 'Gratiarum Actio Mystica' del Libro VII delle Costituzioni Apostoliche una Tappa nell Storia della Anafora Eucaristica," EphL 93 (1979) 123–37. * A. Verheul, "Les prières eucharistiques dans les 'Constitutiones Apostolorum,'" QLP 61:2–3 (April–September 1980) 129–43. * R. Graves, "The Anaphora of the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 173–94. * A. Verheul, "Les prières eucharistiques dans les 'Constitutiones Apostolorum,'" QL 80 (1999) 358–78.

ORDERS

W.H. Frere, "Early Ordination Services," JThSt 16 (1914–15) 323–71. * E. Lanne, "Les ordinations de le rite copte: leurs rélations avec les Constitutions Apostoliques et la Tradition de s. Hippolyte," OrSyr 5 (1960) 81–106. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * G. Gryson, "L'ordination des diaconesses d'après les 'Constitutions apostoliques,'" MSR 31 (1974) 41–45. * C. Vagaggini, "L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina," OCP 40 (1974) 145–89. * M. Paternoster, "La testimonianza delle Costituzioni Ecclesiastiche sul gesto della imposizione delle mani per il conferimento del ministero," EphL 91 (1977) 203–34, 332–49. * N.J. Watt, "The Deaconess in the Fourth Century Eastern Church as Reflected in the Ordination Prayers," thesis (River Forest, IL, 1998).

GLORIA

J. Lebreton, "La forme primitive du 'Gloria in excelsis': prière au Christ ou prière à Dieu le Père," RSR 13 (1923) 322–29. * G. Prado, "Una nueva recension del himmo 'Gloria in excelsis,'" EphL 6 (1932) 481–86. * B. Capelle, "Le texte du 'Gloria in excelsis,'" RHE 44 (1949) 439–57. * D.M.E. Bottecchia, "Nota in margine alla Grande Dossologia delle Constituzioni Apostoliche," OCP 63 (1997) 163–70.

OTHER TOPICS

A. Spanier, "Die erste Benediktion des Achtzehngebetes (Const. Apost. 33–38)," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 45 (1937) 71–75. * B. Botte, "Le traité des charismes dans les 'Constitutions Apostoliques,'" SP 12, TU 115 (1975) 83–86. * E. Brainiste, "The Liturgical Assembly and Its Functions in the Apostolic Constitutions," in *Roles in the Liturgical Assembly*, ed. A.M. Triaca, trans. M.J. O'Connell (New York, 1981) 73–100. * D.A. Fiensy, "A Redactional Examination of Prayers Alleged to be Jewish in the Constitutiones Apostolorum," diss. (Ann Arbor, 1980). * M. Metzger, "La pénitence dans les 'Constitutions apostoliques,'" RDC 34 (1984) 224–34. * D.A. Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish: An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Brown Judaic Studies 65 (Chico, CA, 1985). * M. Metzger, "La fidélité dans le mariage selon le témoignage des 'Constitutions apostoliques,'" RDC 44:2 (1994) 1–15. * M. Metzger, "Le lien du carême à Paques dans les Constitutions Apostoliques," EOr 14 (1997) 71–77. * J.G. Mueller, *L'Ancien Testament dans l'ecclésiologie des pères: une lecture des Constitutions apostolique* (Turnhout, 2004).

[Respect due the bishop]

1608 II.XXXII.3. [. . .] For by him [the bishop] the Lord has given you the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the hands. Through him you have learned the holy doctrines, "have known God,"[1] and have believed in Christ. Through him you have been sealed with the "oil of gladness"[2] and with the chrism of understanding. Through him you have been made "children of the light."[3] Through him at the moment of enlightenment the Lord has enclosed each and every one of you with his holy voice, doing so by the testimony of the laying on of the bishop's hands: "You are my son, this day I have begotten you."[4]

1609 II.XXXIII.2. [. . .] "Have they not regenerated you by water,"[5] given you the fullness of the Holy Spirit,[6] nourished you with the milk of the Word,[7] strengthened you with their teachings, affirmed you by their admonitions? Have they not bestowed on you the saving Body and the "precious Blood"?[8] Have they not freed you from your sins?[9] Have they not given you Communion in the holy and sacred Eucharist? Have they not made you sharers and coheirs of the promise of God?[10]

[Reconciliation during the liturgy]

1610 II.LIV.1. This is why, O bishops, when you are ready to begin the prayer after the reading, the psalmody, and the teaching on the Scriptures, the deacon—standing next to you—says in a loud voice, "Let no one quarrel with another, let no one be a hypocrite." And so if such find that they are in conflict with one another, their consciences will be stirred up, they will pray to God and be reconciled with one another.[a] 2. If upon "entering the house" of another, it is necessary that you "first say 'Peace to this house,'"[11] doing so as children of peace who give the peace to those who are worthy of it, as is written, "To those who are near and to those who are far off,"[12] "those whom the Lord knows are his,"[13] how much more is it necessary that upon entering God's church, we first request God's peace for the people.[b] 3. If you request this for others, how much more you should remain there as a child of the light,[14] for whoever does not have peace within is not qualified to share it with others.[c] 4. This is why we should especially be at peace with ourselves, for those who do not revolt against themselves will not quarrel with others; on the contrary, such people will be peaceful, friendly, gathering the goods of the Lord, and making themselves God's helpers so that the number of those saved may

---

Book II

a. Cf. Didas XI. [II.LIV.] 1 (WEC 1:767).

b. Cf. Didas XI. [II.LIV.] 2.

c. Cf. Didas XI. [II.LIV.] 4.

1. Gal 4:9. 2. See Ps 45:7. 3. John 12:36; 1 Thess 5:5. 4. Ps 2:7. 5. John 3:5. 6. See Acts 8:15. 7. See 1 Cor 3:2. 8. 1 Pet 1:19. 9. See Matt 18:18. 10. See Eph 3:6. 11. Luke 10:5. 12. Eph 2:17; Isa 57:19. 13. 2 Tim 2:19. 14. See John 12:36.

harmoniously increase.[d] 5. Those who stir up hatred and quarrels, conflicts and lawsuits, are evil-doers and enemies of God.[e]

[The church building and the assembly]

II.LVII.1. As for you, O bishop, be holy and beyond reproach, neither 1611
quarrelsome nor irascible nor harsh, but knowing how to edify, to improve, and to instruct; be kind, pleasing, gentle, patient, being able to exhort and encourage as a man of God.[15] [f] 2. When you assemble the church of God, require—as does the captain of a large ship—that those gathered conduct themselves with good order; command the deacons, like sailors, to assign places to the brethren—as they would to passengers—doing so with great care and respect.[g] 3. First, the building is to be oblong, facing the east with chapels [*pastophoria*] on each side of the east end; it is to resemble a ship. 4. The bishop's throne is placed in the middle; the presbyters are seated on both sides; the deacons assist them, alert and with ample garments, for the deacons are like the sailors and the lesser officers in charge of the rowers. With great discipline and calm they see to it that the laity sit in the other section, women sitting apart and remaining silent.[h]

[Liturgy of the word]

II.LVII.5. The reader, standing in the middle and in a raised location, 1612
reads the writings of Moses and Joshua the son of Nun, of Judges and Kings, of Chronicles and what was written after the return from exile; also the writings of Job, Solomon, and the sixteen prophets. 6. After two readings another person sings the hymns of David, and the people respond by singing the refrain. 7. Then is read our Acts and the letters sent by Paul our fellow-worker to the churches under the impulse of the Holy Spirit; then a presbyter or a deacon reads one of the Gospels which we, Matthew and John, have passed down to you and which Paul's fellow-workers—namely, Luke and Mark—have received and have handed down to you. 8. During the reading of the Gospel all the presbyters, the deacons, and the people stand while observing a great silence, for it is written, "Be silent and listen, O Israel."[16] Also, "But you, stand here near me and hear."[17] 9. Then the presbyters, one after another but not all together, exhort the people, and last of all the bishop, who is like the captain of a ship.

[Good order in the assembly]

II.LVII.10. The doorkeepers remain next to the entrances for the men 1613
in order to watch over them—the deaconesses next to the doors for the

d. Ibid.
e. Cf. Didas XI. [II.LIV.] 5.
f. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVII.] 1.
g. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVII.] 2 (WEC 1:768).
h. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVII.] 4–5 (ibid.).
15. See 1 Tim 6:11. 16. Deut 27:9. 17. Deut 5:31.

women—like sailors in charge of the passengers, for what is followed is the same model as that found in the tent of witness. 11. Should the deacon find some not sitting in their proper places, he—like a lieutenant—will reprimand them and lead them to their assigned places.[i] 12. The church can be compared not only to a ship but also to an enclosure for sheep. In fact, shepherds place each of the animals—namely, goats and sheep—according to type and age, and each animal mingles with others that are similar to it. Likewise in the church the young people sit by themselves if there is room; if not, they remain standing. The elderly sit in order. As to the children who remain standing, fathers and mothers are to take charge of them. The younger women are also apart if there is room; if not, they stand behind [the rest of] the women; let those women who are married and have children [with them] be placed by themselves. Virgins, widows, and elderly women remain standing or are seated in front of all the others.[j] 13. The deacon attends to the places so that each person upon entering the church goes to his or her own place and does not sit near the door. The deacon likewise watches over the people so that no one whispers, nods, laughs, or makes signs, for in church it is necessary to be attentive, sober, and alert, with ears attentive to the Lord's word.

[Preparation for the eucharistic offering]

1614 II.LVII.14. Then all rise together and, looking toward the east and after the departure of the catechumens and then of the penitents, they pray to "God who ascended to the highest heavens, toward the east,"[18] namely, humankind's old possession, Paradise located in the east, from which the first human was expelled for having disobeyed the precept by following the serpent's advice. 15. After the prayer some of the deacons concern themselves with the eucharistic offering, reverently preparing to minister the Body of the Lord. Other deacons watch over the crowd and see that the people remain silent. 16. The deacon who is next to the bishop says to the people, "Let no one have a quarrel with another. Let no one be a hypocrite." 17. Then the men greet one another as they exchange the Lord's peace; likewise the women among themselves, but let no one do so deceitfully as Judas did when he betrayed the Lord with a kiss.

[The Universal Prayer]

1615 II.LVII.18. The deacon prays for the whole Church, for the whole world and for its various parts, for the products of the earth, for priests and rulers, for the bishop, for the sovereign, and for peace everywhere. 19. Then the bishop requests peace for the people and blesses them with the words Moses commanded the priests to use when blessing the people, "The Lord

i. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVII.] 7 (ibid.).

j. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVII.] 8 (ibid.).

18. Ps 68:34.

bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace."[19] 20. The bishop will then pray as follows, "Lord, 'save your people and bless your heritage' [20] 'which you redeemed'[21] and 'obtained'[22] by the precious blood of your Christ[23] and whom you called 'a royal priesthood and a holy nation.'"[24]

[The Eucharist proper]

II.LVII.21. Then the sacrifice takes place; all the people stand and pray in silence. When the offering has been made, each group separately receives the Body of the Lord and the precious Blood,[25] doing so with good order, "reverence, and awe,"[26] for they approach, as it were, the body of a king; the women veil their heads when they draw near as befits the order of women. The doors will be watched so that neither an infidel nor a non-baptized person enters. 1616

[Receiving visitors to the assembly]

II.LVIII.1. If a brother or a sister coming from the district with letters of recommendation is introduced, the deacon will examine their situation and determine whether they are believers, whether they belong to the Church, whether they have been sullied by some heresy, and also, in the case of a woman, whether she is married or is a widow; thus informed about them, knowing that they truly are believers and share a like mind in what pertains to the Lord, the deacon will lead them to their place.[k] 2. If a presbyter arrives from another district, the presbyters will receive him as one of their own; if it is a deacon, he is welcomed by the deacons; and if it is a bishop, he sits with the bishop who will bestow on him the same honor as he himself has.[l] 3. And you, O bishop, will ask him to speak to the people and instruct them, for the exhortations and admonitions given by strangers are, as we all know, very useful. The saying goes that "No prophet is accepted[27] in his own country."[28] You will also entrust him with offering the Eucharist. On the other hand, if, out of respect and wisdom, he defers this honor to you and makes a decision not to do so, you will then ask him that he at least give a blessing to the people.[m] 1617

II.LVIII.4. If while all are seated someone enters who is distinguished and well-known in the world,[29] whether a stranger or a native of the country, and if this happens while you, O bishop, are preaching or while you are listening to the singer or to the reader, pay no attention to this person and do not neglect the service of the word[30] in order to grant precedence 1618

k. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 1 (WEC 1:769).

l. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 3 (ibid.).

m. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 2–3 (ibid).

19. Num 6:24–26. 20. Ps 28:9. 21. Ps 74:2. 22. Acts 20:28. 23. 1 Pet 1:19. 24. 1 Pet 2:9. 25. 1 Pet 1:19. 26. Heb 12:28. 27. Luke 4:24; John 4:44. 28. John 4:44. 29. See Jas 2:1–9. 30. See Acts 6:2, 4.

to this individual. Rather, remain calm, without ceasing to speak or to listen, and let the brethren receive these individuals by means of the deacons.[n] 5. If there is no place for them, the deacon will have the youngest person stand, by speaking to him or her but without anger; and so the deacon will see to it that the new arrival is seated. It is normal for one who loves the brethren to spontaneously act in this way; should the young persons refuse, force them to stand behind all the others so that the young might learn to make room for those who are more honorable.[o] 6. But if a poor person enters, someone of humble position or a stranger, whether young or elderly, and this person does not have a place, for these also will the deacon with all his heart find room so that there may not be within him any human partiality and so that his ministry be pleasing to God. The deaconesses will act in like manner as to the women who present themselves, be they rich or poor.[p]

[Be part of the assembly; hours for prayer]

1619 II.LIX.1. In your teaching, O bishop, enjoin and persuade the people to frequent the church diligently, each day, morning and evening, and not to excuse themselves in any way from so doing but to continuously assemble there so as not to mutilate the Church by staying away from it, by cutting off a member of Christ's body. For these words concern not only the priests but also the laity; when thinking about it, they should understand that it was to each of them that the Lord said, "Whoever is not with me is against me; and whoever does not gather with me scatters."[31] [q] 2. Since you are Christ's members,[32] do not separate yourselves by failing to attend the assemblies, and since according to his promise Christ is your head,[33] united to you and in communion with you, do not neglect yourselves; do not deprive the Savior of his very own members, do not divide his body; do not scatter his members; do not prefer worldly things to the divine word; rather, assemble each day, morning and evening, for singing the psalms and for prayer in the house of the Lord, each morning saying Psalm 62 and in the evening Psalm 140.[r] 3. Especially on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, the day of his resurrection, be even more zealous in gathering so that you may address your praise to God who has created all things through Jesus, to God who has sent him to us, who has accepted his suffering, and who has raised him from the dead. 4. What justification can there be for not joining the assembly on this day to hear the salutary teaching on the resurrection? On this day we, standing, address three

---

n. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 4 (ibid.).
o. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 5 (ibid.).
p. Cf. Didas XII. [II.LVIII.] 6 (ibid.).
q. Cf. Didas XIII. [II.LIX.] 1 (WEC 1:770).
r. Cf. Didas XIII. [II.LIX.] 2 (ibid.).
31. Matt 12:30. 32. See Eph 5:30. 33. See Eph 4:15; 5:23.

prayers in memory of him who rose on the third day; on this day we read the Prophets, proclaim the Gospels, offer sacrifice, and receive the gift of holy food.[s]

[Ministries forbidden to women]

III.IX.1. As to women who baptize, we inform you of the great danger 1620
in which those who dare act in such a way place themselves. We do not recommend this practice since it is questionable, or rather illegal and ungodly.[a] 2. In fact, if "the husband is the head of his wife,"[1] it is the man who has been chosen for the priesthood; it is not right to despise what has been created and to retreat from what is first in order to go to the body that comes last; a woman is man's body, sprung from his side,[2] subject to him, and distinct from him in view of procreation. In fact, it is said, "He shall rule over you."[3] "The male" is the commander "of the female" since he is "her head."[4] 3. If we earlier forbade women to teach, how can we allow them to act contrary to nature by exercising the priesthood? For this error, consisting in appointing priestesses in the place of female goddesses, springs from pagan atheism, not from what was established by Christ. 4. If baptism were to be given also by women, the Lord would certainly have been baptized by his own mother rather than by John,[5] and when we were sent out to baptize,[6] women would have been sent with us. But on this point he has commanded us nothing nor handed down anything in writing, well knowing the order of nature as well as what is expedient in this area, the Lord being the Creator of nature and the lawgiver of what has been established.[b]

[Functions forbidden the laity]

III.X.1. We also forbid the laity from usurping a priestly function like 1621
sacrifice, baptism, the imposition of hands, or any blessing, be it major or minor. 2. For "no one presumes this honor but takes it only when called by God."[7] It is by the imposition of the bishop's hands that this dignity is conferred. 3. Those who have not received this responsibility but assume it on their own will suffer the punishment of Uzziah.[8]

III.XI.1. Nor do we allow other clerics to baptize, whether they be read- 1622
ers, singers, doorkeepers, or servants, but only bishops and presbyters, whom the deacons assist. 2. Those doing so will undergo the punishment of the partisans of Korah.[9] 3. We do not allow presbyters to lay hands upon [ordain] deacons, deaconesses, readers, servants, singers, or door

s. Cf. Didas XIII. [II.LIX.] 3 (ibid.).

Book III

a. Cf. Didas XV. [III.IX.] 1 (WEC 1:773).

b. Cf. Didas XV. [III.IX.] 2.

1. 1 Cor 11:3. 2. See Gen 2:21. 3. Gen 3:16. 4. 1 Cor 11:3. 5. See Matt 3:13. 6. See Matt 28:19. 7. Heb 5:4. 8. See 2 Chr 26. 9. See Num 16.

keepers; this belongs to bishops alone; such is the ecclesiastical and harmonious way things have been arranged.

[Envious widows]

1623 III.XII.1. As to jealousy, envy, slander, disputes, you have already been told that these are unbecoming a Christian and especially widows.[c] 2. But since the devil occupies himself with numerous deceits and great craftiness, he has shown these among false widows, as in times past he did with Cain. There are those who, in fact, pretend to be widows but who do not do what is proper to widowhood, just as Cain did not fulfill the duties of being a brother; in fact, they do not understand that the mere title of widow does not allow them to enter the kingdom, but rather it is authentic faith and pious works that do so; a woman who has obtained the title of widow but practices the Adversary's life-style will not be grateful for her widowhood; she will be ejected from the kingdom and delivered to eternal punishment.[d] 3. We have learned that some widows are jealous, envious, speakers of evil, and suspicious of the tranquility of others; these neither depend on Christ nor follow his teaching.[e] 4. For when a widow has received clothing, money, food, drink, or footwear from someone, the other widows—seeing their sister being given aid—should say.[f]

[Thanksgiving for the good done to another]

1624 III.XIII.1. "Blessed are you, O God, for you have assisted this widow, my companion. O Lord, bless and exalt those who have given aid, and may what they have done truly rise up to you. Remember them[10] on the day of your visitation;[11] and to my bishop, who has served you well and who in a timely manner has made known that alms should be given to my companion who was left unprovided for, grant glory and give him the crown of exaltation on the day of your manifestation and visitation."[12] [g] 2. The widow who has been given assistance will pray in like manner for the person who provided this service.[h]

[Role of the deaconess]

1625 III.XVI.1. O bishop, [. . .] also choose a faithful and holy deaconess to serve the women. It sometimes happens that because of unbelievers you cannot send into some houses a deacon for the women; you will then send a woman, a deaconess, because of the thoughts of the evil-minded.[i] 2. In

c. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 1.
d. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 2.
e. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 3.
f. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 4.
g. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 5.
h. Cf. Didas XIV. [III.XII.] 6.
i. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XII.] 1 (WEC 1:774).
10. See Neh 5:19. 11. See 1 Pet 2:12. 12. Ibid.

fact, we have recourse to a woman deaconess for many services. First, during the baptism of women the deacon anoints only the forehead with the holy oil; afterwards the deaconess herself will anoint them, for women are not to be looked upon by men.[j]

[Rite of baptism]

III.XVI.3. While imposing hands, the bishop anoints only the head as 1626
kings and priests were formerly anointed; not that the baptized are now being ordained priests, but as followers of Christ they are Christians, "a royal priesthood and a holy nation,"[13] "the Church of God, the pillar and bulwark"[14] of the wedding chamber, "those who once were not a people but now"[15] are beloved and chosen. 4. According to this model you, O bishop, will anoint the head of each baptismal candidate, both men and women, with holy oil to signify the baptism of the Spirit; then you, O bishop—or a presbyter who is under your orders—saying and pronouncing over them the holy invocation "of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,"[16]—will baptize them in water; a deacon receives the men, and the deaconess is in charge of the women so that the infrangible seal may be given with dignity. The bishop then anoints the newly-baptized with myron.[k]

III.XVII.1. And so baptism is given in the death of the Son,[17] the water 1627
in place of the burial, the oil in place of the Holy Spirit, the seal in place of the cross, and the myron confirming the confession. 2. The Father is remembered as the author and sender; and with the Father the Holy Spirit is mentioned as being a witness. 3. Going down into the water means participating in Christ's death; coming out of the water is participating in the resurrection. 4. The Father is the God above all; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, "the Lord of glory";[18] the Holy Spirit is the Paraclete sent and revealed by Christ, and who is his messenger.[19]

[The newly baptized]

III.XVIII.1. Those who have been baptized will keep themselves free 1628
from all godlessness; they are not to prize sin; they are to be friends of God, enemies of the devil, "heirs of God and joint heirs"[20] of his Son. They have renounced Satan, his demons, and his deceits; they are to be pure and sinless, holy, lovers of God, children of God, praying as children to their Father with the words they take from the assembly of the faithful: 2. "'Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our

j. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XII.] 2 (ibid.).

k. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XII.] 3 (ibid.).

13. 1 Pet 2:9. 14. 1 Tim 3:15. 15. 1 Pet 2:10. 16. Matt 28:19. 17. See Rom 6:3. 18. 1 Cor 2:8. 19. See John 15:26; 16:13–14. 20. Rom 8:17.

debtors. And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one.'[21] For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours forever. Amen."

[Deacons serving the Church]

1629 III.IXX.1. Also, the deacons, like the bishop, are to be beyond reproach in all things, only more diligent and in number proportionate to the importance of the Church, so that they can care for the sick like "workers who have no need to be ashamed";[22] the deaconess is to be concerned with serving the women; both will be occupied with proclamation, travelers, service, and assistance, as Isaiah the prophet said in regard to the Lord, "To justify the just who assure the service of the multitude."[23] [l] 2. May all recognize their function and zealously carry it out in accord with thought and feeling, knowing what kind of reward there is for giving service.[m] 3. They are not to be ashamed to serve the poor, thereby following the example of Jesus Christ our Savior, "who came not to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many,"[24] and so they should do likewise. Even if it is necessary to lay down one's life for one of the brethren, let them not hesitate to do this, for Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior did not hesitate "to lay down his life for his friends,"[25] as he himself said.[n] 4. If the Lord of heaven and earth endured all things for our sake, how can you hesitate to serve the poor since you are to imitate him who for our sake took upon himself service, poverty, wounds, and the cross.[26] Imitating Christ, you also are to serve your brethren. As Christ said, "Whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be your slave."[27] [o] 5. Thus Christ himself has "served the multitude,"[28] doing so not with words. In fact, "he took a towel, tied it around himself, and then he poured water into a basin," and when we were reclining, he came and washed the feet of all and "dried them with a towel."[29] By doing this he showed us the tenderness of his fraternal love so that we also would act in like manner toward one another.[30] If, then, our Lord and Master[31] so humbled himself, how can you be ashamed to do the same toward your sick and weak brethren since you are workers who serve the truth and are defenders of the faith?[p] 6. Thus serve with kindness, without murmuring, without disagreement; do not act because of others but for the sake of God,[32] and on the day of your

---

l. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XIII.] 1 (WEC 1:775).

m. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XIII.] 2 (ibid.).

n. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XIII.] 2.

o. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XIII.] 4.

p. Cf. Didas XVI. [III.XIII.] 5.

21. Matt 6:9–15. 22. 2 Tim 2:15. 23. Isa 53:11, LXX. 24. Matt 20:28. 25. John 15:13. 26. See Heb 12:2. 27. Matt 20:26–27. 28. Isa 53:11, LXX. 29. John 13:4–5. 30. See John 13:15. 31. See John 13:14. 32. See Eph 6:7–8.

visitation God will reward you for your service.[33] [q] 7. It is necessary that you, the deacons, visit all who need to be visited, and that you inform your bishop of those who have met with ill fortune; for you are to be his soul and his senses, diligent and docile in everything regarding him who is your bishop, your father, and your lord.[r]

[Powers of various clerics]

III.xx.1. This is what we prescribe: the bishop is ordained by three bish- 1630
ops or at least by two; you are not allowed to be ordained by one bishop, for the witness of two or three is more sure and inspires confidence;[34] the presbyter and the deacon are ordained by only one bishop; the same is true for the other clergy. 2. Neither the presbyter nor the deacon is to ordain clerics from among the laity; the presbyter can only teach, offer, baptize, and bless the people; the deacon serves the bishop and the presbyters, namely, he is to be of service but not to perform other functions.

[First part of the liturgical year]

V.xiii.1. Brethren, observe the feast days and especially the Nativity, 1631
which you should celebrate on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month. 2. Then solemnly observe the Epiphany when Christ revealed his divinity to us; this occurs on the sixth day of the tenth month. 3. Next, observe the forty-day fast when we recall the Lord's deeds and teaching. This fast is observed before that of the Pasch, beginning on Monday and concluding on Friday. 4. Once these days have passed, cease fasting and begin the holy week of the Pasch when all will fast with fear and trembling, a time when you pray for the departed.[a]

[Chronology of the Passion and Resurrection]

V.xiv.1. They began to plot against the Savior on Monday of the first 1632
month or Xanthique; their secret meetings continued on Tuesday; on Wednesday they decided that he would die upon the cross. 2. Judas was aware of this; for quite some time he was corrupted and struck with avarice by the devil himself. Formerly he was in charge of the purse and even though he stole what was meant for the poor,[1] the Lord in his leniency did not dismiss him; but when we were at table with him, the Lord wanted to warn him and at the same time to teach us his fore-knowledge by saying, "Amen. Amen. I tell you, one of you will betray me."[2] [b] 3. And when each of us asked, "Surely, it is not I?"[3] and when the Lord remained silent,

---

q. Cf. Didas xvi. [III.xiii.] 6.

r. Cf. Didas xvi. [III.xiii.] 7 (WEC 1:775).

33. See 1 Pet 2:12. 34. See John 8:17; Matt 18:16.

Book V

a. Cf. Didas xxi. [V.xiii.] 11.

b. Cf. Didas xxi. [V.xiv.] 1 (WEC 1:780).

1. See John 12:6. 2. John 13:21. 3. Mark 14:19.

I—one of the twelve, the one he loved more than the others—stood, embraced him, and asked him to disclose who would betray him.[4] Nevertheless, the good Lord did not reveal the name but designated the traitor by two signs: first by saying, "He who dips his hand into the bowl with me,"[5] and then "the one to whom I give this piece of bread which I have dipped in."[6] 4. When the traitor asked, "Surely not I, Rabbi?"[7] the Lord did not say "Yes" but rather "You have said it." And wishing to warn him against this action, he said, "Woe to the one by whom the Son of Man is betrayed! It would have been better for him not to have been born."[8] 5. Hearing these words, Judas left and said to the priests, "What will you give me if I betray him to you? They paid him thirty pieces of silver."[9] [c] 6. Then on Thursday we ate the Passover with him; afterwards Judas "dipped his hand into the bowl,"[10] received the piece of bread, and "went out into the night."[11] The Lord said to us, "The hour is coming when you will be scattered and you will leave me alone."[12] But each strongly maintained that he would not abandon him; and I, Peter, promised to die with him;[13] he then told me, "Truly, I tell you, this very night before the cock crows, you will deny me three times."[14] [d] 7. Then, Judas being absent, he bequeathed to us the mysteries, figures of his precious body and of his precious blood;[15] "he went out to the Mount of Olives,"[16] "across the Kidron valley to a place where there was a garden."[17] We also were there, and we sang hymns as was customary.[18] 8. He then withdrew a little from us and prayed to the Father, saying, "Father, remove this cup from me; yet not my will but yours be done."[19] Three times he did this while we had fallen asleep due to cowardice. Then the Lord came and said to us "The hour is at hand when the Son of Man will be handed over into the hands of sinners."[20]

1633 V.XIV.9. And behold "Judas arrived and with him a large crowd"[21] of the impious ones; he openly gave them the proof of his treachery,[22] a perfidious kiss;[23] and they, seeing the agreed-upon sign, arrested the Lord, making him a prisoner. They "took him to the house of Caiphas the high priest"[24] where a crowd, not the people, had gathered, not the holy presbyterate but the council of criminals and the senate of the impious; they caused the Savior much suffering, not overlooking any form of gross insult, spitting on him time and time again, multiplying injuries, acts of violence, blows,[25] insults; they tested him by asking that he respond to riddles rather than prophecies, they treated him as a deceiver, blasphemer,

---

c. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 2 (ibid.).

d. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 3 (ibid.).

4. See John 13:23–25. 5. Mark 14:20; Matt 26:23. 6. John 13:26. 7. Matt 26:25. 8. Matt 26:24; Mark 14:21. 9. Matt 26:15. 10. Matt 26:23. 11. John 13:30. 12. John 16:32. 13. See Matt 26:33; John 13:37. 14. Matt 26:34; Luke 22:34. 15. See 1 Pet 1:19. 16. Matt 26:30. 17. John 18:1. 18. See Matt 26:30; Luke 22:39. 19. Luke 22:42. 20. Matt 26:45. 21. Matt 26:47. 22. See Matt 26:48. 23. See Luke 22:48. 24. Matt 26:57; Lukė 22:54. 25. See Matt 26:67.

an enemy of Moses, a destroyer of the temple,[26] a grave-digger of sacrifices, an adversary of the Romans as well as an opponent of Caesar.[27] [e] 10. Till early morning "the bulls and the dogs"[28] acted thus with him in their frenzy; then "they took him to Annas" who was "the father-in-law of Caiphus,"[29] and there they acted in like manner; it was the day of Preparation;[30] "they handed him over to Pilate the Roman governor"[31] as they spouted forth numerous and serious accusations, which they were unable to prove.[32] The governor was unhappy with all this[33] and said, "I find no basis for an accusation against this man."[34] [f]

V.XIV.11. But producing two false witnesses,[35] they wanted to bring untrue accusations against the Lord; since it happened that the two witnesses disagreed, they turned it into a question of high treason. "This man pretends to be king," they said, and "he is against paying taxes to Caesar."[36] [g] 12. Then the accusers turned themselves into witnesses, judges, and masters of the sentence, saying "Crucify him! Crucify him!"[37] so that what "the Prophets"[38] said about him might be fulfilled, namely, "False witnesses have risen against me and their injustice has deceived."[39] Also, "Numerous dogs surround me, an assembly of evil-doers encircles me."[40] And elsewhere,"My heritage has become to me like a lion in the forest; she has lifted up her voice against me."[41] 13. Then Pilate, dishonoring his power by his very cowardice, himself demonstrated his dishonesty by serving the cause of the crowd rather than that of the Just One. And although declaring Jesus innocent, Pilate punished him like a guilty person by handing him over to be crucified, even though Roman law prescribed that no one be put to death without having been convicted. 1634

V.XIV.14. The executioners received the Lord of glory[42] and nailed him to the wood of the cross; at the sixth hour[43] they crucified him[44] although they received his sentence at the third hour.[45] 15. Next "they offered him wine to drink, mixed with gall";[46] then "they divided his garments among themselves by casting lots";[47] afterwards "they crucified two thieves with him"[48] so that what was written would be fulfilled, "They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink."[49] Also, "They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots."[50] And elsewhere, he "was counted among the evil ones."[51] 16. There 1635

e. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 4 (ibid.).

f. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 7–8 (ibid.).

g. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 8 (ibid.).

26. See Matt 26:59–65; Acts 6:14. 27. See John 19:12; Luke 23:2. 28. Ps 22:13. 29. John 18:13. 30. John 19:14. 31. Matt 27:2. 32. See John 18:30. 33. John 18:30; 19:4. 34. Luke 23:4. 35. See Matt 26:60. 36. Luke 23:2. 37. Luke 23:21; John 19:6. 38. See Matt 26:56; Luke 22:37. 39. Ps 27:12. 40. Ps 22:13. 41. Jer 12:8. 42. See 1 Cor 2:8. 43. See John 19:14. 44. See Matt 27:35. 45. See Mark 15:25. 46. Matt 27:34. 47. Matt 27:35. 48. Matt 27:38. 49. Ps 69:21. 50. Ps 22:18; John 19:24. 51. Isa 53:12; Mark 15:28.

followed three hours of darkness, from "the sixth to the ninth hour."[52] In the evening light returned, as is written, "And there will be neither day nor night, for in the evening there will be light."[53] [h] 17. "About the ninth hour Jesus cried out in a loud voice" and said to the Father, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"[54] Shortly afterwards "he again cried out in a loud voice,[55] 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are doing.'"[56] Then he added, "Into your hands I commend my spirit."[57] He died and was buried before sunset in a "new tomb."[58]

1636 V.XIV.18. "At dawn on the first day of the week"[59] he rose from among the dead, fulfilling what he foretold before his passion when he said, "The Son of Man must spend three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."[60] [i] 19. Having risen from among the dead, "he appeared first to Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James,"[61] and then to Cleopas on the road.[62] Subsequently he appeared to us, his disciples, who fled "for fear of the Jews"[63] and who secretly made inquiries of us concerning him. This is also recorded in the Gospel.[j]

[The Holy Week fast]

1637 V.XIV.20. The Lord commanded us to fast on these six days because of the godlessness and iniquity of the Jews; he enjoined us to weep for them because they did not recognize "the time of their visitation."[64] He commanded that we fast on Wednesday and Friday—on Wednesday because of the betrayal and on Friday because of the Passion; he commanded that the fast be broken at cockcrow on the Sabbath, but we are to fast even on the Sabbath—not because the Sabbath is a day for fasting since it is the day of repose after the creation, but we are to fast on this one Saturday only, for on this day the Creator still remained under the earth.[k] 21. On their very feast day the Jews arrested the Lord so that this saying might be fulfilled, "They established their emblems amidst their feasts, and they did not know."[65] We must weep for them since when the Lord came, they did not believe in him but rejected his teaching, thus becoming unworthy of salvation.[l]

[Date of the Pasch]

1638 V.XVII.1. And so, brethren, having been redeemed by the "precious blood of Christ,"[66] you are to celebrate exactly and with great care the days of the Pasch, after the equinox, so that you do not commemorate twice

---

h. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 10 (ibid.).

i. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 11, 13 (ibid.).

j. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 11, 14 (ibid.).

k. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 15 (ibid.).

l. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIV.] 21 (ibid.).

52. Matt 27:45. 53. Zech 14:7. 54. Matt 27:46; Ps 22:1. 55. Matt 27:50. 56. Luke 23:34. 57. Luke 23:46. 58. Matt 27:60. 59. Matt 28:1. 60. Matt 12:40. 61. Mark 16:1, 9. 62. See Luke 24:18, 32. 63. John 20:19. 64. Luke 19:41, 44. 65. Ps 74:4. 66. 1 Pet 1:19.

in the same year the one Passion but do so only once each year for him who died only once; you are not to concern yourselves with observing the feast with the Jews.[m] 2. Henceforth you will have nothing in common with them; in fact, they are wrong as to their customary calculation, and behold they are led astray on every side and are far distant from the truth. 3. You, however, are to hold fast with exactitude to the vernal equinox which occurs on the twenty-second of the twelfth month, namely, Dystros; precisely count till the twenty-first day of the moon so that the fourteenth day of the moon does not fall in another week. In this way the Pasch will not be erroneously observed twice in the same year because of ignorance; nor will we celebrate the day of our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection on any day other than on Sunday.

[The fast during Holy Week]

V.XVIII.1. Fast then on the days of the Pasch, from Monday to Friday and 1639
Saturday, namely, for six days; eat only bread, salt, vegetables, and—as drink—water; refrain from wine and meat on these days which are days of mourning, not of feasting.[n] 2. Those capable of doing so are to fast all day on Friday and Saturday, taking nothing till the evening cockcrow; whoever cannot prolong the fast during these two days is to observe it at least on Saturday since the Lord himself somewhere says in regard to himself, "When the bridegroom will be taken away from them, they will fast on those days."[67] [o]

V.XIX.1. On these days, then, he has been taken away from us by those 1640
who wrongly bear the name of Jews;[68] he was nailed to the cross and was "counted among the evil ones."[69] 2. This is why we exhort you to fast on these days till evening just as we ourselves fasted when he was taken from us. On the other days before Friday each is to eat at the ninth hour or in the evening or according to one's abilities, but at Saturday's cockcrow break the fast that began on Thursday evening.

[The Paschal Vigil]

V.XIX.3. Up to the time when "the first day of the week begins to 1641
dawn,"[70] namely, Sunday, stay awake from evening till cockcrow, and assemble in the church, keeping vigil, praying, and invoking God during your watch, reading the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms till cockcrow; then after having baptized your catechumens, having read the Gospel with fear and trembling, having preached salvation to the people, bring your sorrow to an end and pray to God for the conversion of Israel, that it be allowed to convert[71] and be forgiven its ungodliness.[p] 4. Because the

m. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XVII.] 1 (WEC 1:781).
n. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XVIII.] 1 (WEC 1:782).
o. Ibid.
p. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIX.] 1 (WEC 1:783).
67. Luke 5:35. 68. See Rev 2:9; 3:9. 69. Isa 53:12. 70. Matt 28:1. 71. See Heb 12:17.

foreign judge washed his hands, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this man; see to it yourselves,"[72] Israel cried out, "May his blood be upon us and upon our children."[73] When Pilate asked, "Am I to crucify your king?" they cried out, "We have no king but Caesar."[74] "Crucify him! Crucify him!"[75] "for whoever claims to be a king sets himself up against Caesar, and if you release this man, you are no friend of Caesar."[76] [q] 5. Both Pilate the governor and Herod the king ordered that he be crucified, and in this way the oracle was fulfilled, "Why do the nations conspire and the people plot in vain? The kings of the earth set themselves up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and his Anointed,"[77] and they rejected the Beloved "like a corpse that has been abandoned."[78] [r]

1642 V.XIX.6. Crucified on the Preparation Day and rising at dawn on Sunday, he fulfilled the Scripture, "Rise up, O God, judge the earth, for all the nations are yours."[79] Also, "I will now rise up, says the Lord; I will place them in the safety for which they long."[80] And, "But you, O Lord, be kind to me and raise me up that I may repay them."[81] 7. Now that the Lord has risen, you also are to offer your sacrifice since in regard to this he prescribed that you do so through us as intermediaries: "Do this in memory of me."[82] Bring, then, your fast to an end; rejoice, feast because the pledge of your resurrection, Jesus "Christ, has been raised from the dead"[83] and because this is "an everlasting ordinance for you"[84] "till the end of the world"[85] at which time the Lord will come.[86] [s] 8. For the Jews the Lord is still dead, but for Christians he is risen; for the former it is a matter of their unbelief, and for the latter it pertains to the deep conviction that hope in the Lord brings immortal and eternal life.[t]

[Feasts during Paschal Time]

1643 V.XX.1. Eight days afterwards, solemnly celebrate another feast, namely, the octave: on this day the Lord fully convinced me, the unbelieving Thomas, of his resurrection when he showed me the marks of the nails as well as the wound made in his side by the spear.[87] 2. Count forty days[88] after the first Sunday, and on the fifth day after this Sunday celebrate the feast of the Lord's Ascension, the day on which the Lord, having completely accomplished his mission and, having instituted all, ascended to God the Father who had sent him. The Lord did so in order to sit "at the right hand of Power"[89] and to await the subjection of his enemies at

---

q. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIX.] 4 (ibid.).

r. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIX.] 5 (ibid.).

s. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIX.] 7 (ibid.).

t. Cf. Didas XXI. [V.XIX.] 8 (ibid.).

72. Matt 27:24. 73. Matt 27:25. 74. John 19:15. 75. John 19:6. 76. John 19:12. 77. Ps 2:1–2. 78. Isa 14:19. 79. Ps 82:8. 80. Ps 12:5. 81. Ps 41:10. 82. Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24. 83. 1 Cor 15:20. 84. Lev 16:34. 85. Matt 28:20. 86. See 1 Cor 11:26. 87. See John 20:24–29. 88. See Acts 1:3. 89. Matt 26:64.

his feet.[90] "He will return at the end of the world with great power and glory"[91] "to judge the living and the dead"[92] "and to repay according to each person's deeds";[93] at that time "they will look on" God's beloved Son, "whom they have pierced." Acknowledging him, "they will cry" for themselves, "family by family and their wives" separately.[94] 3. For still at the present time, on the tenth day of the month of Gorpiaeos, they gather and read the Lamentations of Jeremiah which says, "The Lord's anointed, the breath of our life, was taken in their pits."[95] They also read Baruch where it is written, "This is our God; no other is comparable to him. He found the whole way to knowledge and gave her to his servant Jacob and to Israel whom he loved. Afterward she appeared on earth and lived with humankind."[96] During these readings they cry and lament over the destruction caused by Nabuchodonoser, as they believe; in reality, without them willing it, their laments concern the sorrow that afflicts them. 4. May the tenth day after the Ascension, namely, the fiftieth day after the first Sunday, be for you a great feast since on this day at the third hour[97] the Lord Jesus sent us the gift of the Holy Spirit,[98] and we were filled with his power; under his inspiration we spoke in foreign tongues; and we proclaimed to the Jews and to the pagans that Jesus is God's Anointed One, divinely established to be "the judge of the living and of the dead."[99] [. . .]

V.xx.14. Having feasted for Fifty Days, continue to feast for still another 1644
week, and then fast for a week; it is right to rejoice over God's gift and to fast after a time of waiting. 15. Moses and Elias fasted forty days,[100] and "for three weeks Daniel ate no rich food, no meat or wine entering his mouth."[101] And blessed Hannah when asking for Samuel said, "I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I have been pouring out my soul before the Lord."[102] 16. The Ninivites, by fasting three days and three nights,[103] avoided the threatening anger; by their fast Esther, Mordecai,[104] and Judith[105] escaped the snares of the godless Holofernes and Aman. And David says, "My knees are weak through fasting, and my body is impaired due to lack of oil."[106] 17. So you also are to be fasting when you make your requests before God. 18. We command that you, after this week of fasting, fast every week, doing so on Wednesday and Friday and giving to the poor what you saved by doing so. 19. On the other hand, joyfully assemble every Saturday with one exception, and also every Sunday; guilty of sin will be those who fast on Sunday, the day of the Resurrection, or those who mortify themselves during the Fifty Days or on any other feast of the Lord since on these days we are to rejoice and not mourn.[u]

---

u. Cf. Didas xxi. [V.xix.] 9 (ibid.).

90. See Ps 110:1; 1 Cor 15:25. 91. Matt 24:30. 92. 2 Tim 4:1; 1 Pet 4:5. 93. Rom 2:6; Ps 62:12. 94. Zech 12:10, 12; see Rev 1:7; John 19:37. 95. Lam 4:20. 96. Bar 3:36–38. 97. See Acts 2:15. 98. See Acts 2:4. 99. Acts 10:42; 1 Pet 4:5. 100. See Exod 34:28; 1 Kgs 19:8. 101. Dan 10:2–3. 102. 1 Sam 1:15. 103. See Jonah 3:4–5. 104. See Esth 4:16. 105. See Jdt 8:6. 106. Ps 109:24.

[Funerals]

1645 VI.xxx.2. Without any scruple gather in the cemeteries, reading the holy books and singing psalms for the martyrs who rest there, for all the holy ones from the beginning [of the world], and for your brethren who are asleep in the Lord. In your churches and in your cemeteries offer the acceptable Eucharist, the image of Christ's royal body. For the funerals of those who were faithful to the Lord, accompany the departed with the singing of the psalms.[a] 3. "Precious in the Lord's eyes is the death of his holy ones."[1] Also, "Return, my soul, to your rest, for the Lord has heaped up his benefits for you."[2] Also, "The memory of the righteous is a blessing."[3] And, "The souls of the just are in God's hands."[4] 4. Those who believed in God, although they are now asleep, are not dead; for the Savior said to the Sadducees, "And as for the resurrection of the dead, have you not read what you were told by God, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is God not of the dead but of the living,'[5] for through him all are alive."[6 b] 5. The mortal remains of those who live with God are not something to be looked down upon; in fact, the prophet Elisha, after his death, restored to life a man who was killed by some Syrian marauders[7]: his corpse touched Elisha's bones and the man, now living, arose; this would not have happened if the body of Elisha had not been holy.[c] 6. The chaste Joseph kissed the dead Jacob[8] and placed him on a couch. Moses with Joshua, who was the son of Nun, carried the mortal remains of Joseph[9] without even thinking that these would pollute him. 7. This is why you also, bishops and others, are to care for your deceased without any scruple; do not imagine that you are soiled by doing so; do not abandon their mortal remains; avoid foolish practices; clothe yourselves with holiness and chastity so that you may share in immortality, be associated with God's kingdom, benefit from God's promise, and obtain eternal rest through Jesus Christ our Savior.[d]

[Baptism]

1646 VII.xxii.1. Concerning baptism, O bishop and presbyter, we have already given you directions; now we affirm that you are to baptize as the Lord commanded when he said, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and

---

Book VI

a. Cf. Didas xxvi. [VI.xxii(xxviii)] 2.

b. Cf. Didas xxvi. [VI.xxii(xxviii)] 3.

c. Cf. Didas xxvi. [VI.xxii(xxviii)] 4.

d. Cf. Didas xxvi. [VI.xxii(xxviii)] 10.

1. Ps 116:6, LXX. 2. Ps 116:7. 3. Prov 10:7. 4. Wis 3:1. 5. Matt 22:31–32; see Exod 3:6. 6. Luke 20:38; see Rom 14:8. 7. See 2 Kgs 13:20–21. 8. See Gen 50:1. 9. See Exod 13:19; Josh 24:32.

instructing them to obey all that I have commanded you."[1] You are to do so in the name of the Father who sent,[2] of Christ who came, and of the Paraclete who bore witness.[3] [a] 2. First, anoint with the holy oil; then baptize with water; finally seal with myron so that the anointing may be a participation in the Holy Spirit, water being a symbol of death, and myron being a seal of the covenants. 3. In the absence of oil and myron, water suffices for the anointing, for the sealing, and for the confession [of faith] of someone who is dying or rather who is dying [with Christ].

[The pre-baptismal fast]

VII.XXII.4. The candidate is to fast before baptism, for the Lord, who was 1647
first baptized by John and then remained in the wilderness, "fasted forty days and forty nights."[4] [b] 5. He was first baptized and then he fasted, not that he required a bath, a fast, or a purification—he who by nature was pure and holy—but in order to testify to the truth before John and to give us an example. 6. And so that the Lord was not baptized into his own passion, death, or resurrection—none of these having as yet taken place—but in view of another order of things; furthermore, it was by his own authority as being the Lord of John that he fasted after being baptized. But whoever is initiated into the death of Christ[5] should first fast and then be baptized since it is unbecoming that a person who has been buried with Christ and then rises with him should appear sad in the resurrection itself; a human being, in fact, has no authority over the Savior's institutions since one is the master, the other is the subordinate.

[The weekly fast]

VII.XXIII.1. Do not fast when the hypocrites do so;[6] they, in fact, fast on 1648
the second and the fifth days [Monday and Thursday] of the week.[c] 2. You are to fast either for five whole days or on the fourth day [Wednesday] and on the Preparation Day [Friday] because on the fourth day the process for condemning the Lord ended with Judas promising to betray Christ in exchange for some pieces of silver;[7] you are to fast on the Preparation Day because on this day the Lord, under Pontius Pilate, suffered on the cross.[d] 3. But you are to feast on the Sabbath as well as on the Lord's Day since the first commemorates creation and the second commemorates the Resurrection. 4. Only one Saturday throughout the whole year requires a special observance from you, namely, the Saturday when the Lord was in the tomb. On this day you are to fast and not feast; as long as the Creator

---

Book VII

a. Cf. Did VII.1 (WEC 1:184).

b. Cf. Did VII.4 (ibid.).

c. Cf. Did VIII.1 (WEC 1:185).

d. Ibid.

1. Matt 28:19–20. 2. See John 17:3, 25. 3. See John 15:26. 4. Matt 4:2. 5. See Rom 6:3. 6. See Matt 6:16. 7. See Luke 22:1–6.

is under the earth, sorrow for him prevails over joy for creation because the Creator by nature and dignity is more precious than his creatures.

1649 VII.XXIV.1. When you pray, do not pray as do the hypocrites but as the Lord who commanded us in the Gospel "to pray as follows: 'Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come, Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors. And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one. For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours forever. Amen.'"[8] [e] 2. Pray in this way three times a day,[9] making yourselves worthy of adoption by the Father so that you do not unworthily claim him as your Father and thus undergo his reproaches as did Israel, once his firstborn child, who heard him say, "If I am a father, where is my honor? And if I am the lord, where is the awe that is due me?"[10] 3. For the honor of the fathers is the holiness of the children, and the awe due the masters is the awe of the servants. Whatever is opposite is dishonor and anarchy, for it is said, "Because of your sin my name is blasphemed among the pagans."[11]

[Mystical thanksgiving]

1650 VII.XXV.1. Always give thanks as faithful and thankful servants; for the Eucharist, pray as follows.[f] 2. "Our Father, we thank you for the life you have revealed to us through Jesus your servant through whom you have created everything and through whom you provide for the needs of every being,[12] and whom you sent to become man for our salvation. You allowed him to suffer and die; you raised him up; you were pleased to glorify him; you had him sit at your right hand;[13] and through him you promised us the resurrection of the dead. 3. Almighty Master, eternal God, as this bread was scattered and was then gathered to become one loaf, so in like manner gather your Church from the ends of the earth[14] into your kingdom.[g] 4. We also thank you, our Father, for the 'precious blood'[15] of Jesus Christ, which was poured out for us, and for the precious body, whose symbols we offer; for he commanded that we 'proclaim his death.'[16] Through him glory be to you forever and ever. Amen."[h] 5. Let no unbaptized person eat, but only those "who have been baptized into the death"[17] of the Lord.[i] 6. If unbaptized persons conceal themselves and partake, they will "eat" eternal "judgment"[18] because, not believing in Christ, they will have taken what is

---

e. Cf. Did VIII.2 (ibid.).

f. Cf. Did IX.1 (WEC 1:186).

g. Cf. Did IX.4 (ibid.).

h. Cf. Did IX.2 (ibid.).

i. Cf. Did IX.5 (ibid.).

8. Matt 6:9–13. 9. Dan 6:11. 10. Mal 1:6. 11. Isa 52:5. 12. See Wis 6:8. 13. See Mark 16:19. 14. See Zeph 3:10. 15. 1 Pet 1:19. 16. 1 Cor 11:26. 17. Rom 6:3. 18. 1 Cor 11:29.

not allowed them, doing so unto their punishment. 7. If some receive out of ignorance, instruct them in summary fashion and as quickly as possible in order to initiate them so that they may not leave despising you.

[Blessing after Communion]

VII.xxvi.1. After Communion offer thanks as follows.[j] 2. "We thank 1651
you, O God and Father of Jesus our Savior, for your holy name which you have made to dwell among us, and for the knowledge, the faith, the love, and the immortality which you have given us through your servant Jesus Christ.[k] 3. Almighty Master, God of all things, through Christ you have created the world and all it contains; you have sown the Law in our hearts and have prepared for us what is necessary for our subsistence. 'O God of our' holy and blameless 'ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,'[19] your faithful servants; O God you are powerful, faithful, true, and trustworthy in your promises; you have sent to earth Jesus your Christ so that he might live among people[20] as one of us, even though he is God the Word and man, and so that he might totally destroy error. 4. Through him remember your holy Church which you 'acquired with the' precious 'blood of' your 'Christ';[21] 'rescue it from all evil';[22] perfect it in your love and in your truth; gather all into your kingdom, which you prepared for it.[l] 5. 'Maranatha.'[23] 'Hosanna to the son of David.'[24] 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'[25] 'The Lord God has appeared to us in the flesh.'"[26 m]

VII.xxvi.6. "Those who are holy may approach; those who are not holy 1652
should become so through penance." Allow also your presbyters to give thanks.[n]

[Blessing of the myron]

VII.xxvii.1. For the myron, offer thanks as follows— 1653

VII.xxvii.2. "O God, Creator of all things, we thank you for the sweet 1654
scent of the myron and for the future immortality which you revealed to us through Jesus your servant. For yours is the glory and the power forever and ever. Amen."

[The examination of strangers]

VII.xxviii.1. If any come to give thanks, receive them as you would dis- 1655
ciples of Christ.[o] 2. But if they profess a doctrine other than what Christ

j. Cf. Did x.1 (WEC 1:187).
k. Cf. Did x.2 (ibid.).
l. Cf. Did x.5 (ibid.).
m. Cf. Did x.6 (ibid.).
n. Ibid.
o. Cf. Did xi.1 (WEC 1:188).

19. Exod 3:16; Acts 3:13. 20. See Bar 3:38. 21. Acts 20:28; 1 Pet 1:19. 22. Matt 6:13. 23. 1 Cor 16:22. 24. Matt 21:9. 25. Ps 118:26; Matt 21:9. 26. See 1 Tim 3:16.

has revealed to you through us, do not allow them to offer thanks, for they insult rather than glorify God. 3. Whoever comes among you is to be tested before being received; for you are intelligent and know "how to tell their right hand from their left"[27] and how to distinguish false teachers from true teachers. 4. As to teachers who arrive among you, willingly obtain whatever they need; you will most certainly tend to the needs of false teachers, but you will not agree with their error nor join in praying with them so that you may not be sullied with them. 5. Every true prophet or teacher arriving among you is "deserving of food as a laborer"[28] who serves the doctrine of righteousness.[p]

[First fruits and tithes]

1656 VII.XXIX.1. All the first fruits of the wine-press, of the threshing floor, and of cattle and of sheep you will give to the priests so that the stores of your granaries be blessed[29] as well as the "fruit of your ground."[30] In this way you will be provided with grain, with wine,[31] and with oil, and so "your cattle and the issue of your flock"[32] will increase.[q] 2. All tithes you will give to the orphan, to the widow, to the beggar, and to the stranger. 3. From each loaf coming out of the oven, from each container of wine, of oil, of honey or of fruit, from every basket of grapes and other produce you will give a tithe to the priests; but as to money, clothing, and all your goods, give tithes to the orphan and the widow.[r]

[The Sunday gathering]

1657 VII.XXX.1. On the day of the Lord's resurrection, namely, on the Lord's Day, gather assiduously, give thanks to God, and proclaim the benefits God has given you through Christ by delivering you from ignorance, from error, from servitude.[s] 2. In this way your sacrifice will be pure and acceptable to God, who has said concerning his universal Church: "In every place let there be offered to me incense and a pure sacrifice, for I am a great king," says the almighty Lord, "and my name is wonderful among the nations."[33] [t]

[Ministers]

1658 VII.XXXI.1. Choose for yourselves bishops worthy of the Lord, and as priests and deacons men who are pious, righteous, humble, unselfish, sincere, proven, holy, impartial, capable of teaching the doctrine of faith, faithfully dispensing[34] the Lord's teachings.[u] 2. But honor them like

---

p. Cf. Did XIII.1–2 (WEC 1:190).
q. Cf. Did XIII.3 (ibid.).
r. Cf. Did XIII.5–7 (ibid.).
s. Cf. Did XIV.1 (WEC 1:191).
t. Cf. Did XIV.3 (ibid.).
u. Cf. Did XV.1 (WEC 1:192).

27. Jonah 4:11. 28. Matt 10:10. 29. See Deut 28:4–5. 30. See Deut 28:4, 33. 31. See Gen 27:37. 32. Deut 7:13. 33. Mal 1:11, 14. 34. See 2 Tim 2:15.

fathers, teachers, benefactors, authors of your happiness.[v] 3. Correct one another, doing so not in anger but with patience, goodness, and peace.[w] 4. Do all that the Lord has commanded you.

VII.xxxix.1. We explained above how those already baptized in Christ should live, and what thanksgivings they should address to God through Christ. Yet it is not right to abandon the unbaptized without assisting them. 2. Before being baptized those to be instructed in the faith are to be taught about the unbegotten God, about the only-begotten Son, about the certainty of the Holy Spirit. They are to learn the order of the various creations, the series of divine interventions, the laws of the different legislations. Instruction is to be given on the reason for the world's creation and why people were made to inhabit it; information is to be given on one's own nature, such as it is. 3. Instruction is to be given on how God has punished the evil ones by means of water[35] and fire,[36] and on how God has glorified the holy ones of every age, namely, Seth, Enoch, Henoch, Noah, Abraham and his descendants, Melchizedech, Job, Joshua, Kaleb, the zealous priest Phinehas, and the holy ones of each generation. Instruction is to be given on how God in his providence, rather than turning away from the human race, has at various times called it from error and vanity to the "knowledge of the truth,"[37] leading it from slavery and ungodliness to freedom and piety, from injustice to justice, and from eternal death to eternal life. 1659

[Imposition of hands upon the catechumens]

VII.xxxix.4. During the catechesis the candidates are to learn these and similar things. The one who imposes hands on them will adore God, the Master of all things, and will give thanks for creation, for sending Christ his only-begotten Son to save us, to wipe away our transgressions; to forgive impieties and sins; "to cleanse from every defilement of body and of spirit";[38] to sanctify us in his kindness and goodness; to teach us the divine will; "to enlighten the eyes of the human heart"[39] so that the candidates may contemplate the divine wonders and so as to reveal to them the judgments of righteousness that they may hate every way of injustice[40] and journey forth upon "the way of faithfulness"; that they may be judged worthy of "the water of rebirth"[41] in view of "adoption into Christ";[42] that by being assimilated into his death "they may be united to him";[43] and that in the hope of a glorious communion they may put sin to death[44] and "live for God"[45] in thought, word, and deed; and that they may be numbered in the book of the living. 5. Following this thanksgiving, instruction 1660

v. Cf. *Did* xv.2 (*ibid.*).

w. Cf. Did xv.3 (ibid.).

35. See Gen 7. 36. See Gen 19. 37. 1 Tim 2:4. 38. 2 Cor 7:1. 39. Eph 1:18. 40. Ps 118:7. 41. Titus 3:5. 42. Eph 1:5. 43. Rom 6:5. 44. See Col 3:5. 45. Gal 2:19.

is given on the Savior's incarnation, on his passion, on his resurrection from among the dead, and on his ascension.

[Immediate preparation for baptism]

1661 VII.XL.1. When the catechumens are close to being baptized, they should learn to renounce the devil and adhere to Christ. They should first abstain from contrary things before being introduced to the mysteries. Once their hearts have been cleansed from all evil, stain, and wrinkle,[46] they can then take part in the holy mysteries. 2. Just as a good farmer first clears the land and rids it of the thorn-bushes growing there before he sows wheat, likewise you must first remove from the candidates all impiety before sowing godliness in them, before judging them to be worthy of baptism. 3. This, in fact, is what the Lord commanded of us when he said, "Baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[47]

[Renunciation of Satan]

1662 VII.XLI.1. At the renunciation each candidate is to declare the following—

1663 VII.XLI.2. "I renounce Satan, his works, his pomps, his service, his angels, his inventions, and all that are subject to him."

[Adhesion to Christ and profession of the baptismal faith]

1664 VII.XLI.3. After the renunciation the candidate's adhesion is professed. "And I adhere to Christ." 4. "I believe in and am baptized in the one, unbegotten, 'only true God,'[48] the Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and author of all that is, 'through whom all things were made.'[49] 5. And in Jesus Christ, the Lord, his only-begotten Son, 'the firstborn of all creation'[50] who before the ages was not created but begotten through the good pleasure of the Father 'by whom all things'[51] were made both in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible. 6. In the last days he came down from heaven and assumed flesh, being born of the holy Virgin Mary; he lived a holy life according to the laws of God his Father; he was crucified under Pontius Pilate; he died for us; he was raised from among the dead, and on the third day after his passion he ascended into heaven where 'he is seated at the right hand' of the Father;[52] he will come in glory at the end of the world[53] to 'judge the living and the dead,'[54] and 'of his kingdom there will be no end.'[55] 7. I am also baptized in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who from the beginning of the world was actively present in all the holy ones, and who afterwards was also sent to the apostles by the Father according to the promise of our Savior

46. Eph 5:27. 47. Matt 28:19. 48. John 17:3. 49. 1 Cor 8:6. 50. Col 1:15. 51. 1 Cor 8:6. 52. Mark 16:19. 53. See Matt 24:30; 28:20. 54. 2 Tim 4:1; 1 Pet 4:5. 55. Luke 1:33.

and Lord Jesus Christ, and after the apostles to all who believe in the holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. 8. [I believe] in the resurrection of the body, in the forgiveness of sins, in the kingdom of heaven, and in the life of the age to come."

[Pre-baptismal anointing]

VII.XLII.1. After this profession of faith there is, according to the order of things, the anointing with oil. 2. As a preparation for baptism the bishop blesses the oil for the forgiveness of sins. 3. He invokes the unbegotten God, the Father of Christ, the king of all sensible and intelligible nature, to sanctify the oil "in the name of the Lord Jesus"[56] Christ who is to grant it the grace and power of the Spirit and the forgiveness of sins; it is to be a preparation for the baptismal confession so that the person anointed be absolved from all ungodliness and be made worthy of baptism according to the command of the only-begotten Son. 1665

[Blessing of the baptismal water]

VII.XLIII.1. Then he goes to the water. 2. He blesses and glorifies God the almighty Lord, the Father of the only-begotten God, by giving thanks that God has sent his Son to save us by assuming flesh on our behalf; that God has allowed this Son in his incarnation to "become obedient"[57] in all things and "to proclaim the kingdom"[58] of heaven, "the forgiveness of sins,"[59] and "the resurrection of the dead."[60] 3. For this he adores the uncreated God himself, after the Father and because of the Father, giving thanks to him after having suffered death on the cross for the salvation of all—a type of this he gave in the baptism of new birth.[61] 4. He also gives glory that God the Lord of all things, in the name of Christ and by the Holy Spirit, has not rejected the human race but at different times and in various ways has demonstrated his providence by giving Adam the garden itself as his first place of habitation;[62] then by giving a commandment as a precaution;[63] then by justly expelling Adam after he sinned; and then in his goodness by not completely rejecting Adam but instructing each of his descendants in various ways. It was because of Adam that, when the time came, he sent his Son to take on flesh for our sake and to assume all human passions except sin.[64] 1666

VII.XLIII.5. Let the priest now call upon God for the baptism and say, "Look down from heaven and sanctify this water; give it grace and power so that whoever is baptized according to the commandment of Christ may be joined to his crucifixion, to his death, to his burial, and to his resurrection, so that being adopted in him[65] those being baptized might die to sin and live for righteousness."[66] 1667

56. Acts 8:16. 57. Phil 2:8. 58. Luke 9:2. 59. Luke 1:77. 60. Matt 22:31. 61. See Titus 3:5. 62. See Gen 3:23–24. 63. See Gen 2:15–16. 64. See Heb 4:15. 65. See Rom 6:2–8, 11. 66. See Rom 8:10; Col 3:5.

[Post-baptismal anointing]

1668 VII.XLIV.1. Then, after having "baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,"[67] he is to anoint with the myron and add the following—

1669 VII.XLIV.2. "Lord, uncreated and sovereign God, Master of all things, you have spread 'the fragrance that comes from knowing'[68] the Gospel upon all nations as a sweet odor; grant that this myron may have its effect upon these who are baptized; may this sweet odor of your Christ[69] be firm and strong in them, and may they, having died with Christ, rise and live with him."[70]

[Conditions of efficacy]

1670 VII.XLIV.3. He is to say these and similar things, for this is the efficacy of the imposition of hands upon each element. If, in fact, a prayer of this type is not said by a holy priest over each of them, then the baptismal candidates only descend into the water as do the Jews and rid themselves only of bodily filth, not spiritual filth.

[Prayer of the newly baptized]

1671 VII.XLV.1. Then those who have been baptized are to stand and say the prayer taught us by the Lord.[71] Whoever is raised up by baptism must stand for prayer because a person who has been raised up stands upright. And so whoever has died and has been raised by Christ stands upright. 2. Let these pray facing the east, for the Second Book of Chronicles prescribes this, namely, when the Lord's temple was finished under King Solomon, during its dedication "the priests and the Levites and the singers stood, with cymbals" and harps; they "turned to the east, praised, confessed, and said, 'Praise the Lord for he is good, for his mercy remains forever.'"[72]

1672 3. After the initial prayer, he is to pray as follows—

1673 "Almighty God, Father of your Christ, your only-begotten Son, give me a sinless body, a pure heart, a watchful spirit, unerring knowledge, and the presence of the Holy Spirit so that I may obtain, and be thoroughly imbued with, truth through your Christ by whom glory be to you in the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen."

1674 VII.XLV.4. We have deemed it proper to prescribe the following for the catechumens—

[The Great Doxology]

1675 VII.XLVII.1. "'Glory to God in the heavens and on earth peace, goodwill among people.'[73] 2. We praise you, we sing to you, we bless you, we glorify you, we adore you through your 'high priest';[74] you are the true God, one and not created, the only accessible one, being so because of your

67. Matt 28:19. 68. 2 Cor 2:14. 69. See 2 Cor 2:15. 70. See 2 Cor 7:3. 71. See Matt 6:9. 72. 2 Chr 5:11–13; Ps 135:3. 73. Luke 2:14. 74. Heb 4:14.

great glory, Lord, heavenly king, God, the Father almighty. 3. Lord, God, and Father of our Savior, the spotless 'lamb who takes away the sin of the world,'[75] receive our prayer, for 'you are enthroned upon the cherubim.'[76] You alone are holy; you alone are Lord, God and Father of Jesus the Christ, the God of all created nature, our king, through whom glory, honor, and adoration is yours."

[Evening hymn]

VII.XLVIII.1. "'Children, praise the Lord, praise the name of the Lord.'[77] 1676
2. We praise you, we hymn you, we bless you because of your great glory, Lord, king, Father of Christ, the spotless 'lamb who takes away the sin of the world.'[78] 3. 'Praise is due to you.' To you belong hymns,[79] to you belong glory, God and Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

VII.XLVIII.4. "'Master, now dismiss your servant in peace according to 1677
your word, for my eyes have seen the salvation you have prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light to enlighten the Gentiles and to give glory to your people Israel.'"[80]

[Blessing for meals]

VII.IL.1. "'Blessed are you, O Lord,'[81] who 'fed me from my youth'[82] and 1678
'who gives food to all flesh.'[83] Fill 'our hearts with' gladness and 'joy'[84] 'so that we may always possess enough of everything and may share abundantly in every good work'[85] in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom glory, honor, and veneration be to you forever. Amen."

[Introduction to ordinations][a]

VIII.III.1. In the first part of this treatise we considered the charisms 1679
freely given by God; we considered how God denounced the conduct of those who dared to speak untruths or who were moved by a foreign spirit, and how God often uses evil-doers to speak prophecies and to work miracles. 2. But now our purpose leads us to the basic question of church organization so that, receiving from us these constitutions, you, the bishops whom we have established according to Christ's will, may always act according to the prescriptions that have been handed down to us, knowing that those who hear us hear Christ, and that whoever hears Christ hears his God and Father[1] to whom glory is to be given forever. Amen.

---

75. John 1:29. 76. Ps 80:1. 77. Ps 113:1. 78. John 1:29. 79. Ps 65:1. 80. Luke 2:29–32. 81. Ps 119:12. 82. Gen 48:15, LXX. 83. Ps 136:25. 84. Acts 14:17. 85. 2 Cor 9:8.

Book VIII

a. Cf. ApT 1 (WEC 1:614–16).

1. See Luke 10:16.

[Preliminaries of episcopal ordination][b]

1680 VIII.IV.1. Gathering together, we the Lord's twelve apostles inform you of these divine constitutions which pertain to the whole organization of the Church, doing so in the presence of Paul, the vessel whom I have chosen[2] and our fellow apostle, as well as in the presence of James the bishop [of Jerusalem] and of the other presbyters and of the seven deacons.

1681 VIII.IV.2. I, Peter, being the first, prescribe that a bishop be appointed in the way all of us together determined. [. . .] He is to be beyond reproach in all things, selected by all the people because of his merit. 3. Once his name has been announced and agreed upon, the people are brought together with the presbyters and the bishops being present, this taking place on a Sunday. He who has precedence over all the others will ask the presbyterate and the people if such is indeed the one whom they nominate as their leader. 4. After the people have consented, he will again ask if all give testimony that the candidate is worthy of this great and illustrious presidency; if in matters of faith in God he has conducted himself with rectitude; if it is evident that he is just toward others; if the affairs of his own household are well managed;[3] and if his conduct is beyond reproach.[4] 5. When all have given testimony that the candidate is such a person, in truth and not by presumption, as at the tribunal of God and of Christ and in the evident presence of the Holy Spirit and of all the holy spirits who serve,[5] they will be asked a third time whether the candidate is indeed worthy of this office so that "the whole affair be determined on the evidence of two or three witnesses."[6] When they agree for the third time that he is worthy, all are asked to give some sign of their approval; this is to be given promptly.

[Episcopal ordination]

1682 VIII.IV.6. When silence has returned, one of the principal bishops with two others is to remain standing next to the altar, whereas the other bishops and the presbyters pray silently; the deacons are to hold the divine gospels open upon the head of the candidate; meanwhile, the bishop addresses God—

[Prayer of episcopal ordination][c]

1683 VIII.V.1. "O powerful Lord, God, the Creator of all things, you alone are uncreated and independent. Needing nothing, you exist before time. You require nothing and transcend every cause and every process. You 'alone are true,'[7] you alone are wise, you alone are high above, invisible[8] by nature. Your being is knowledge without beginning; you are the only

b. Cf. ApT 2 (WEC 1:617–18).

c. Cf. ApT 3 (WEC 1:619–20).

2. See Acts 9:15. 3. See 1 Tim 3:4, 2. 4. See 1 Tim 3:2. 5. See Heb 1:14. 6. Deut 19:15; see Matt 18:16; 2 Cor 13:1. 7. John 17:3. 8. See 1 Tim 1:17.

good[9] and are incomparable. You 'know all things before they were made, and you know all that is hidden.'[10] You are inaccessible and sovereign. 2. God and Father of your only-begotten Son, our God and Savior, through whom you have created all things, you are the providence, the protector, the 'Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation.'[11] You 'dwell on high and look upon what is below.'[12] 3. You have given institutions to the Church through the incarnation of your Christ, with the witness of the Paraclete, by your apostles and by us the teachers, the bishops appointed by your grace. From the beginning you provided priests to look after your people: first Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedech, and Job. 4. You designated Abraham and the other patriarchs together with your faithful servants Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, and Phineas, some of whom you established as rulers and priests in the tent of witness. You chose Samuel as priest and prophet. You did not allow your sanctuary to lack those who serve, and you were pleased to be glorified in those whom you have chosen. 5. Now through us and by the mediation of your Christ spread the power of your guiding Spirit[13] who is at the service of your beloved servant Jesus Christ and who, eternal God, has according to your will been given to your holy apostles. 6. Through your name, O God who knows the depths of the hearts,[14] grant that this your servant whom you have chosen for the episcopate may feed your holy flock[15] and that before you he may exercise the sovereign priesthood by faultlessly serving and pleasing you, day and night. Grant that he may gather together the number of the saved and offer you the gifts of your holy Church. 7. Almighty Master, through your Christ grant him the Holy Spirit so that he may have the power to forgive sins[16] in accord with your precept, to distribute responsibilities[17] in accord with your order, 'to break every yoke'[18] by virtue of the power you gave to the apostles, and that he in his kindness may please you by his purity of heart[19] by offering to you without deviation or blame or reproach 'a pure offering,'[20] unbloody, which you instituted through Christ, the mystery of 'the new covenant'[21] as a 'pleasing odor'[22] through 'your holy servant Jesus,'[23] the Christ of God and our Savior. Through whom to you be glory, honor, and praise in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever."

VIII.v.8. After this prayer the priests will answer "Amen" and all the people with them. 1684

VIII.v.9. Then one of the bishops will bring the offering to him upon whom hands were laid. 10. In the morning the other bishops will enthrone him in his proper place, and all will give him the Lord's peace. 1685

9. See Matt 19:17. 10. Dan 13:42. 11. 2 Cor 1:3. 12. Ps 113:5–6. 13. See Ps 51:12. 14. See Acts 1:24. 15. See John 21:16. 16. John 20:23. 17. See Acts 1:26; Titus 1:5. 18. Isa 58:6; Matt 18:18. 19. See Ps 51:10. 20. Mal 1:11. 21. Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25. 22. Eph 5:2; Exod 29:18. 23. Acts 4:27, 30.

[Eucharistic celebration: Liturgy of the Word]

1686 VIII.v.11. After the reading of the Law, the prophets, our letters, the Acts, and the gospels, the new bishop will greet the assembly as follows—

1687 "'The grace' of our 'Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God' the Father, 'and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.'"[24] All respond, "And with your spirit."

1688 VIII.v.12. After the greeting he gives the people an exhortation.

[Dismissal]

1689 VIII.vi.1. I, Andrew, brother of Peter, prescribe this: at the conclusion of the preaching 2. all stand; the deacon ascends into the high place and proclaims—

1690 "Let no hearer remain. Let no unbeliever remain."

[Dismissal of the catechumens]

1691 VIII.vi.3. When silence returns, he says, "Catechumens, pray."

1692 VIII.vi.4. All the faithful fervently pray for them saying, "Lord, have mercy." The deacon shall plead for the catechumens, saying—

1693 VIII.vi.5. "For the catechumens. May all of us fervently ask God that in his goodness and love for all people, he favorably 'hear their prayers'[25] and supplications, receive their petitions, help them, and grant them 'the desires of their hearts'[26] for their good; that he reveal to them the Gospel of his Christ; that he enlighten and teach them; that he instruct them with divine knowledge; that he 'teach them' his commandments and 'his statutes';[27] that he instill in them a pure and salutary fear of him; that he open the eyes of their hearts so that they devote themselves to his Law 'day and night';[28] 6. that he strengthen their faith, bring them together, and number them among his holy flock; that he judge them worthy of the 'water of rebirth,'[29] of the robe of immortality, and 'of life that is true life';[30] that he free them from all godlessness and 'not allow the enemy to have any power over them';[31] that he cleanse them from 'every bodily and spiritual defilement';[32] that he 'live in them and walk among them'[33] through his Christ; that he bless 'their goings out and their comings in,'[34] and that he direct all that they do unto good."[35]

1694 VIII.vi.7. With even greater fervor we again pray for them: may they obtain the pardon of their sins and through baptism become worthy of the holy mysteries and of the community of the holy ones. 8. "Catechumens, please stand. Through his Christ request the peace of God so that your day and your whole life may be peaceful and sinless. Ask for a Christian death, God's mercy and graciousness, and the forgiveness of your sins. Through his Christ commend yourselves to the one and uncreated God. Bow down to receive the blessing."

---

24. 2 Cor 13:13. 25. Ps 6:9. 26. Ps 37:4. 27. Ps 119:12. 28. Ps 1:2. 29. Titus 3:5. 30. 1 Tim 6:19. 31. Eph 4:27; see 1 Tim 5:14. 32. 2 Cor 7:1. 33. 2 Cor 6:16; see Lev 26:12. 34. Ps 121:8. 35. Ps 90:17.

VIII.VI.9. After each diaconal intention the people will respond *Kyrie, eleison* ["Lord, have mercy"] as we have already said, and first the children. 1695

VIII.VI.10. While the catechumens are bowing their heads, the bishop upon whom hands have just been placed gives this blessing— 1696

VIII.VI.11. "Almighty God, you are uncreated and unapproachable; you alone are the only 'true God'[36] and the Father of your only-begotten Son. You are the God of the Paraclete and the Lord of all. You appointed your disciples as teachers to instruct us in the faith. 12. Now look upon your servants who are being instructed in the Gospel of your Christ; give them 'a new heart, and sustain in them a willing spirit'[37] so that they might know and fulfill your will 'with a strong heart and a willing spirit.'[38] 13. Make them worthy of holy baptism; join them to your holy Church and have them partake of the divine mysteries through 'Jesus Christ our hope'[39] who died for us. Through him be glory and honor to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen." 1697

VIII.VI.14. Then the deacon says, "Catechumens, go in peace." 1698

[Dismissal of the energumens[d]]

VIII.VII.1. After their departure, he says— 1699

VIII.VII.2. "Pray, those of you who are possessed by the 'unclean spirits.'[40] May all fervently pray for them so that God in his love for us may through Christ rebuke the evil and 'unclean spirits'[41] and deliver from the oppression of the enemy those who petition him. May he who has reproached the legion of demons and the devil, the source of evil, now rebuke[42] those who have apostatized from goodness; may he deliver his creatures from their ill-treatment, creatures he made with such great wisdom. 3. With fervor let us pray again for them. O God, save and raise them up in your power. Bow down, all who are possessed, and receive the blessing." 1700

VIII.VII.4. The bishop prays as follows— 1701

VIII.VII.5. "You have 'tied up those who are strong and plundered their property.'[43] To us you have given 'authority to tread on snakes, scorpions, and all the power of the enemy.'[44] You have delivered to us that serpent, that murderer of people, bound 'like a sparrow in the hands of children.'[45] All things fear you and tremble before your power.[46] You have cast him down like lightning from above[47] upon the earth, not by a fall from a particular place, but from honor to dishonor, all because of his willful perversity. 6. Your look dries up the abyss;[48] your threats turn the mountains 1702

d. Energumens: those suffering from psychological disorders; those thought possessed by the devil.

36. John 17:3. 37. Ps 51:12. 38. 2 Macc 1:3. 39. 1 Tim 1:1. 40. Luke 4:36. 41. Ibid. 42. See Zech 3:2. 43. Matt 12:29. 44. Luke 10:19. 45. Job 40:29. 46. See Prayer of Manasses II.22.12. 47. Luke 10:18. 48. See Ps 106:9.

into water;[49] your 'truth endures forever.'[50] Children praise you; nursing babies bless you;[51] the angels adore you and sing hymns to you.[52] 7. 'You gaze upon the earth and cause it to tremble; you touch the mountains and they bring forth smoke.'[53] 'You threaten the sea and have it dry up; you make arid all the rivers. For you the clouds are dust under the feet.'[54] 'You walk upon the sea as upon solid ground.'[55] 8. Only-begotten God, Son of the great Father, reprove the evil spirits and free 'the work of your hand'[56] from the control of the enemy spirit. For to you be glory, honor, and veneration, and through you to your Father in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

1703 VIII.VII.9. Then the deacon says, "Depart, you energumens."

[Dismissal of the baptismal candidates]

1704 VIII.VIII.1. After their departure he proclaims, 2."Pray, you enlightened ones [the *illuminandi*]. All members of the faithful, you are to pray fervently to the Lord for them so that after they have been initiated 'into Christ's death,'[57] they may be deemed worthy to rise with him,[58] to share in his kingdom, and to participate in his mysteries so that he might gather them together and join them to the saved in his holy Church. 3. Once again, may we fervently pray for them. Save them and lift them up into your grace. 4. Those who have been signed for God through his Christ, bow down."

1705 The bishop blesses them as follows—

1706 VIII.VIII.5. "Through your holy prophets you once told the baptismal candidates to 'wash yourselves and be made clean.'[59] Through Christ you instituted spiritual regeneration.[60] Look upon these candidates for baptism. Bless and sanctify them. Make them worthy of your spiritual gift, of your authentic adoption, of your spiritual mysteries, and of being joined to the assembly of the saved, through Christ our Savior. Through him glory, honor, and veneration be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

1707 VIII.VIII.6. The deacon says, "Depart, enlightened ones."

[Dismissal of penitents]

1708 VIII.IX.1. Then he proclaims: 2."Penitents, pray. For our brethren who are penitents may all of us fervently ask the merciful God to show them the way of penance, to receive their return and confession, to 'crush Satan under their feet.'[61] May he deliver them from 'the snare of the devil'[62] and from the intrigues of the demons. May he preserve them from every improper word, from every evil deed, and from every wicked thought. 3. May he pardon all their sins, both voluntary and involuntary. May he 'erase the record'[63] against them and 'write their names in the book of life.'[64] May he 'cleanse them of every defilement

49. See Ps 97:5. 50. Ps 117:2. 51. See Ps 8:2. 52. See Ps 148:2. 53. Ps 104:32. 54. Nah 1:4, 3. 55. Job 9:8. 56. Ps 8:3. 57. Rom 6:3. 58. See Rom 6:5. 59. Isa 1:16. 60. See John 3:5. 61. Rom 16:20. 62. 2 Tim 2:26. 63. Col 2:14. 64. Dan 12:1; Rev 20:15. 65. 2 Cor 7:1.

of body and of spirit'[65] and, after their reintegration, may he join them to his holy flock.[66] 4. 'He knows how we were made';[67] for can anyone 'boast of having a clean heart or truly say that he or she is pure from sin?'[68] 'We all deserve punishment.'[69] 5. With still more fervor we pray for them since 'there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents'[70] so that, turning away from every forbidden deed, they may devote themselves to every good action. We pray that God in his love for us will most quickly and favorably receive their prayers, restore them to their former dignity, and 'give them the joy of salvation and strengthen them with his guiding spirit'[71] so that 'their feet may never slip.'[72] May they be judged worthy to share in his holy gifts and to partake in the divine mysteries. In this way may they be made worthy of adoption and obtain eternal life. 6. With fervor let us all once again pray for them, *Kyrie, eleison* ["Lord, have mercy"]. Save them, O God, and raise them up by your mercy. Rise up, bow your heads before God and through his Christ receive the blessing."

VIII.IX.7. The bishop then prays as follows— 1709

VIII.IX.8. "Almighty and eternal God, Lord of all things, Creator and governor of all that is, through Christ you made humankind the ornament of the world. You gave us the Law, both inborn and written, so that we might live according to it as rational beings and to whom, after our sin, you offered your goodness to sustain us as we repent. Look upon those who bend before you the neck of their soul and body, for 'you are not pleased by the death of the sinner but' by the sinner's conversion, so 'that he turn back from his evil ways and live.'[73] 9. You accepted the repentance of the Ninivites.[74] You 'desire everyone to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.'[75] Because of his repentance you kindly accepted with a father's mercy the son who squandered his fortune in wasteful living.[76] Even now you likewise receive the repentance of those who are present and pray to you since 'no one is sinless in your sight,'[77] for 'if you, O Lord, mark iniquities, Lord, who will stand? But with you there is pardon.'[78] 10. Bring them back to your holy Church. Restore their former dignity and honor, doing so through Christ, our God and Savior. Through whom glory and adoration be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen." 1710

VIII.IX.11. The deacon says, "Penitents, depart." 1711

[The Universal Prayer]

VIII.X.1. He adds— 1712

VIII.X.2. "Let no one come near who is not authorized to do so. Let all the faithful kneel. Let us pray to God through his Christ. Let all of us fervently beseech God through his Christ. 1713

66. See John 10:16. 67. Ps 103:14. 68. Prov 20:9. 69. Sir 8:5. 70. Luke 15:7. 71. Ps 51:12. 72. Ps 17:5. 73. Ezek 33:11; 18:23. 74. See Jonah 3. 75. 1 Tim 2:4. 76. See Luke 15:13, 20. 77. 1 Kgs 8:46. 78. Ps 130:3–4.

1714 VIII.x.3. "Let us pray for the peace and tranquility of the world and of the holy churches. May the God of the universe grant us his constant and unwavering peace; may he keep us so that we may fully persevere in the faith.[79]

1715 VIII.x.4. "Let us pray for the holy, universal, and apostolic Church of God, stretching as it does from one end of the earth to the other. May the Lord preserve it from disturbances and storms; may he protect it, 'founded on rock,'[80] to 'the end of the age.'[81]

1716 VIII.x.5. "Let us pray for this holy parish. May the Lord of the universe allow us to steadfastly await his heavenly hope and carry out the uninterrupted prayer that we owe him.

1717 VIII.x.6. "Let us pray for all bishops throughout the world who 'rightly dispense the word of truth.'[82]

1718 VIII.x.7. "Let us pray for our bishop James and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Clement and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Evodius and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Annianus and his parishes. May the merciful God keep them in his holy churches and grant them health, honor, long life, and an honorable old age[83] in godliness and righteousness.

1719 VIII.x.8. "Let us pray for our presbyters. May the Lord preserve them from every improper and evil[84] action and grant them an upright and honorable ministry.

1720 VIII.x.9. "Let us pray for all deacons and for those who serve Christ. May the Lord grant them a blameless service.

1721 VIII.x.10. "Let us pray for readers, cantors, virgins, widows, and orphans. Let us pray for spouses and for parents. May the Lord show mercy to all of them.

1722 VIII.x.11. "Let us pray for those who in holiness live in continence. Let us pray for those who live in chastity and in godliness.

1723 VIII.x.12. "Let us pray for those who in the holy church bring offerings and for those who provide alms to the needy. Let us pray for those who bring offerings and first fruits to the Lord our God. May the God of all goodness grant them in exchange his heavenly gifts and give them 'a hundredfold' in this world and 'life everlasting'[85] in the world to come. For earthly things may he give them 'eternal things';[86] for 'earthly things, heavenly things.'[87]

1724 VIII.x.13. "Let us pray for our newly baptized brethren. May the Lord strengthen and uphold them.

1725 VIII.x.14. "Let us pray for our brethren who are ill. May the Lord deliver them from every sickness and from 'every infirmity.'[88] May he restore them in good health to his holy Church.

1726 VIII.x.15. "Let us pray for those who travel on land or on sea. Let us pray for those in the mines, in exile, in prison, or in chains because of the Lord's name. Let us pray for those oppressed by slavery.

---

79. See 1 Tim 2:2. 80. Matt 7:25. 81. Matt 28:20. 82. 2 Tim 2:15. 83. See Wis 4:8. 84. See Job 1:1. 85. Matt 19:29. 86. 2 Cor 4:18. 87. John 3:12. 88. Matt 4:23.

VIII.x.16. "Let us pray for our 'enemies and for those who hate us; for those who persecute us because of the Lord's name.'[89] May the Lord appease their anger and dissipate their wrath toward us. 1727

VIII.x.17. "Let us pray for those who are outside [the Church] or who wander in error. May the Lord convert them. 1728

VIII.x.18. "Let us remember the children of the Church. May the Lord perfect them in their awe of him and lead them 'to maturity.'[90] 1729

VIII.x.19. "Let us pray for each other. May the Lord by his grace protect and keep us to the end and 'rescue us from the evil one'[91] and 'from the snares of the evildoers.'[92] May he 'save us for his heavenly kingdom.'[93] 1730

VIII.x.20. "Let us pray for every Christian soul. 1731

VIII.x.21. "Lord, in your mercy save us and raise us up. 1732

VIII.x.22. "Raise us up. In fervent prayer we commend ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ." 1733

[Prayer for the Christian people]

VIII.xi.1. The bishop then prays as follows— 1734

VIII.xi.2. "Almighty Lord, the Most High, you 'dwell on high, the Holy One who rests among the holy ones.'[94] You have no beginning. You are the only ruler. Through Christ you gave us the message and the revelation to make known your glory and 'your name which you revealed'[95] to us for our understanding. 3. Through him gaze down on this your flock. Deliver it from all ignorance and from every evil deed. Grant that it may indeed fear and love you and tremble before your glory. 4. Be kind, merciful, and attentive to its prayers. Shelter it from error, reproaches, and blame so that it may be holy in body and soul,[96] 'without spot or wrinkle or anything of such kind,'[97] but may it be firm. May none of its members be impaired or in need. 1735

VIII.xi.5. "Powerful defender, you are not a respecter of persons. Protect this your people whom you have chosen from among numerous others and whom you have redeemed 'by the precious blood of Christ.'[98] Be their defender, supporter, protector, guardian, their strong rampart, a stable refuge, 'for no one can snatch them out of your hand';[99] there is no other God like you,[100] for our hope rests in you.[101] 6. 'Sanctify them in the truth' because 'your word is truth.'[102] You are impartial and cannot be deceived. Deliver them from 'every disease and every sickness,'[103] from every sin, from every injury and deceit, 'from fear of the enemy,'[104] 'from the arrow that flies by day, from the danger that walks in the night.'[105] Judge them worthy of eternal life in your Christ, your only Son, our God and Savior, through whom glory and honor be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever. Amen." 1736

89. Matt 5:44; 10:22. 90. Eph 4:13. 91. Matt 6:13. 92. Ps 141:9; 14:4. 93. 2 Tim 4:18. 94. Isa 57:15, LXX. 95. John 17:6. 96. See Col 1:22. 97. Eph 5:27. 98. 1 Pet 1:19. 99. John 10:29. 100. See Isa 45:5. 101. See Ps 62:6. 102. John 17:17. 103. Matt 4:23. 104. Ps 64:2. 105. Ps 91:5–6.

[Preparation for the offering]

1737 VIII.xi.7. After this the deacon says, "Be attentive."

1738 VIII.xi.8. The bishop greets the assembly, saying, "The peace of the Lord be always with you." The people reply, "And with your spirit."

1739 VIII.xi.9. Then the deacon says to all, "'Greet one another with a holy kiss.'"[106] The peace is then exchanged: the clergy with the bishop, laymen with laymen, women with women.

1740 VIII.xi.10. The children stand near the *bema*;[e] with a deacon watching so that they do not cause a disturbance. The other deacons walk about, attending to the men and the women so that there be no disturbance, so that no one nods, whispers, or sleeps. 11. The subdeacons stand next to the entrances of the men, the deaconesses next to those of the women, so that no one may leave or open the door, not even to allow a member of the faithful to enter during the sacrifice. 12. A subdeacon brings water to the priests so that they may wash their hands, this symbolizing the purity of souls that are consecrated to God.

1741 VIII.xii.1. I, James, brother of John, son of Zebedee, prescribe the following. The deacon immediately says—

1742 VIII.xii.2. "Let no catechumen, no hearer, no unbeliever, no heterodox person remain. Those who have prayed the first prayer may draw near. Mothers, take your children with you. No one is to hold anything against another. No one is to come in hypocrisy. With fear and trembling stand upright before the Lord for the offering."

1743 VIII.xii.3. Then the deacons bring the offerings to the bishop at the altar. The presbyters, like disciples assisting their master, stand on the bishop's right and left. There are two deacons, one on each side of the altar, each holding a fan made of a thin membrane or of peacock feathers or of fine cloth; they discretely chase away flying insects so that these do not come close to the cups.

[The Eucharistic Prayer][f]

1744 VIII.xii.4. The bishop then prays silently with the priests. Having put on a splendid vestment[107] and standing at the altar, he makes the sign of the cross with his hand on his forehead and says—

[Initial dialogue]

1745 "'The grace of God' almighty, 'the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you' all."[108] With one voice all reply, "And with your spirit."

1746 VIII.xii.5. The bishop: "Lift up your hearts." All: "We lift them up to the Lord."

---

e. *Bema*: a raised area or platform for the proclamation of God's word.

f. Cf. ApT 4 (WEC 1:622–26).

106. 1 Cor 16:20. 107. See Jas 2:2. 108. 2 Cor 13:13.

The bishop: "Let us give thanks to the Lord." All: "It is right and just." And the bishop says— 1747

[Praise of God]

VIII.xii.6. "Truly it is right and just to praise you before all things, for you are the true God, existing before all creatures and 'from whom every family in heaven and on earth takes its name.'[109] You are the only uncreated one, without beginning, independent, sovereign, lacking nothing, the giver of all that is good, above every cause and origin, always and in every way remaining the same; 'from you' as a source 'everything'[110] comes into existence. 7. For you are knowledge without beginning, the eternal vision, unbegotten hearing, inborn wisdom, the first by nature, the measure of being, beyond all number. You made everything from nothing[111] through your only-begotten Son. Him you begot directly before all ages by your will, your power, and your goodness, without an intermediary, your only-begotten Son, God the Word,[112] the living wisdom, 'the firstborn of every creature,'[113] 'the angel of your mighty counsel,'[114] your high priest, the king and Lord of every rational and sensible nature, who is 'before all things and through whom all things' [exist]."[115] 1748

[Anamnesis of creation]

VIII.xii.8. "Eternal God, through him you made everything. Through him you made all things to benefit from your providence; through him you have bestowed existence; through him you have also granted joy. God and Father of your only-begotten Son, through him you created the 'Spirit of truth,'[116] the interpreter and servant of the only-begotten One. After him [you created] the cherubim and the seraphim, the aeons and the hosts, the authorities and 'the powers, the principalities and the thrones,'[117] the archangels and the angels; and after these you also created through him the visible world and all that exists within it. 9. You 'established the heavens like a veil'[118] and 'stretched it out like a tent';[119] you hung 'the earth upon nothing'[120] by your will alone; you fixed the firmament, formed the day and the night, 'brought light out of the treasury';[121] and by diminishing it you had the darkness come forth so that the living things that move in the world might rest. You placed the sun in the heavens 'to govern the day' and the moon 'to govern the night.'[122] You situated the choir of the stars in the heavens to praise your magnificence. 1749

VIII.xii.10. "You created water to drink and to cleanse, life-giving air for us to breathe, for sending forth sounds when the tongue strikes it, and for assisting the ear to receive the sounds that come to it. 11. You created 1750

109. Eph 3:15. 110. 1 Cor 8:6. 111. See Rom 4:17. 112. 1 John 1:18. 113. Col 1:15. 114. Isa 9:5, LXX. 115. Col 1:17. 116. John 14:17. 117. Col 1:16. 118. Isa 40:22. 119. Ps 104:2. 120. Job 26:7. 121. Jer 10:13; see Ps 135:7. 122. Gen 1:16; see Ps 136:8–9.

the first so that it might reduce the darkness, supply our needs, warm us, and give us light. 12. You separated the great sea from the land; the former you made navigable, the latter you made firm for our feet. The former you populated with a multitude of 'animals small and great';[123] the latter you filled with animals tame and wild. You adorned the latter with various plants, crowning it with herbs, beautifying it with flowers, and enriching it with seeds. 13. You formed the abyss, setting it in a great basin,[124] the sea which teems with salt water and which you enclosed behind gates,[125] namely, the beaches with their finest sand. At times you raise it up to the mountain peaks; at times you spread it out like a plain; at times you have it erupt in a storm; at times you calm it by restraining the winds and by making the waters navigable for sailors to sail upon. 14. With rivers you encircled the world that you created through Christ. You watered it by streams, moistened it by inexhaustible springs, surrounded it with mountains, thus giving the earth a stable and most solid foundation. 15. Then you populated the world and adorned it with fragrant and healing plants, with numerous and varied animals that are strong and weak, to be used for food and for labor, animals tame and wild, as well as with the hissing of reptiles, the singing of various kinds of birds, the rhythm of the years, the counting of months and days, the sequence of the seasons, the movement of the rain clouds which produce fruit and aid living things, 'the breath of the winds'[126] which you command to blow upon the numerous plants and herbs.

1751 VIII.xii.16. "You not only created the world but also placed a human being in it as the inhabitant of the world, making this person the ornament of the world, for to your Wisdom you say, Let us 'make humankind in our image, according to our likeness and may they have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air.'[127] 17. You gave them an immortal soul and a mortal body, the first from nothing, the second from the elements. As to the soul, you gave it rational judgment, the ability to distinguish between godliness and godlessness, between justice and injustice. As to the body, you granted it the ability to move from place to place.

[Anamnesis of the first covenant]

1752 VIII.xii.18. "Almighty God, through Christ 'you planted a garden in Eden, located toward the east,'[128] adorning it with all kinds of edible plants. You introduced a man into it as into a very rich dwelling. You gave him an innate law by creating him so that in and by himself he might have the seeds of divine knowledge. 19. By introducing him 'into the garden of pleasure'[129] you permitted him to share authority over each thing,[130] forbidding him only one food in the hope of higher benefits so that by obeying this commandment he would be rewarded with immortality. 20.

123. Ps 104:25. 124. See Ps 65:8. 125. See Job 38:8. 126. Job 28:25. 127. Gen 1:26. 128. Gen 2:8. 129. Gen 3:23. 130. See Gen 2:16–17.

But when through the deceit of the serpent and at the advice of his wife he showed disdain for your commandment and tasted the forbidden fruit, you rightly ejected him from the garden.[131] Yet in your goodness you did not definitively discard this lost man, for it was you who created him. On the contrary, having subjected creation to him, you allowed him to acquire food for himself by means of his own sweat and toil, for it is you who have all [the fruits of the earth] spring up, grow, and ripen. You had him sleep for a short period of time, and then with an oath[132] you summoned him to rebirth. Releasing him from the law of death, you promised him life after the resurrection.

VIII.xii.21. "You did not remain content with this, but you increased 1753
his descendants beyond number. You glorified those who remained faithful to you, punishing those who rejected you. You accepted the sacrifice of Abel as coming from a holy person. You rejected the sacrifice of Cain, who murdered his brother, as coming from someone guilty of bloodshed.[133] Furthermore, you received Seth and Enos,[134] and Enoch you carried away.[135] 22. You are the Creator of humankind, the provider of life. You satisfy wants; you enact laws; you reward those who observe them; and you punish those who break them. 'You brought a' great 'flood upon the world'[136] because of the large number of the ungodly, and you saved righteous Noah together with 'eight others'[137] in the ark. This ended one generation and began a new one. You lit a terrible fire against five cities of Sodom,[138] changing a 'fruitful land into salty water because of the wickedness of its inhabitants,'[139] but you saved holy Lot from the inferno. 23. You freed Abraham from the godlessness of his ancestors; you appointed him heir of the world;[140] and you revealed your Christ to him.[141] You appointed Melchizedek to be the high priest of your worship.[142] You caused your servant Job, after many sufferings, to vanquish the serpent, the source of evil. You made Isaac the son of the promise.[143] Jacob you made the father of twelve sons and multiplied his descendants, whom you led into Egypt, 'seventy persons in all.'[144] 24. Lord, you did not abandon Joseph but as a reward for the chastity he observed on your account, you allowed him to become governor of the Egyptians.[145] The Hebrews, oppressed by the Egyptians, you did not forsake, Lord, because of the promises made to their father, but you freed them by punishing the Egyptians.[146]

VIII.xii.25. "People corrupted the natural law, either considering crea- 1754
tion[147] as making itself or honoring it more than was appropriate, making it equal to you, the God of all. You did not allow the Hebrews to remain in error, but you raised up Moses your servant; through him you gave them

131. See Gen 3. 132. See Heb 6:17. 133. See Gen 4. 134. See Gen 4:25–26. 135. See Gen 5:24. 136. 2 Pet 2:5; see Gen 6–9. 137. 1 Pet 3:20. 138. See Gen 19; Wis 10:6. 139. Ps 107:34. 140. See Gen 12. 141. See John 8:56. 142. See Gen 14:18. 143. See Gen 17:19. 144. Gen 46:27. 145. See Gen 41. 146. See Exod 1–15. 147. See Rom 1:21–25.

the written Law[148] to back up the natural law. You showed that creation is your work, and you destroyed the error of polytheism. You honored Aaron and his descendants with the dignity of the priesthood. When the Hebrews sinned, you chastised them; when they converted, you received them back. 26. You punished the Egyptians with ten plagues; dividing the sea, you led the Israelites through it; you destroyed the pursuing Egyptians, drowning them in the water. With wood you sweetened the bitter water;[149] you made 'water' spring forth from 'the stone rock';[150] you caused the manna to fall from the sky,[151] and from the air you gave them quail as food[152] as well as 'a column of fire to give light at night, and during the day a pillar of cloud'[153] to shelter them from the heat. You raised up Joshua as commander of the army;[154] through him you destroyed the seven nations of Canaan.[155] You divided the Jordan; you dried up the rivers of Etham.[156] Without machines or human hands you brought down walls.

[The *Trisagion*]

1755 VIII.XII.27. "For all this, glory be to you, almighty Lord. Before you prostrate every bodiless and holy host. Before you prostrates the Paraclete; and above all Jesus Christ your holy servant, our Lord and our God, your angel and the 'commander of the army,'[157] the eternal and unending high priest. Before you prostrate innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, 'thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, virtues,'[158] eternal armies; cherubim and 'six-winged seraphim with two wings covering their faces, with two covering their feet, and with two they fly,'[159] with thousands of thousands of archangels and with myriad myriads of angels[160] they sing without ceasing and with a voice that is never silent. May all the people join them, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; heaven and earth are filled with your glory.'[161] 'Blessed are you forever. Amen.'"[162]

[Christological anamnesis]

1756 VIII.XII.28. The bishop continues—

1757 VIII.XII.29. "You are indeed holy, all-holy, the most high, 'highly exalted forever.'[163] 30. Holy also is your only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus the Christ, who serves you in all things, you his God and Father, doing so in your varied creation and according to your fitting providence. He did not abandon the human race to perdition, but after the natural law, after the exhortations of the Law, after the warnings of the prophets and the interventions of the angels—people, in fact, disobeyed the written Law just as they did the natural law; they forgot about the flood, the burning

148. See Exod 20; Isa 8:20. 149. See Exod 15:22–25. 150. Deut 8:15. 151. See Exod 16. 152. See Num 11:31. 153. Neh 9:12. 154. See Josh 1–13. 155. See Acts 13:19. 156. Ps 74:15. 157. Josh 5:14. 158. Col 1:16. 159. Isa 6:2. 160. See Dan 7:10. 161. Isa 6:3. 162. Rom 1:25; 9:5. 163. Dan 3:52.

[of Sodom], the plagues of Egypt, the massacres of the people in Palestine, and they were close to loosing everything—he, our Creator, in his goodness and according to your will, was made flesh. The lawgiver submitted to the Law; the high priest became the victim; the shepherd became the flock. 31. He appeased you, his God and Father; he 'reconciled' you 'to the world';[164] he delivered each of us from impending wrath by being born of a virgin, 'being born in the flesh.'[165] He is 'God the Word,'[166] 'the beloved Son,'[167] 'the firstborn of all creation,'[168] according to the prophecies he spoke beforehand; he 'descended from David'[169] and from Abraham, from the tribe of Judah; he who fashioned all that are born took flesh in the virgin's womb; he who is not of flesh assumed flesh; he who was born outside of time was born within time. 32. He lived a holy life and taught according to the Law; he freed us from 'every disease and every sickness';[170] he worked 'signs and wonders among the people';[171] he ate, drank, and slept, he who nourishes all who need food, and 'in his goodness he satisfies every living thing';[172] 'he has revealed your name'[173] to those not knowing it; he has driven away ignorance; he has revived godliness; he has fulfilled your will; 'he has finished the work you gave him.'[174]

VIII.xii.33. Once he had accomplished all this, he was seized by the godless—those wrongly called priests and high priests—and by an impious people after being betrayed by one corrupted by evil. He suffered much at their hands and endured this ignominy with your consent. He was the judge, handed over to Pilate, who was judged; he was the Savior who was condemned. He who cannot suffer was nailed to a cross, and he who by nature is immortal suffered death. He who grants life was buried so as to deliver from suffering and rescue from death those for whom he had come. In this way he broke the bonds of the devil and freed us from the devil's deceit. 34. On the third day he rose from the dead; forty days he remained with his disciples; 'he was taken up into heaven and sat at your right hand,'[175] being with you his God and Father. 1758

[Anamnesis of the Last Supper]

VIII.xii.35. "Remembering therefore that he suffered for us, 'we give you thanks, God Almighty,'[176] not as much as we should but insofar as we are able, and we obey his command. 36. For 'on the night when he was betrayed he took some bread'[177] into his holy and spotless hands, lifting up his eyes[178] to you, his God and Father, 'he broke the bread, gave it to his disciples and said,'[179] "This is the mystery of the new covenant,[180] take, eat, this is my body broken" for many, "for the forgiveness of sins."[181] 1759

164. 2 Cor 5:19. 165. John 1:14, 1. 166. John 1:1. 167. Matt 3:17. 168. Col 1:15. 169. Rom 1:3. 170. Matt 4:23. 171. Acts 5:12. 172. Ps 145:16. 173. John 17:6. 174. John 17:4. 175. Mark 16:19. 176. Rev 11:17. 177. 1 Cor 11:23. 178. See Matt 14:19. 179. Matt 26:26. 180. 1 Cor 11:25. 181. Matt 26:26, 28; 1 Cor 11:24.

37. 'Likewise' he filled 'the cup'[182] with wine and water, blessed it, gave it to them, saying, "Drink from this, all of you; for this is my blood poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.[183] Do this in memory of me. For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim my death until I come"."[184]

[Offering]

1760 VIII.XII.38. "Remembering, then, his passion, his death, his resurrection from the dead, his return to heaven, and his future second coming when 'he will come with power and great glory'[185] 'to judge the living and the dead'[186] 'and to repay according to each one's works,'[187] we offer you, O King and God, according to his command this bread and this cup, and to you we 'give thanks through him'[188] because you have made us worthy to stand before you and to serve you through the priesthood.

[Epiclesis]

1761 VIII.XII.39. "We ask that you look favorably upon these offerings which are presented to you, O God, who have no need of them. May they be pleasing for the honor of your Christ. Upon this sacrifice send your Holy Spirit, the 'witness of the sufferings'[189] of the Lord Jesus. May the Holy Spirit make of this bread the Body of your Christ and of this cup the Blood of your Christ so that those partaking of them may be strengthened in the faith, be forgiven their sins, be delivered from the devil and his error, be filled with the Holy Spirit, become worthy of your Christ, and obtain life eternal by being reconciled with you, Almighty Lord.

[Prayer of intercession]

1762 VIII.XII.40. "We pray to you, Lord, for your holy Church spread from one end of the earth to the other, 'which you have acquired'[190] 'by the precious blood of Christ.'[191] Keep it free from disturbance and storms, 'even to the end of the world.'[192] Also we pray to you for the whole episcopate which 'rightly dispenses the word of truth.'[193]

1763 VIII.XII.41. "We pray to you for ourselves who in spite of our unworthiness present you with this offering; we likewise pray for the whole presbyterate, for the deacons, and for all the clergy. Fill them with wisdom and the Holy Spirit.

1764 VIII.XII.42. "Lord, we also 'pray to you for the king, for the powerful,'[194] and for the entire army. May we enjoy peace and, living our whole lives in harmony and concord, may we glorify you through 'Jesus Christ, our hope.'[195]

---

182. 1 Cor 11:25. 183. Matt 26:27–28. 184. 1 Cor 11:24–26. 185. Matt 24:30. 186. 1 Pet 4:5. 187. Rom 2:6. 188. Col 3:17. 189. 1 Pet 5:1; see Heb 9:14. 190. Acts 20:28. 191. 1 Pet 1:19. 192. Matt 28:20. 193. 2 Tim 2:15. 194. 1 Tim 2:2. 195. 1 Tim 1:1.

VIII.xii.43. "We offer to you for all the holy ones who have pleased you from the beginning: patriarchs, prophets, the just, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, the laity, and all those whose names are known to you. 1765

VIII.xii.44. "We offer to you for the people who are here present; to the praise of Christ make them 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation';[196] also for those who live in virginity and chastity, for the widows of the Church, for spouses who live in a holy manner and bear children, for the infants of your people. Reject none of us. 1766

VIII.xii.45. "We pray to you for this city and those dwelling within it, for the sick, for slaves who suffer harsh treatment, for exiles, for prisoners, for those journeying by water and on land. Assist them; 'defend and protect them.'[197] 1767

VIII.xii.46. "We pray for 'those who hate and persecute us for your name's sake,'[198] for those outside the Church, and for those who stray. Lead them back to what is good. Calm their hearts. 1768

VIII.xii.47. "We pray to you, Lord, for the Church's catechumens, for those whom the enemy torments, and for our brethren who are doing penance. Lead the first of these to the fullness of the faith; cleanse the second from the attacks of the Evil One; receive the penance of the others and forgive their sins as well as our own. 1769

VIII.xii.48. "We present our offering for good weather and for an abundant harvest so that, constantly receiving good things from your hand, we may always praise you 'for you give food to all flesh.'[199] 1770

VIII.xii.49. "We petition you on behalf of those who, for good reasons, are absent. Keep all of us in your godliness and by gathering us together in the Kingdom of your Christ, the God of all rational and intelligible nature who is our King; keep us free from error, blame, and reproach. 1771

VIII.xii.50. "Through him be to you all glory, honor, and adoration in the Holy Spirit, now, always, and forever, continually and without end." 1772

VIII.xii.51. All the people respond, "Amen." 1773

[Second Universal Prayer]

VIII.xiii.1. The bishop then says—"May God's peace be with all of you." All the people respond, "And with your spirit." 1774

VIII.xiii.2. Then the deacon proclaims anew—3. "Let us once again pray to God through his Christ. By the offering presented to the Lord our God may we request that the God of goodness, through the mediation of his Christ, accept it upon his heavenly altar 'as a sweet smelling fragrance.'[200] 1775

VIII.xiii.4. "Let us pray for this assembly and this people; let us pray for the whole episcopate and for all priests, for the whole diaconate and the ministers of Christ, for the whole Church. May the Lord protect and keep all of them. 1776

196. 1 Pet 2:9. 197. Ps 119:114. 198. Matt 10:22; see 5:44. 199. Ps 136:25. 200. Eph 5:2; see Exod 29:18.

1777 VIII.XIII.5. "Let us pray 'for kings and all who are in high places'; may we benefit from peace so that we may lead 'a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and dignity.'[201]

1778 VIII.XIII.6. "Let us remember the holy martyrs so that we may be reckoned worthy to share in their struggle. Let us pray for those who have fallen asleep in the faith.

1779 VIII.XIII.7. "Let us pray for good weather and for a fruitful harvest.

1780 VIII.XIII.8. "Let us pray for the neophytes. May they be 'strengthened in the faith.'[202] Let us all pray for one another.

1781 VIII.XIII.9. "Raise us up, O God, in your grace. Thus standing, let us commend ourselves to God through his Christ."

1782 VIII.XIII.10. The bishop says, "One and only God, great is your name, 'great is your counsel, and mighty are your deeds.'[203] God and Father 'of your holy servant Jesus'[204] our Savior, look down upon us and upon your flock which is here present and which you have chosen through him [Jesus] for the glory of your name. Sanctify our bodies and souls. Purify us 'from every stain of body and of spirit'[205] and make us worthy to obtain the good things that have been promised us. Judge none of us to be unworthy but be our defender, our protector,[206] and our helper through your Christ. Through whom glory, honor, praise, glorification, and thanksgiving be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[The Communion]

1783 VIII.XIII.11. After all have responded "Amen," the deacon says, "Let us be attentive."

1784 VIII.XIII.12. Then the bishop will proclaim to the people, "Holy things for those who are holy."

1785 VIII.XIII.13. The people respond, "One is holy, there is 'one Lord,'[207] Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father in the Holy Spirit. 'You are blessed forever. Amen.'"[208]

"'Glory to God in the highest and peace upon earth, goodwill among people.'[209]

'Hosanna to the Son of David.

'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,[210]

'the Lord God, and he has revealed himself among us.'[211]

'Hosanna in the highest heaven.'"[212]

1786 VIII.XIII.14. Then the bishop receives Communion; next the presbyters, the deacons, the subdeacons, the readers, the singers, the ascetics; and among the women the deaconesses, the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and finally all the people, in order, doing so "with reverence and awe,"[213] and without disturbance.

---

201. 1 Tim 2:2. 202. Col 2:7. 203. Heb 32:19; see Jer 39:19, LXX. 204. Acts 4:27, 30. 205. 2 Cor 7:1. 206. See Ps 119:114. 207. Eph 4:5. 208. Rom 1:25. 209. Luke 2:14. 210. Matt 21:9. 211. Ps 118:27. 212. Matt 21:9. 213. Heb 12:28.

VIII.XIII.15. The bishop presents the oblation, saying, "The Body of 1787
Christ." The person receiving replies, "Amen." The deacon takes the cup
and while presenting it says, "The Blood of Christ, the cup of life." The
one who drinks answers, "Amen."

VIII.XIII.16. Psalm 34 is said while the others are receiving. 17. When all 1788
the men and women have received, the deacons remove what remains,
placing it in the sacristy.

[The Post-Communion]

VIII.XIV.1. When the cantor has finished, the deacon says, 2. "Having 1789
received the precious Body and 'the precious Blood of Christ,'[214] we give
thanks to him who deemed us worthy to partake in the holy mysteries. We
ask that this not be unto our condemnation[215] but for our salvation, for the
good of our soul and body, for safeguarding the faith, for the remission of
sins, and for the life of the world to come." 3. Let us stand. In the grace of
Christ we commend ourselves through his Christ to the one uncreated God.

VIII.XV.1. Then the bishop gives thanks. 2. "Lord, Almighty God, Father 1790
of your Christ, your blessed Son, you hear those who invoke you with
righteousness. You even know the requests that are made in silence. We
thank you because you have counted us worthy to share in the holy mys-
teries which you have given us to strengthen the good of which we are
aware, to safeguard the faith, to pardon sins, since the name of your Christ
has been invoked over us,[216] thereby uniting us to you. 3. You have set us
apart from the ungodly. Join us to those who are consecrated to you. By
the coming of the Holy Spirit strengthen us in the truth. Reveal to us what
we do not know. Make up for what we lack. Strengthen what we know. 4.
Keep priests blameless in your service; keep kings in peace, magistrates
in justice. Grant us favorable weather, abundant harvests, a world under
your all-powerful providence. Pacify war-like nations. Convert those who
stray. 5. Sanctify your people. Watch over virgins. Keep spouses faithful to
each other. Strengthen those who live in chastity. Lead the young to matu-
rity. Strengthen the neophytes. Instruct the catechumens and make them
worthy of baptism. Gather all of us together in your heavenly kingdom,
doing so in Christ our Lord. Through whom glory, honor, and veneration
be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

VIII.XV.6. The deacon says, "Bow down before God, through his Christ, 1791
and receive the blessing."

VIII.XV.7. And the bishop prays, saying, "Almighty, true, and incompa- 1792
rable God, you are everywhere present in all things. In no way are you
bound by, or contained in, or circumscribed by space. You do not grow old
due to time nor are you terminated by the ages. Words deceive you not.
You are not subject to birth. You need no guardian. You are above all cor-
ruption. Change you know not. By nature you are immutable. You 'dwell

214. 1 Pet 1:19. 215. See 1 Cor 11:29. 216. See Jas 2:7.

in unapproachable light.'[217] By nature you are invisible. You reveal yourself to all reasonable natures that seek you with good will; you allow yourself to be found by those who seek you with good will, O God of Israel, by your people who truly see and who believe in Christ. 8. Graciously hear me for your name's sake. Bless those who bow their heads before you, and 'give them the desires of their hearts,'[218] desires that will assist them. Do not refuse any of them entrance into your kingdom but sanctify them, guard them, protect them, help them, deliver them from the Adversary and from all enemies, watch over their dwellings, guard their 'goings out and their comings in.'[219] 9. To you be glory, praise, magnificence, honor, adoration, after you and for your sake to your servant Jesus Christ, our Lord and King, through whom to you be fitting thanksgiving which every rational and holy nature owes you in the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever. Amen."

1793 VIII.xv.10. The deacon then says, "Go in peace."

1794 VIII.xv.11. We the apostles impose the following prescriptions regarding mystical service upon you, bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

[Presbyteral ordination][g]

1795 VIII.xvi.1. As to the ordination of the presbyter, I, the Lord's beloved disciple,[220] prescribe that you do the following, O bishops. 2. When you ordain a presbyter, O bishop, you, assisted by the presbyterate and the deacons, will lay your hand on the head and pray as follows—

1796 VIII.xvi.3. "Almighty Lord, our King, you created all things through Christ, whom you brought into existence before all else. Through him you suitably provided for the needs of all since whoever can create various types of beings can also provide for various kinds of needs.[221] O God, through Christ you provided for the needs of immortal beings simply by sustaining them; for the needs of mortal beings by seeing to their relief; for the needs of the soul by lovingly giving the law; for those of the body by satisfying its necessities. Look down, now, upon your holy Church and make it grow. Increase the number of those presiding over it and give them the strength to work by means of word[222] and deed for the building-up of your people. 4. Look, now, upon this your servant who has been made a member of the presbyterate by the vote and approval of all the clergy. Fill him with the Spirit of grace and of counsel so that he may take charge of your people and with a pure heart may participate in governing just as you, caring for your chosen people, commanded Moses to choose the Elders,[223] whom you filled with the Spirit. 5. Now, Lord, deign to preserve unchangeable in us your Spirit of grace so that your servant, filled with health-giving energies and instructive words, may humbly

---

g. Cf. ApT 7 (WEC 1:629).

217. 1 Tim 6:16. 218. Ps 37:4. 219. Ps 121:8. 220. See John 13:23. 221. See Wis 6:7. 222. See 1 Tim 5:17. 223. See Num 11:16.

teach your people,[224] may sincerely and willingly serve you with a pure heart,[225] and may blamelessly carry out the sacred rites for your people through your Christ. Through whom glory, honor, and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[Ordination of deacons][h]

VIII.XVII.1. As to the ordination of the deacon, I, Philip, prescribe this. 1797
2. O bishop, you appoint him by laying hands upon him. Assisted by the whole presbyterate together with the deacons, you pray as follows—

VIII.XVIII.1. "Almighty, true, and truthful God, you are 'generous to all 1798
who' in truth 'call upon you';[226] you are 'awesome in your deeds,'[227] 'wise in heart, mighty in strength.'[228] 2. 'Lord, heed our prayer and listen to our supplication.'[229] 'May your face shine upon your servant'[230] here present, proposed to you for the diaconate. Fill him with the Spirit and with strength just as with these you filled Stephen,[231] the first martyr and the imitator of the 'sufferings of' your 'Christ.'[232] 3. Grant that he may satisfactorily carry out the service confided to him, doing so in a fitting way, without digression, blame, or reproach so as to be deemed worthy of a higher rank through the mediation of your Christ, your only-begotten Son. Through whom glory, honor, and adoration be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[The deaconess]

VIII.XIX.1. As to the deaconess, I, Bartholomew, prescribe this. You, 1799
bishop, impose hands on her in the presence of the presbyterate, the deacons, and the deaconesses, and you say—

VIII.XX.1. "Eternal 'God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,'[233] Creator of man 1800
and woman, with your spirit you filled Miriam,[234] Deborah,[235] Anna,[236] and Huldah.[237] You did not judge it unworthy that your only-begotten Son was born of a woman. In the tent of meeting and in the temple you appointed women to be keepers of your holy gates. 2. Look now upon this your servant who is proposed for ministry. Give her the Holy Spirit and 'cleanse her from every stain of body and of spirit'[238] so that she might worthily fulfill the office confided to her, for the glory and praise of your Christ. Through whom glory and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[The subdeacon][i]

VIII.XXI.1. As to the subdeacon, I, Thomas, prescribe the following 1801
to you, the bishops. 2. When ordaining a subdeacon, O bishop, you lay hands upon him and say—

---

h. Cf. ApT 8 (WEC 1:630–33).

i. Cf. ApT 13 (WEC 1:639).

224. See 2 Tim 2:25. 225. See 2 Macc 1:3. 226. Rom 10:12. 227. Ps 66:5. 228. Job 9:4. 229. Ps 143:1. 230. Ps 31:16. 231. See Acts 6:8. 232. 1 Pet 5:1. 233. 2 Cor 1:3. 234. See Exod 15:20. 235. See Judg 4:4. 236. See Luke 2:36. 237. See 2 Kgs 22:14. 238. 2 Cor 7:1.

1802 VIII.XXI.3. "Lord God, you created heaven and earth and all they contain. In the tent of meeting you appointed servants of the temple to guard your holy objects.[239] 4. Look now upon your servant who is here present, proposed to be a subdeacon; grant him the Holy Spirit so that he may worthily handle your liturgical vessels and always carry out your will through your Christ. Through whom glory, honor, and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[The reader][j]

1803 VIII.XXII.1. As to readers I, Matthew, also called Levi, formerly a tax-collector,[240] prescribe the following. 2. For designating a reader, impose your hand upon him while praying to God the following—

1804 VIII.XXII.3. "Eternal God, 'rich in love and mercy,'[241] by your works you have made manifest the organization of the world;[242] you preserve the number of your elect in the whole world. Now look down upon your servant who has been chosen to read your holy Scriptures to your people, and give him the Holy Spirit, the prophetic Spirit. 4. In times past you instructed Esdras your servant to read your laws to your people.[243] We now ask you to instruct this your servant, and grant that he may blamelessly fulfill the office committed to him and may merit a higher rank through Christ. Through whom glory and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[Confessors][k]

1805 VIII.XXIII.1. I, James, son of Alphaeus,[244] prescribe the following in regard to confessors. 2. The confessor is not ordained since one becomes a confessor by means of a personal decision and a spiritual force. He is worthy of a great honor for having confessed the name of God and of his Christ "before the Gentiles and kings."[245] 3. The confessor may be ordained if he is needed as a bishop, priest, or deacon. 4. If a non-ordained confessor assumes on his own one of these high offices under the pretext of the witness he gave, he is to be deposed and excluded since he is not [what he pretends to be] in that he has gone against what Christ has instituted and is "worse than an unbeliever."[246]

[Virgins][l]

1806 VIII.XXIV.1. Again it is I speaking on the subject of virgins. 2. A virgin is not ordained since "we have no command of the Lord."[247] This comes from a personal decision, one taken not in opposition to marriage but as a consecration to piety.

---

j. Cf. ApT 11 (WEC 1:637).

k. Cf. ApT 9 (WEC 1:634).

l. Cf. ApT 12 (WEC 1:638).

239. See Num 3; 1 Chr 9. 240. See Mark 2:14. 241. Ps 103:4. 242. See Wis 7:17. 243. See Neh 8. 244. See Matt 10:3. 245. Acts 9:15. 246. 1 Tim 5:8. 247. 1 Cor 7:25.

[Widows][m]

VIII.xxv.1. I, Lebbaeus, surnamed Thaddeus, prescribe the following in 1807
regard to widows. 2. A widow is not ordained. But if a period of time has passed since she lost her husband, if her life has been chaste and blameless, and if she pays the greatest attention to the affairs of her own household as did the very holy Judith[248] and Anna,[249] she is to be allowed to enter the order of widows. 3. But if she has recently lost her spouse, do not trust her but allow time for discernment since passion is at times found in the elderly when they lack the restraint of a rather strong bridle.

[Exorcists][n]

VIII.xxvi.1. Again it is I regarding the exorcists. 2. An exorcist is not or- 1808
dained since the success of his struggle relates to the good will and grace of God through Christ as well as to the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him; for whoever has received the gift of healing[250] God manifests and reveals, with the grace in him being manifested to all. 3. Yet if there is a need for him as bishop, presbyter, or deacon, he is ordained.

[Canons on ordinations and on the responsibilities of clerics]

VIII.xxvii.1. And I, Simon of Cana, prescribe the following concerning 1809
the number of participating bishops required for episcopal ordination. 2. A bishop should be ordained by three or two bishops; whoever has been ordained by only one bishop is to be deposed, both he and the bishop who ordained him. 3. But if necessity requires that the ordination be done by only one bishop because other bishops are unable to come due to persecution or a similar reason, a document is to be drawn up showing that several bishops give their approval.

VIII.xxviii.1. Again it is I in regard to the canons. 2. A bishop blesses, 1810
but he is blessed by no one; he ordains, imposes the hand, offers, receives the *eulogia*[o] from a bishop but never from presbyters. The bishop deposes every cleric who is to be deposed; he cannot depose another bishop on his own. 3. A presbyter blesses but is not blessed by anyone; he receives the *eulogia* from a bishop or from another presbyter, just as he gives them to another presbyter; he imposes hands but he does not ordain; he does not depose but he excommunicates inferiors when they incur such a sanction. 4. A deacon does not bless; he does not give the *eulogia* but receives this from the bishop or the presbyter; he does not baptize; he does not offer; when the bishop or the presbyter offers, he distributes the Eucharist to the people, not as a priest but as one who serves the priests. 5. No other

m. Cf. ApT 10 (WEC 1:636).

n. Cf. ApT 15 (WEC 1:642).

o. *Eulogia*: a word having several meanings in early Christianity, probably here signifying bread brought to the eucharistic celebration but not consecrated.

248. See Jdt 8. 249. See Luke 2:36. 250. See 1 Cor 12:9.

cleric can fulfill the diaconal office. 6. A deaconess does not bless, nor does she do what presbyters or deacons do; rather, she watches over the doors, and for the sake of modesty she assists the presbyters at the baptism of women. 7. A deacon excommunicates a subdeacon, a reader, a singer, and a deaconess when it is necessary and in the absence of presbyters. 8. Neither a subdeacon nor a reader nor a singer nor a deaconess, since these are servants of the deacon, can excommunicate a cleric or a lay person.

[Blessing of water and of oil][p]

1811 VIII.XXIX.1. As to the water and the oil, I, Matthew, prescribe the following. 2. The bishop blesses the water or the oil; yet if he is absent, the presbyter with the assistance of the deacon does this. However, if the bishop is present, the presbyter and the deacon assist him. 3. He says: "Lord of hosts, God of power, creator of the water and maker of oil, you are merciful and loving; you give water to drink and to wash with; you give 'oil to make the face shine,'[251] for joy and cheerfulness.[252] Through Christ make holy this water and this oil in the name of the person who brought them. Give them the power to restore health, to chase away illness, to put demons to flight, to protect the home, to banish every snare through 'Christ our hope.'[253] Through whom glory and honor and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[First fruits or tithes][q]

1812 VIII.XXX.1. It is still I in regard to the first fruits and tithes. 2. Again I prescribe that every first fruit is to be taken to the bishop, to the presbyters and deacons, for their sustenance; but every tithe is to be offered for the sustenance of other clerics, the virgins, the widows, and the destitute poor. The first fruits belong to the priests and to the deacons who serve them.

[*Eulogia*]

1813 VIII.XXXI.1. It is still I in regard to the rest. 2. The *eulogia* which are left over at the holy mysteries are distributed by the deacons to the clergy, according to the will of the bishop or the presbyters: four parts to the bishop, three parts to the presbyter, two parts to the deacon, and as to the other parts, one part to the subdeacons or readers or singers or deaconesses. 3. For "it is right and acceptable to God"[254] to honor each according to one's dignity since the Church is not a school of disorder but of good order.

[Access to the catechumenate][r]

1814 VIII.XXXII.1. And I, Paul, "the least of the apostles,"[255] prescribe this to you, O bishops and presbyters, in regard to the canons. 2. Those who

---

p. Cf. ApT 5 (WEC 1:627).

q. Cf. ApT 31 (WEC 1:708).

r. Cf. ApT 15–17 (WEC 1:641–60).

251. Ps 104:15. 252. See Ps 45:16, LXX. 253. 1 Tim 1:1. 254. 1 Tim 2:3. 255. 1 Cor 15:9.

come for the first time to the mystery of faith are led by the deacons to the bishop or the priests. There is to be an examination of the reasons why the candidates presented themselves to hear the Lord's word; those presenting them, after carefully informing themselves regarding this matter, will testify on their behalf. Their conduct and their lives as well as whether they are slaves or free will be examined. 3. If it concerns a slave, he or she is to be asked who the master is and whether the master is a believer. Determine whether the master will testify on this slave's behalf. If he will not do so, then have the slave depart till the master has been shown that the slave is worthy. Once the master testifies on behalf of the slave, the slave is to be accepted. If it concerns the servant of a pagan, the servant should learn how to satisfy the master[256] so that "the word may not be discredited."[257] 4. As to those who are married, they should learn to be content with one another. But if they are not married, they should be instructed not to commit fornication but to marry in accord with the law. 5. If the master is a believer and knows that his slave is committing fornication and yet does not give the man a wife or the woman a husband, the master is to be excluded.

VIII.xxxii.6. Teach godliness to those possessed by demons, but do not 1815
receive these persons into the community before they are purified; yet if death is imminent, receive them. 7. The keeper of a house of prostitution is to forsake it or else be sent away. If a prostitute presents herself, she is to cease being such or else be sent away. 8. If the maker of idols presents himself, he will cease making idols or else be sent away. 9. If men or women from the theatrical world present themselves, if someone is a driver, a gladiator, a runner, an organizer of the games, an athlete, a flutist, a player of the harp or lyre, a presenter of the dance, or a tavern-keeper, let them cease doing such or else be sent away. 10. The soldier presenting himself will be taught to do no harm, "not to falsely accuse, and to be satisfied with his wages";[258] if he obeys, he is to be received; if he resists, he is to be sent away. 11. The doer of infamous deeds, the rake, the lazy person, the magician, the charlatan, the charmer, the astrologer, the diviner, the enchanter, the procurer, the maker of charms, the purifier, the soothsayer, the interpreter of omens or of tremors, whoever when meeting you observes [through superstition] defects in eyesight or on the feet of birds, or cats, or sounds, or noises having a symbolic character: all these are to be tested for a period of time, for their evil is difficult to weed out; if they cease, receive them; but if they do not submit, they are to be sent away.

VIII.xxxii.12. An unbeliever's concubine slave, if she is faithful to him 1816
alone, is to be received; but if she still gives herself to others, she is to be sent away. 13. The believer who has only one concubine, and if she is a slave, is to cease and marry according to the law. If she is a free woman,

256. See Titus 2:9. 257. Titus 2:5. 258. Luke 3:14.

he is to marry her in accord with the law. But if he does not, he is to be sent away. 14. Those who observe pagan customs or the Jewish myths[259] are to change; failing to do so, they are to be sent away. 15. Those having a strong passion for the theater, for hunting, for horse racing, or for wrestling matches are to cease; if they do not, they are to be sent away.

1817 VIII.xxxii.16. The candidate will be instructed for a period of three years. Whoever is zealous and demonstrates eagerness during this time is to be received by you, for judgment depends not on time but on conduct. 17. The instructor, even if a lay person and provided that he or she has experience with the word and is upright in conduct, is to teach, for "they shall all be taught by God."[260]

[A Christian's day][s]

1818 VIII.xxxii.18. All believers, men as well as women, at day's beginning when they rise from sleep and before beginning the day's labor, are to wash themselves and pray. If there is doctrinal instruction, they are to prefer this rather than labor.

[Servants]

1819 VIII.xxxii.19. The believer, man or woman, is to treat servants kindly,[261] as we have prescribed above and taught in our letters.

[Days on which servants do not work]

1820 VIII.xxxiii.1. I, Peter, and I, Paul, prescribe this. 2. Servants will work five days, but on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day they will go to church to be instructed in the faith; the Sabbath is justified by creation, as we have said; the Lord's Day by the Resurrection. 3. Servants will not work throughout the Great Week and during the following week because the first week is that of the Passion; the second week is that of the Resurrection. They are to be instructed that the one who died is risen and that whoever assents to this has also risen. 4. They will not work on the Ascension because on this day Christ completed his mission. 5. They are not to work on Pentecost because of the descent of the Holy Spirit whose beneficiaries are those who believe in Christ. 6. They are not to work on the feast of the Nativity because on this day humankind received the unhoped-for grace that God's Word, Jesus Christ, was born from the Virgin Mary for the world's salvation. 7. They are not to work on the feast of the Epiphany since on this day Christ's divinity was revealed; the Father bore witness to him at the baptism, and in the form of a dove the Paraclete showed those present the one to whom witness was given.[262] 8. They are not to work on the feasts of the apostles since the apostles, being your teachers, will lead you to Christ and make you worthy of him. 9. They are not to work on the

---

s. Cf. ApT 35, 41 (WEC 1:713, 719–29).

259. See Titus 1:14. 260. John 6:45; Isa 54:13. 261. See Eph 6:9; Col 4:1. 262. See Matt 3:16–17.

feast of Stephen the first martyr and on the feasts of the other holy martyrs who preferred Christ to their own lives.

[Daily prayer]

VIII.xxxiv.1. Pray in the morning, at the third hour, at the sixth hour, at 1821
the ninth hour, in the evening, and at cockcrow. 2. Give thanks in the morning because the Lord has given you light by chasing away the darkness and by bringing forth the day. 3. At the third hour because at this time the Lord was sentenced by Pontius Pilate. 4. At the sixth hour because at this hour he was crucified. 5. At the ninth hour because at this time when the Lord was on the cross all [creation] was shaken,[263] horrified at the rashness of the godless Jews and unable to bear the outrage afflicted on the Lord. 6. In the evening give thanks because you have been given the night to rest from the labors of the day. 7. At cockcrow because this hour announces that day is at hand during which we carry out the works of light.[264] 8. If it is impossible to gather at the church because of the unbelievers, gather in a house, O bishop, so that those who are godly may not gather with the ungodly,[265] for the place does not sanctify the people; it is just the opposite. 9. If the ungodly occupy a place, you should avoid it since they have profaned it. For just as holy priests sanctify a place, so do the accursed profane it. 10. If you are unable to gather either in a house or in a church, each person is to sing, read, and pray in his or her own home; or better yet, two or three should do so together, "for where two or three are gathered in my name," says the Lord, "I am there among them."[266] 11. A believer is not to pray with a catechumen, not even at home; for it is not fitting that a baptized person be defiled by gathering with a nonbaptized person. 12. The godly person will not pray with a heretic, not even at home, for "what fellowship is there between light and darkness?"[267] 13. A believing man or woman having intercourse with a slave is to cease doing this or be sent away.

[Evening office or the *lucernarium*]

VIII.xxxv.1. And I, James—the brother of Christ according to the flesh[268] 1822
but his servant[269] in that he is the only begotten Son of God—made bishop of Jerusalem by Christ and by the apostles, prescribe this. 2. When evening arrives, O bishop, gather the members of the Church, and once the psalm for the lighting of the lamps has been prayed, the deacon will request prayers for the catechumens, the possessed, the baptismal candidates, and the penitents, as we indicated above.

VIII.xxxvi.1. After these have been dismissed, the deacon says, "All you 1823
faithful, pray to God." Then after the first prayer has been said, he adds—

VIII.xxxvi.2. "O God, through your Christ save us and raise us up." 3. 1824
Standing, we ask that the Lord be compassionate and merciful and that he

263. See Matt 27:46, 51. 264. See Rom 13:12–13. 265. See Ps 26:5. 266. Matt 18:20. 267. 2 Cor 6:14. 268. See Gal 1:19. 269. See Jas 1:1.

send the angel of peace; we request what is good and useful, a Christian end, a peaceful and sinless evening, and a blameless life. We recommend ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ.

1825 VIII.xxxvii.1. Then the bishop prays, saying—

1826 VIII.xxxvii.2. "You are the eternal God, the Creator and protector of all things through Christ, but above all his God and Father, the Lord of the Spirit and king of every intelligent and rational [being]. You have created the day for the works of light; the night, considering our weakness, is a time for us to rest. For 'yours is the day, yours also is the night; you established the luminaries and the sun.'[270] Lord, you love all people and all that is good. Favorably receive our evening thanksgiving. 3. You guided us throughout the course of this day, and you led us to the beginning of the night. Protect us through your Christ. Grant us a peaceful evening as well as a night without sin and bad dreams. Graciously judge us to be worthy of eternal life through your Christ. Through him glory, honor, and power be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

1827 VIII.xxxvii.4. Then the deacon says, "Bow for the imposition of hands."

1828 VIII.xxxvii.5. The bishop prays as follows—

1829 "God of our fathers, Lord of mercy, 'in your wisdom you formed humankind,'[271] namely, these intelligent living beings whom you prefer to all that lives upon the earth. You have given them power[272] over all that exists upon the earth. By your will you have established rulers and priests, the former to protect life, the latter for lawful worship. 6. Almighty Lord, look down and 'let your face shine upon your servants'[273] who bow in their hearts. Bless them through Christ, through whom you made the light of knowledge shine upon us and whom you revealed to us. Through him fitting worship is forever owed you by every intelligent and holy nature, in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. Amen."

1830 VIII.xxxvii.7. The deacon says, "Go in peace."

[Morning office]

1831 VIII.xxxviii.1. Likewise in the morning after reciting the morning psalm[274] and after having dismissed the catechumens, the possessed, the baptismal candidates, and the penitents, and after the customary prayer—we need not repeat it—the deacon adds the following after the "Save them, O God, and restore them to your grace."

1832 VIII.xxxviii.2. "We beseech the Lord to show pity and mercy: for a peaceful and sinless morning and day; for the same throughout the span of our short earthly journey; for the angel of peace; for a Christian end; and that God be merciful and kind. We recommend ourselves and others to the living God through his only-begotten Son.

1833 VIII.xxxviii.3. Then the bishop prays, saying—

---

270. Ps 74:16. 271. Wis 9:2. 272. See Ps 63. 273. Ps 31:16. 274. Namely, Ps 63.

VIII.xxxviii.4."'God of the spirits and of all flesh,'[275] incomparable and needing nothing, you have given 'the sun to rule over the day and the moon and stars to rule over the night.'[276] Graciously look upon us; accept our morning thanksgiving; be merciful to us since we have not 'spread out our hands to a strange god.'[277] 5. For 'there is no foreign god among us,'[278] but you alone are eternal and without end. Through Christ you have granted us our very being, and through him you have given us joy. Likewise through him deem us worthy of eternal life. Through him be glory, honor, and worship to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen." 1834

VIII.xxxix.1. The deacon says, "Bow for the imposition of hands." 1835

VIII.xxxix.2. The bishop prays, saying— 1836

VIII.xxxix.3. "Faithful and truthful God, you 'show mercy to thousands'[279] and tens of thousands 'of those who love you.'[280] You are a friend to the lowly and a defender of the poor. All things need you, for all things serve you. 4. Look upon your people here present who bow their heads before you. Bless them with a spiritual blessing. 'Guard them as the apple of the eye.'[281] Keep them in godliness and justice. Deem them worthy of eternal life in Christ Jesus your beloved servant. Through him glory, honor, and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit now, always, forever and ever. Amen." 1837

VIII.xxxix.5. The deacon says, "Go in peace." 1838

[Thanksgiving for the first fruits]

VIII.xl.1. At the offering of the first fruits, the bishop gives thanks as follows— 1839

VIII.xl.2. "'We give you thanks, Almighty Lord,'[282] Creator and protector of all things, through your servant Jesus Christ, the only-begotten One, our Lord. We do so for the first fruits that are offered to you, doing so not as we should but as we are able. 3. Who among us can worthily give thanks for all you have given us to share? 'God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob,'[283] and of all the holy ones, you brought all things to maturity through your Word. You commanded the earth to produce all types of fruit for our enjoyment and nourishment. You gave fodder to the heavier and duller animals, greenery to the herbivorous animals, meat to some, grain to others; but to us you have given corn and other various products as useful and fitting food, some for our customary use, others for reasons of health, and still others for pleasure. 4. For this reason you are worthy of our hymns, being so because of your goodness toward all through Christ. Through him be glory, honor, and worship to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen." 1840

[Prayer for the deceased]

VIII.xli.1. For those who rest in Christ, after the requests of the first prayer—we need not repeat it—the deacon again adds— 1841

275. Num 16:22. 276. Ps 136:8, 9; see Gen 1:16. 277. Ps 44:20. 278. Ps 81:9. 279. See Exod 20:6. 280. Ibid. 281. Ps 17:8. 282. Rev 11:17. 283. Exod 3:6.

1842 VIII.XLI.2. "Let us pray for our brethren who rest in Christ; let us pray for the repose of such a person so that God, friend of humankind, may receive his or her soul, forgive every voluntary and involuntary sin, show kindness and favor, and admit him or her into the company of the godly departed who rest in the bosom of Abraham,[284] of Isaac, of Jacob, and with all who from the beginning have pleased him[285] and done his will; may they rest in that place where 'there will no longer be sorrow, sadness, and sighing.'[286] Let us stand. We recommend ourselves and others to the eternal God through his Word who was in the beginning."[287]

1843 VIII.XLI.3. Then the bishop says—

1844 VIII.XLI.4. "By nature you are immortal and without end. All beings, both mortal and immortal, have come forth from you. You created humankind, living and intelligent, inhabitants of the world, mortal in constitution. To it you promised resurrection. You did not permit Henock and Elias to be subject to death. O 'God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob,[288] you are not the God of the dead but of the living,' for the souls of 'all the living'[289] are with you; 'the souls of the righteous are in your hand, and no torment will ever touch them'[290] since 'all the holy ones are in your charge.'[291] 5. Look down now upon this servant whom you have chosen and sent ahead to another state. Grant pardon if any sin, whether voluntary or involuntary, has been committed. Send friendly angels to this person. Allow [your servant] to enter the company of the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, and of all those who from the beginning of the world have pleased you, there where exists neither 'sorrow' nor 'sadness' nor 'sighing'[292] in the resting place of the godly and in the land of the upright, a land dedicated to you and which is the dwelling place of those who gaze upon the glory of your Christ.[293] Through him glory, honor, worship, thanksgiving, and adoration be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

1845 VIII.XLI.6. The deacon says, "Bow for the blessing."

1846 VIII.XLI.7. The bishop gives thanks for them as follows—

1847 VIII.XLI.8. "Lord, 'save your people and bless your inheritance'[294] which you have gained by 'the precious blood of your Christ.'[295] Pasture them under your right hand. 'Protect them under your wings'[296] and allow them to 'fight the good fight, to finish the race, to keep the faith'[297] with neither deviation nor blame nor reproach. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, your beloved servant. Through him glory, honor, and worship be to you in the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

[Commemorating the deceased]

1848 VIII.XLII.1. The third day of death is celebrated with psalms and prayers because of him who rose on the third day. 2. Also the ninth day to console

284. See Luke 16:22. 285. See Gen 5:24. 286. Isa 35:10. 287. See John 1:1–2. 288. Exod 3:6. 289. Luke 20:38. 290. Wis 3:1. 291. Deut 33:3. 292. Isa 35:10. 293. See John 17:24. 294. Ps 28:9. 295. 1 Pet 1:19. 296. Ps 17:8. 297. 2 Tim 4:7.

those who survive and to remember the deceased. 3. The thirtieth day according to the ancient example, for on this day the people mourned for Moses.[298] 4. And the anniversary in memory of the deceased person. 5. In remembrance of the dead person, some of his or her goods are distributed to the poor.

VIII.XLIII.1. We say this concerning the godly. But as to the ungodly, 1849
even if you give to the poor the goods of the entire world, in no way will this benefit the deceased. 2. For if the divine was an enemy throughout the person's whole lifetime, the same evidently remains so after death. For "there is no justification in him."[299] 3. In fact, "the Lord is righteous and loves righteous deeds."[300] And behold, "the man and his work."[301]

[Conduct at funeral meals]

VIII.XLIV.1. When you are invited to commemorations of the dead, eat 1850
moderately and with fear of God so that you also are able to intercede for the deceased. Presbyters and deacons, be vigilant at all times,[302] both regarding yourselves and others so that you can correct those who behave badly. 2. For Scripture says, "Rulers are irascible; they are not to drink wine lest while drinking it they forget wisdom and are unable to judge fairly."[303] But after almighty God and his beloved Son, those who rule the Church are the presbyters and the deacons. 3. We say this not so they refrain from drinking since this would insult what God has created for the sake of our joy,[304] but so that they do not become intoxicated. Scripture does not forbid the drinking of wine, but what does it say? Not to drink wine unto drunkenness.[305] Also, "Spines grow in the hand of the drunkard."[306] 4. We say this not only concerning clerics but also in regard to every Christian layperson on whom "was invoked the name"[307] of our Lord Jesus Christ. For it is also said concerning them: "For whom are the curses? For whom the uproar? For whom the sharp words and disputes? For whom the livid eyes? For whom the empty blows? Are they not for those who linger over wine and frequent places where drinking occurs?"[308]

[Ecclesiastical discipline]

VIII.XLVI.1. As a group we prescribe the following. All are to remain in 1851
the rank assigned them, not exceeding its limits, since these ranks come from God and not from us. "Whoever listens to you listens to me; whoever rejects you rejects me; whoever rejects me rejects the one who sent me."[309] 2. Now if good order is observed by inanimate creatures like the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, the hours, and if they guarantee their

298. See Deut 34:8. 299. John 7:18. 300. Ps 11:7. 301. Isa 62:11. 302. See 1 Pet 4:7; 5:8. 303. Prov 31:4–5. 304. See Sir 31:27. 305. See Tob 4:15. 306. Prov 26:9. 307. Jas 2:7. 308. Prov 23:29–30. 309. Luke 10:16.

services following predetermined arrangements [. . .], then with all the more reason you should not allow yourself to disturb what we have established for you according to God's will.

1852 VIII.XLVI.3. Many believed this to be unimportant. They dare confuse the orders and disturb the ordination regulated for each by appropriating to themselves responsibilities greater than those given to them. Like absolute masters, they allow themselves to give what they have no power to give; they anger God as did the partisans of Korah[310] and as did King Uzziah[311] who, lacking authority and scorning God's will, assumed the priesthood. The first were burned with fire; the other was afflicted with leprosy on his forehead. They also anger Christ Jesus, the author of our institutions, and they 'grieve the Holy Spirit'[312] by rendering his testimony useless. 4. We rightly foresee the dangers brought about by those acting in this fashion; also the disorders in the sacrifices and the thanksgivings that will arise from being godlessly offered by those to whom such is forbidden and who consider the high priestly dignity as a game even though it means imitating the "high priest Jesus"[313] Christ, our King. We believe it necessary to address this warning to you, "for some have already turned away,"[314] allowing themselves to be led astray by their own vanity.

1853 VIII.XLVI.5. We say that "Moses—the servant"[315] of God with whom God spoke "face to face as one speaks to a friend"[316] and to whom he said, "I have known you and prefer you above all,"[317] and to whom he spoke not through signs, dreams, angels, or riddles, but in person when Moses promulgated the divine legislation—we say that Moses distinguished between what the high priests are to do, what the priests are to do, and what the Levites are to do, assigning to each a proper ministry corresponding to his function. 6. But what the high priests were commanded to do, the priests were not allowed to do; the Levites were not to do what the priests were to do; each respected the boundaries of the services given him. Now if anyone desired to go beyond the limits of the office he received, death was the punishment.[318] 7. This was especially made clear by what Saul attempted to do. Thinking he could offer sacrifice in the absence of Samuel the prophet and high priest, he incurred an unforgivable sin and curse even though he had been anointed king by the prophet who was no less angry.[319] 8. By a still more striking intervention God called attention to the affair of Uzziah by immediately punishing him for his iniquity;[320] and he who foolishly arrogated to himself the high priestly function was also deprived of his kingship. 9. Certainly you are not unaware of what took place among us; you know perfectly well that bishops, presbyters, and deacons were made such by you through prayer and the imposition of hands, and that the difference of their names reveals a difference of

310. See Num 16. 311. 2 Chr 26:16–21. 312. Eph 4:30. 313. Heb 4:14. 314. 1 Tim 5:15. 315. Num 12:7. 316. Exod 33:11. 317. Exod 33:17. 318. See Num 4. 319. See 1 Sam 13. 320. See 2 Chr 26.

their functions. For among us "he did not lay his hand upon all who so desired"[321]—as was true for the adulterous and rebellious priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam—"but upon him who is called by God."[322]

VIII.XLVI.10. If there were no legislation, no distinction of orders, it would have sufficed to group everything together under one name; but instructed by the Lord as to a hierarchy of functions, we assigned to the bishops the function of the high priest, to the presbyters that of the priest, and to the deacons the service of each of these, so that worship may be correctly celebrated. 11. The deacon is not allowed to offer sacrifice, to baptize, to give a blessing whether it be small or large. Nor is a presbyter allowed to ordain since doing so would be an act of impiety that upsets what has been ordered. 12. God "is not a god of disorder,"[323] allowing those who are subordinate to take upon themselves powers belonging to higher ranks and thus inventing a new legislation to their misfortune since they do not know that for them "it is hard to kick against the goad."[324] These people are not attacking us or the bishops but the universal bishop, the high priest of the Father, namely, Jesus Christ our Savior. 13. Moses, God's beloved, appointed the high priests, the priests, and the Levites;[325] then our Lord appointed us, the thirteen apostles; then the apostles would institute us—I, Clement [of Rome], and I, James [of Jerusalem], and the others with us—so that we would not have to name them all again; finally we together would appoint presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers. 1854

VIII.XLVI.14. But the first of these, Christ the only-begotten, by nature a high priest, did not unlawfully claim this honor for himself;[326] he was appointed such by the Father. Christ took on flesh for our sake; by offering a spiritual sacrifice to his God and Father he, before suffering, commanded that we alone perform this sacrifice[327] even though others among us believed in him. And so in no way does it follow that each believer was immediately instituted a priest or obtained the high-priestly dignity. 15. After the Lord's ascension we—offering the pure and unbloody sacrifice as he commanded—appointed bishops, priests, and deacons to the number of seven.[328] 16. One of these was Stephen, the blessed martyr; because of his good relationship with God he was not inferior to us; by his faith he showed his piety toward God and his love of our Lord Jesus Christ for whom he gave up his life when he was stoned by the Jews, those who murdered Christ. Yet such a man, so heroic, who overflowed with the Holy Spirit[329] and who saw Christ at God's right hand and the heavens being opened,[330] never did anything that did not pertain to the diaconate; for example, he did not offer the sacrifice or impose hands on someone; he remained a deacon to the end; and so it was that the martyr respected 1855

321. 1 Kgs 13:33. 322. Heb 5:4. 323. 1 Cor 14:33. 324. Acts 26:14. 325. See Exod 28; 29. 326. See Heb 5:4. 327. See Luke 22:19. 328. See Acts 6:5–6. 329. See Acts 18:25. 330. See Acts 7:55–56.

the Church's good order. 17. Those who act on the authority of Philip the deacon and Ananias[331] our faithful brother because Philip baptized the eunuch and Ananias baptized me, namely, Paul, misunderstand our words. What we are affirming, in fact, is that no one can arrogate for himself the priestly function; this he receives from God[332] as did Melchizedek,[333] or from a high priest as did Aaron from Moses;[334] and so Philip and Ananias did not appoint themselves but were chosen by Christ, the high priest of the incomparable God.

[*Apostolic Canons*]

1856 VIII.XLVII.1. A bishop is ordained by two or three bishops; a presbyter by one bishop; the same for a deacon and the other clerics.

1857 VIII.XLVII.2. If contrary to the Lord's prescriptions on sacrifice, a bishop or a priest offers upon God's altar something else, namely, honey or milk or even fabricated drinks in place of wine, or even birds, animals, or vegetables, contrary to what is commanded, he is to be deposed.

1858 VIII.XLVII.3. Let no one bring anything to the altar except, at the time desired, the new corn or grapes and oil for the holy lamp and incense for the time of the divine sacrifice.

1859 VIII.XLVII.4. All other harvest products, like the first fruits for the bishop and presbyters, are intended for domestic use and not for the altar; it is evident that the bishop and the priests also share these with the deacons and the other clerics.

1860 VIII.XLVII.5. A bishop, a priest, or a deacon will not divorce his wife under the pretext of piety; if he does so, he is to be excommunicated; should he persist, he is to be deposed.

1861 VIII.XLVII.6. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon is not to concern himself with worldly affairs; otherwise, he is to be deposed.

1862 VIII.XLVII.7. If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon celebrates the holy day of the Pasch before the spring equinox, as do the Jews, he is to be deposed.

1863 VIII.XLVII.8. If a bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon, or anyone on the clerical list does not receive Communion after the offering takes place and yet gives a reason for this, pardon will be granted should it be appropriate; but if he does not offer a reason, he is to be excommunicated, for he has harmed the people and has placed under suspicion the one who offered as if the latter did not offer correctly.

1864 VIII.XLVII.9. All the faithful who enter and hear the Scriptures but do not remain for the prayer and holy Communion are to be excommunicated, for they cause disorder in the Church.

1865 VIII.XLVII.10. Whoever prays, even at home, with a person who has been excommunicated is to be excluded.

1866 VIII.XLVII.11. A cleric who prays with a deposed cleric as if the latter were still a cleric is also to be deposed.

---

331. See Acts 8–9. 332. See Heb 5:4. 333. See Gen 14:18. 334. See Num 17.

VIII.XLVII.17. Whoever has married a second time after baptism or has taken a concubine cannot be a bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon, nor can his name in any way be inscribed on the clerical list. 1867

VIII.XLVII.18. Whoever "marries a widow, a divorced woman,"[335] a courtesan, a servant, or an actress, cannot be a bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon, or in any way be inscribed on the clerical list. 1868

VIII.XLVII.19. Whoever has married two sisters or his niece cannot become a cleric. 1869

VIII.XLVII.21. A eunuch who has become so through human cruelty or has been deprived of his virility in a persecution, or who has been born such, is to be admitted to the episcopate if he is worthy. 1870

VIII.XLVII.22. A man who has castrated himself is not to become a cleric, for he is his own murderer and an enemy of God's creation. 1871

VIII.XLVII.26. The unmarried among the clergy who wish to marry are not allowed to do so, the exception being readers and singers. 1872

VIII.XLVII.27. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon inflicting blows upon believers who have sinned or on unbelievers who have done evil, with the desire to inspire fear, is to be deposed, for the Lord never taught us to do this; on the contrary, the Lord when struck did not strike back; "when he was abused, he did not return abuse; when he suffered, he did not threaten."[336] 1873

VIII.XLVII.29. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon who has attained his dignity through money is to be deposed, he and whoever has ordained him; may he be completely separated from communion as Simon the Magician was by me, Peter.[337] 1874

VIII.XLVII.31. A presbyter who is scornful of his bishop and who holds a separate assembly, who erects another altar, and who has no reason to reproach his bishop in regard to faith and righteousness, is to be deposed as someone who loves power, for he is a tyrant; the same holds true for other clerics insofar as they side with him. Laics are to be excommunicated. But this is not to be done till after a first, second,[338] or even a third warning by the bishop. 1875

VIII.XLVII.35. A bishop will not venture to ordain outside his own district, in cities or areas that do not belong to him. If he is convicted of having done so without the permission of those responsible for these places, he is to be deposed together with those he ordained. 1876

VIII.XLVII.36. Whoever is ordained a bishop but does not tend to the ministry and care of the people entrusted to him is to be excommunicated till he assumes his responsibility; the same is true for the presbyter and the deacon. But if upon his arrival no one receives him—not from his own doing but from the ill-nature of the people—he remains bishop, but the clergy of the city will be excommunicated for not having better instructed this unruly people. 1877

335. Lev 21:14. 336. 1 Pet 2:23. 337. See Acts 8:21–22. 338. See Titus 3:10.

1878 VIII.XLVII.37. Bishops will hold assemblies twice a year in order to study together the teachings of the faith and to resolve any ecclesial disputes that might follow; the first assembly is to be held during the fourth week of the Fifty Days, the second on the twelfth of Hypeberetaos [October].

1879 VIII.XLVII.39. Presbyters and deacons will do nothing without the bishop's consent since the Lord's people have been entrusted to the bishop, who will have to give an accounting of their souls.

1880 VIII.XLVII.41. We command that the bishop is to have power over the Church's goods; for if it is fitting to entrust him with precious human souls, it is all the more necessary that he have at his disposal resources so that under his authority everything be administered and distributed to the needy by the priests and deacons, doing so with fear of God and in all godliness. The bishop himself may also take whatever is necessary for his own needs and for helping the brethren who receive hospitality so that they may not lack anything. According to God's law those who serve the altar are to live from the altar[339] just as no soldier serves at his own expense[340] to fight the enemy.

1881 VIII.XLVII.45. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon who has simply prayed with heretics is to be excommunicated; if he has allowed them to function as clerics, he is to be deposed.

1882 VIII.XLVII.46. A bishop or a presbyter who permits heretics to baptize or to offer sacrifice is to be deposed. "For what accord does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer have in common with an unbeliever?"[341]

1883 VIII.XLVII.47. A bishop or a presbyter who rebaptizes a person who has been truly baptized, or who refuses to baptize someone who has been polluted by the impious, is to be deposed because he mocks the Lord's cross and death and does not differentiate between [true] priests and false priests.

1884 VIII.XLVII.48. A layman who divorces his wife and marries another or who marries a woman whom another man has divorced is to be excommunicated.

1885 VIII.XLVII.49. A bishop or a priest who does not baptize in the [name of] "the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"[342] as the Lord commanded but in [the name of] three "without beginning" or in three sons or in three Paracletes is to be deposed.

1886 VIII.XLVII.50. A bishop or a presbyter who does not perform the three immersions of the one baptism but only one immersion given unto the death of the Lord[343] is to be deposed, for the Lord did not say, "Baptize unto my death," but "Go, teach all nations and baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[344]

1887 The person baptized will be taught that the uncreated God has not been crucified and has not undergone human birth since, being independent,

---

339. See Deut 18. 340. See 1 Cor 9:7, 13. 341. 2 Cor 6:15. 342. Matt 28:19. 343. See Rom 6:3. 344. Matt 28:19.

he did not submit to another's will. Also teach that the Paraclete did not become man, that he did not in this way enter the world, and that not being of flesh he did not undergo the Passion since he was not incarnate. Only the only-begotten Son delivered the world from imminent wrath;[345] he became man out of love for us by taking unto himself a body from a virgin as a creator. "Wisdom has built herself a house."[346] He voluntarily suffered upon the cross[347] with the consent of the Father. As high priest he freed the world from impending wrath.[348 t]

1888 And so we baptize in the name of the Father, not as if he became human or suffered, or as if he were some type of high priest, but insofar as he is the sovereign master who agreed to be born, who consented to the Passion, and who welcomed the mediation of the high priest. We baptize in the name of the Son not as if he were the sovereign master, not as if he had welcomed, not as if he had consented, but in that he accepted being born, being crucified, dying, and being raised. We baptize in the name of the Paraclete, not as being Father or Son, but in that he witnesses God's goodness and consent and the submission in all of the Only-Begotten.

1889 To be deposed are those who do not baptize in this fashion because they do not know the mystery of faith. Whoever affirms that the Father has suffered commits a greater impiety than did the Jews, for such a person crucifies the Father with Christ. Whoever denies that the only-begotten Son became flesh for us and submitted to the cross[349] is an enemy of God and of the holy ones. Whoever gives the name of Father or Son to the Paraclete is ignorant and stupid, for this is to declare the minister of the Only-Begotten—who is the co-creator, the co-protector, the co-legislator, the co-judge, the co-author of the resurrection, and the high priest—to be equal in honor to the Father or to the Son. It is to profess two "without beginning." It is to recognize two fathers, misunderstanding the words, "The Lord is our God, the Lord alone."[350] In our own time Simon the Magician spewed forth these teachings, inspiring the people with the spirit of ill-conduct, of trouble, and of perversion; he foolishly said that there was only a single God having three names; he even went so far as to eliminate Christ's passion and birth.

1890 You then, O bishops, are to immerse three times in one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit,[351] in conformity with the Lord's will and our prescriptions in the Spirit.

1891 VIII.XLVII.52. A bishop or a presbyter who does not welcome but turns away a person who was converted from sin is to be deposed since he grieves Christ, who said, "There will be joy in heaven over one sinner who repents."[352]

---

t. This paragraph and the following two paragraphs are a later gloss on canon 50.

345. See 1 Thess 1:10. 346. Prov 9:1. 347. See Heb 12:2. 348. 1 Thess 1:10. 349. See Heb 12:2. 350. Deut 6:4. 351. See Matt 28:19. 352. Luke 15:7.

1892 VIII.XLVII.53. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon who does not take meat or wine on feast days is to be deposed since "his conscience is seared with a hot iron,"[353] and he has scandalized many.

1893 VIII.XLVII.58. A bishop or a presbyter who neglects the clergy or the people and does not teach them the faith is to be excommunicated; if he persists in his negligence, he is to be deposed.

1894 VIII.XLVII.60. Anyone who spreads throughout the Church books of the impious with misleading titles and presents them as holy, doing so to the perdition of the people and the clergy, is to be deposed.

1895 VIII.XLVII.61. The believer accused and convicted of fornication, adultery, or any other forbidden act, will not be admitted to the clergy.

1896 VIII.XLVII.64. A cleric found to be fasting on the Lord's Day or on Saturday, with the exception of a single Saturday, will be deposed; a layperson doing this will be excommunicated.

1897 VIII.XLVII.65. A cleric or a layperson attending a gathering of Jews or of heretics in order to pray is to be excommunicated.

1898 VIII.XLVII.68. A bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon who is ordained a second time is to be deposed as well as the person ordaining him unless it can be proven that his former ordination was performed by heretics; those baptized or ordained by such people can be neither members of the faithful nor clerics.

1899 VIII.XLVII.69. A bishop, a presbyter, a deacon, a subdeacon, a reader, or a singer who refuses to fast during the holy forty days or on Friday or on Wednesday is to be deposed unless he is impaired by bodily weakness; a layperson is to be excommunicated.

1900 VIII.XLVII.70. A bishop or another cleric who fasts with the Jews, celebrates feasts with them, or accepts gifts—like unleavened bread or anything else of this kind—is to be deposed; a layperson is to be excommunicated.

1901 VIII.XLVII.71. A Christian who offers oil or even lamps at a pagan sanctuary or at a Jewish synagogue is to be excommunicated.

1902 VIII.XLVII.72. A cleric or a layperson who steals beeswax or oil in the holy church is to be excommunicated and "should add one-fifth"[354] to what has been taken.

1903 VIII.XLVII.73. None are to transfer to their own use sanctified objects made of silver or gold or of fine cloth; this is against the law; anyone caught doing so is to be punished by excommunication.

1904 VIII.XLVII.76. A bishop is not to confer the high episcopal office upon his brother or son or another relative, nor is he to ordain whomsoever he pleases, for it is not proper that he pass on the episcopal office as if it were an inheritance by giving God's goods according to human feelings; God's Church must not be considered as being under inheritance laws; invalid

353. 1 Tim 4:2. 354. Lev 5:16.

is the ordination of anyone acting in this way, and he himself will be punished with excommunication.

VIII.XLVII.77. A sick person, one with failing eyesight, or a cripple is worthy of the episcopate and is to be admitted; for defects of the body cannot defile him, only the stains of the soul. 1905

VIII.XLVII.78. A deaf-mute or a blind man is not to become a bishop; not that he is defiled but so that the Church's affairs may not suffer. 1906

VIII.XLVII.79. A man who is possessed is not to become a cleric; furthermore, he should not even pray with the faithful; but once purified, he is to be received; and if he is worthy, he may become a cleric. 1907

VIII.XLVII.80. A person coming from paganism and who has just been baptized or someone who formerly led an evil life should not be immediately raised to the episcopate.[355] It is not right that someone who has not yet been tested should teach others unless perhaps this is the result of divine grace. 1908

VIII.XLVII.82. A domestic is not to be chosen as a cleric without the permission of his master; doing so would harm those who purchased him; it would also disturb the household. Should it happen that a domestic appears worthy of ordination to a [hierarchical] degree as was true for our Onesimus,[356] he is to be ordained if the master gives his consent, discharges him, and dismisses him from his house. 1909

VIII.XLVII.85. All of you, clerics and laity alike, are to venerate and hold as sacred the books of the Old Testament:[357] five of Moses; that of Joshua son of Num; that of Judges; that of Ruth; the four of Kings; the two of the Paralipomenon of the Book of Days; the two of Esdras; that of Esther; that of Judith; the four of the Maccabees; that of Job; the Book of the 151 Psalms; the five books of Solomon; and the sixteen prophets. As to our books, namely, those of the New Testament:[358] the four Gospels as we have said above, namely, that of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke, and of John; the fourteen letters of Paul; that of James; the three of John; that of Jude; the two of Peter; the two of Clement; and the *Constitutions* in eight books which we have transmitted to you, the bishops, through me, Clement, and which are not to be divulged to the whole world because of the mysteries contained therein; and our own Acts of the Apostles. 1910

[Final Exhortation]

VIII.XLVIII.1. O bishops, this is what we have again commanded you in regard to the canons. 2. "Observing them, you will be saved and know peace; but if you disobey them, you will be punished and will engage one another in continual warfare, undergoing a punishment fitting your obstinacy. 3. God, the only uncreated one, the maker of all things through Christ, will unite all of us through his peace in the Holy Spirit; he 'makes' you 'complete in all that is good,'[359] free from deviation, blame, and 1911

355. See 1 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:6. 356. See Phlm 10; Col 4:9. 357. See 2 Cor 3:14. 358. See 2 Cor 3:6. 359. Heb 13:21.

reproach. May he grant you eternal life with us through the mediation of his servant, the well-beloved Jesus Christ, our God and Savior. Through whom glory be to him, the God and Father above all, in the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, now, always, and forever and ever. Amen."

78. EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS

Born ca. 315 in the town of Besanduche near Eleutheropolis in Judaea, Epiphanius spent time in Egypt, where he became involved in the monastic movement, later establishing a monastery near his birthplace in Judaea. He even continued to govern this foundation after 367 when the bishops of Cyprus elected him bishop of Constantia (today Salamis). Epiphanius remained metropolitan of that island till his death during a journey by sea in 403.

Skilled in numerous languages, Epiphanius nonetheless rejected Hellenic learning and literary style as well as theological speculation. Accordingly, his writing appealed to the less educated. A firm and contentious opponent of Origen (WEC 1:43) and Origenism in particular, Epiphanius was no less involved in numerous theological controversies of the day. Purity of faith, understood as Nicene orthodoxy, was the hallmark of this bishop, whose writings have often been criticized as being inaccurate, superficial, often disjointed, and deficient in both spirit and content. On the other hand, Epiphanius has preserved for us much source material that otherwise would have been lost.

CPG 2: nos. 3744ff. * Altaner (1961) 365–68 * Altaner (1966) 315–18 * Bardenhewer (1908) 310–15 * Bardenhewer (1910) 288–91 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:293–302 * Bardy (1929) 121–24 * Bautz 1:1521–22 * Hamell 109–11 * Jurgens 2:67–77 * Quasten 3:384–96 * Steidle 106–8 * Tixeront 193–94 * CATH 4:320–22 * CE 13:393 * CHECL 286–88 * DCB 2:149–56 * DHGE 15:617–31 * DictSp 4.1:854–61 * DPAC 1:1162–64 * DTC 5.1:363–65 * EC 5:428 * EEC 1:281–82 * EEChr 1:380–81 * LTK 3:723–25 * NCE 5:478–79 * NCES 5:292–93 * ODCC 553 * PEA (1894) 6.1:193–94 * PEA (1991) 3:1152–53 * RACh 5:909–27

K. Holl, "Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverelung," Sitzungsberichte der preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin, 1916) 828–68, repr. in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1928) 351–87. * H. Engberding, "Zur griechischen Epiphanusliturgie," Mus 74 (1961) 135–42. * C. Vagaggini, "L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina," OCP 40 (1974) 145–89.

78-A. The Well-Anchored Man[†]

The Well-Anchored Man (*Ancoratus*), written in 374 at the request of Christians living in Syedra in Pamphylia (southern Asia Minor), is a

[†] Translated from PG 43:118.

compendium of Christian dogma, serving as an "anchor" of faith against numerous heresies (e.g., that of the Arians, the Manichaeans, the Marcionites, to name but a few). The treatise is especially noted for its inclusion of two creeds. First, there is the baptismal creed (CXIX) of Constantia (introduced in that city shortly before Epiphanius became its bishop), a formula standing in the literary tradition of the profession redacted at the Council of Nicaea (325) and eventually becoming with significant alterations the baptismal creed of the East. The second and longer formula (CXX) is one composed by Epiphanius himself.

LVII. [. . .] The Savior took bread into his hands, and once he had given thanks, he said, "This is my body [. . .]." It is not equal or akin to a bodily image or to an invisible deity, or to the arrangement of the members of the body. It is round in shape, lacking feeling as far as its power is concerned. He wanted to say that "this is my body" by means of grace. [. . .] No one should refuse to believe what he said. Those who do not believe that the Savior speaks the truth separate themselves from grace and salvation. What we have heard, we believe, namely, that it is his Body and Blood. [. . .] 1912

78-B. Panarion†

Listing and combating the heterodox was, as it were, a cottage industry during the early centuries of the Church. The *Panarion* (in Latin literally a "breadbox" or as Epiphanius—perhaps following common usage—understood it, a "medicine box") was his contribution to this literary genre since the treatise provides, as the author envisioned it, a medicine or antidote against the poisonous doctrines of those he considered dangerous, if not heretics. Written 374–77, the work is divided into three books, each having various subsections. Some eighty heresies are discussed, the first twenty from the pre-Christian era and including pagan philosophical schools as well as Jewish religious groups.

78-B-1. BOOK I. SECTION 1. HERESY 8[a]

VI. [. . .] The Law prescribed bodily circumcision, which was long practiced till it was followed by a greater circumcision, namely, baptism through which we are separated from our sins and signed in God's name. Furthermore, the Law had the Sabbath which prepared for that great Sabbath, namely, the rest observed by Christ the Lord, so that while ceasing from sin we might celebrate a certain Sabbath in Christ. [. . .] 1913

† Translated from PG 41:213ff.; 42:353ff.

a. The group treated in Heresy 8 is that of the Epicureans, followers of a philosophical system of ethics, founded by Epicureus (342–270 B.C.) and holding that the senses are the only source of truth.

78-B-2. BOOK I. SECTION 2. HERESY 29[b]

1914 VII. [. . .] These [the Nazoreans] differ from both Jews and Christians. They are unlike the Jews because they believe in Christ; they are unlike the Christians since they still engage in Jewish practices like circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and other ceremonies.

1915 IX. [. . .] The Jews not only show great hatred toward them but in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, namely, the three times each day when they gather in their synagogues for prayer, they curse and *anathamatize* them. [. . .]

78-B-3. BOOK I. SECTION 2. HERESY 30[c]

1916 II. Ebion was their [the Nazoreans'] contemporary and took his origin from them. First, he believed that Christ was born as the result of intercourse and by means of Joseph's seed. And as I already stated, he was of the same opinion as the others on all matters other than his observance of the Jewish rites and ceremonies, such as the Sabbath, circumcision, and various other Jewish and Samaritan observances. [. . .]

1917 XVI. In addition to their daily washings they are also baptized, and imitating the sacred mysteries of the Church they celebrate the daily mysteries, using only unleavened bread; for the other part of the mysteries they use only water. [. . .]

78-B-4. BOOK I. SECTION 3. HERESY 42[d]

1918 III. [. . .] He [Marcion] ordered that a fast be observed on Saturday. He celebrates the mysteries with the catechumens being present. In these mysteries he uses water, and this is why he consecrates Saturday by a fast. Since, he said, it is the God of the Jews who made this world and rested on the seventh day, let us fast on this day so that we not appear to be following the holy rites of the Jews. [. . .]

1919 He reached the position of allowing three baptisms because he was mocked by his disciples who were aware of his transgression of seducing virgins. Since he was in serious sin, having seduced a virgin in his home town and then having fled, he came up with the idea of his second baptism. He said it was permitted to baptize three times, namely, baptizing

---

b. The heretics treated in Heresy 29 are the Nazoreans, members of a Judaeo-Christian sect who lived in Beroea, a city in northern Syria; little is known of their beliefs and practices.

c. The heretics treated in Heresy 30 are the Ebionites, members of a Judaeo-Christian sect who believed that Jesus was the human son of Joseph and Mary.

d. The heretics treated in Heresy 42 are the Marcionites, members of a sect founded in Rome by Marcion (d. ca. 160) who rejected the Old Testament as the foundation of Christianity, believed that God the Father of the Lord Jesus was different from the God of the Old Testament, and accepted only ten letters of Paul and an edited version of Luke's Gospel.

for the forgiveness of sins so that if a person sins the first time, he or she may with repentance be baptized a second time; likewise a third time if one sins again after the second baptism. [. . .]

78-B-5. BOOK II. SECTION 4. HERESY 50[e]

1. [. . .] Others who observe one and the same day, a day on which 1920
they fast and celebrate the mysteries, boast that it is from the *Acts of Pilate*[f] that they have learned the precise reason for this practice. These *Acts*, they say, state that the Savior suffered on the eighth day before the calends of April. This is why they celebrate the Pasch on whatever day the fourteenth of the month falls. Those in Cappadocia always celebrate it on the same day, namely, on the eighth day before the calends of April. Yet there is no great dissension among them, for some determine the fourteenth day of the month, others the eighth day before the calends of April. We have found copies of the same *Acts of Pilate* which say that Christ's passion took place earlier than the eighth day before the calends of April. Certainly and from the truth of the matter we know that the Savior suffered prior to the thirteenth day before the calends of April. Others place it on the tenth day before the calends of April. But the Quartodecimans have fallen away from what has been prescribed. I do not wish to engage in a long discussion about this, for there is much that could be said here.

78-B-6. BOOK II. SECTION 4. HERESY 59[g]

II. Just as a person who has lost his or her virginity cannot regain it ac- 1921
cording to the flesh—this being physically impossible—so the same is true for those who sin seriously after baptism. And just as a person who falls from virginity can have continence as a secondary honor, so those who sin gravely after baptism have a secondary remedy.

IV. [. . .] The husband of a wife who is still living and bearing children 1922
is not approved for the priesthood. But if after marriage a husband remains continent or if his wife has died and he remains a widower, he may be approved as deacon and presbyter and bishop and subdeacon, especially where the Church's canons are observed.

---

e. The group treated in Heresy 50 is that of the Quartodecimans, Christians who always celebrated the Christian Pasch on the fourteenth of Nisan, no matter the day of the week, and not on Sunday.

f. *Acts of Pilate*: an apocryphal work detailing Christ's trial, death, and resurrection, with its first section perhaps based on a second-century original.

g. The heretics treated in Heresy 59 are the Novatians, members of a highly rigorist, yet orthodox, Christian community whose name is taken from the Roman cleric Novatian (d. 257/258); disappointed with the election of Cornelius in 251, Novatian joined this community, had himself ordained bishop, and became a rival of Cornelius.

78-B-7. BOOK III. SECTION 1. HERESY 69[h]

1923 XI. [. . .] The emperor was deeply concerned about the Church since at this time its many members disagreed among each other, this resulting in any number of schisms. Consequently he called for an ecumenical council.[i] [. . .] At this council the [318 participating] bishops enacted a number of ecclesiastical canons. They also issued a decree regarding the Pasch, namely, that there is to be unanimous agreement in the celebration of this holy and most excellent day, which people observed at various times: some kept it early, others between the disputed dates, and still others afterwards. There was a great deal of controversy at the time. God, through Constantine, directed that all things be rightly ordered so that peace might reign.

78-B-8. BOOK III. SECTION 1. HERESY 70[j]

1924 IX. They [the Audians] choose to celebrate the Passover with the Jews, namely, they celebrate the Pasch at the same time the Jews are celebrating their feast of the Unleavened Bread, in this way seeming to be opposed to the Church. To be sure, such was once the Church's former practice. But they engage in slander when they say, "At the time of Constantine you abandoned your ancestors' paschal rite, doing so out of deference to the emperor and changing the day to suit him." There are even some who arrogantly claim, "You've changed the Pasch to Constantine's birthday."

1925 Now if the Pasch were observed on the same day each year and the council convoked by Constantine had decided this, then what they [the Audians] say might be plausible. However, their position is meritless since the observance cannot occur on the same day each year. What concerned the emperor was not his birthday but the unity of the Church. God accomplished two very important things through Constantine of most blessed memory. The first was the ecumenical council and the publication of the creed issued at Nicaea, a profession confessed to and signed by all the bishops who gathered there so as to depose Arius and to declare to all the purity of faith. The other was establishing stability as to the day of the Pasch for the sake of our unity.

1926 Long ago, even from the earliest days, various disputes and differences arose regarding this solemnity. The result was much laughter and derision on the part of the people. Some, desiring to be different, celebrated

---

h. The heretics treated in Heresy 69 are the Arians, followers of Arius (ca. 260–336), a priest in Alexandria, who denied the unity and consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity and consequently the full divinity of Christ; his opinion was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325.

i. Namely, the Council of Nicaea in 325 (WEC 2:71-C).

j. The heretics treated under Heresy 70 are the Audians, a fourth-century sect, founded in Syria by Audius, a deacon of Edessa, whose members accused the clergy of being lax and secularized.

the feast a week earlier, some a week later, some at the week's beginning, some at its middle, and still others at its end. In a word, there existed distressful confusion and astonishment concerning the matter. This was not unknown to the learned, who knew that at various times there were diverse ecclesiastical practices as well as disputes and controversies in regard to the celebration of the feast. This was especially true at the time of Polycarp[k] and Victor[l] when those living in the East and those living in the West shared no written documents of reconciliation with each other. The same was true at other times, especially when Alexander of Alexandria[m] and Criscentius, writing against one another, fought most bitterly. Such disputes became more intense from the time when the bishops converted to Christ from circumcision and from the Jewish religion. Those who gathered at the Council of Nicaea[n] carefully considered this matter and determined that the feast should be celebrated by all according to a fitting computation and calculation.

78-B-9. BOOK III. SECTION 6. HERESY 75[o]

III. [. . .] The teaching of Aerius—a teaching that is mad and horrible— 1927
exceeds human comprehension. He asks, "In what does a bishop differ from a presbyter? There is no difference between them. Both share one and the same order, the same honor, the same dignity. The bishop imposes hands; also the presbyter. The bishop baptizes; also the presbyter. The bishop presides at all worship; also the presbyter. The bishop sits on his throne; also the presbyter." In this Aerius has led many of the people into error. [. . .]

IV. Can a presbyter be called an equal of the bishop? To be sure, some 1928
excessive boldness or ambition has deceived Aerius. The following is his objection; it is that of those who deceive themselves as well as their listeners: "The apostle writes that presbyters and deacons make up the clergy, not bishops." Speaking to a bishop, he says, "Neglect not the gift that is within you, the gift you received through the imposition of the hands of the presbyterate."[1] Elsewhere the apostle speaks of "bishops and deacons"[2] so that the bishop seems to be the same as a presbyter. To be sure, Aerius was ignorant of the lineage of the truth. He was not well-versed in true history. He failed to grasp that the apostle, living at a time when the teaching of Christian truth was still recent, wrote according to the circumstances of the time; for when new bishops were made, he wrote

k. Polycarp (ca. 69–ca. 155/156): bishop of Smyrna (WEC 1:12).

l. Victor: bishop of Rome 189–98.

m. Alexander: bishop of Alexandria 312–28.

n. Council of Nicaea (see note i above).

o. The heretics treated under Heresy 75 are the Aerians, who denied any distinction in rank between presbyter and bishop; they also refused to practice the prescribed days of fasting.

1. 1 Tim 4:14. 2. Phlm 1:1.

to the "bishops and deacons." Often enough the apostles were incapable of doing everything. In the beginning labor was entrusted to presbyters and deacons, both being able to administer the Church's affairs. And when no one appeared worthy to be made a bishop, then no one was created a bishop for that place. But once necessity required it and there was no lack of worthy candidates, then bishops were created. Where there was no great multitude and where none could be found who might be made presbyters, the people were limited to a bishop only. There can be no bishop without a deacon. And so the apostle saw to it that when the thanksgiving is offered, deacons should attend the bishop. [. . .]

1929 VII. Can anything be more useful and reasonable than our custom of remembering the deceased? Its main purpose is to persuade those who are still with us that the souls of the dead are alive; they have not been destroyed. A further purpose of these prayers is to show that we have a good hope for the deceased. These prayers not only benefit the living but also are even more advantageous for the dead. Although not all sins are removed, such prayers benefit some of the sins committed in this world. We recall both sinners and the righteous: the first, to request God's mercy on their behalf; as to the righteous, we commemorate the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, anchorites, and all Christians—doing so we distinguish between Jesus Christ and all creatures, giving him due worship. [. . .]

78-B-10. BOOK III. SECTION 7. HERESY 79[p]

1930 III. [. . .] Successors to the bishops and presbyters in the house of God were appointed by the bishop of Jerusalem and by other bishops. No woman was appointed among them. [. . .] If it were determined that women should become priests or have any canonical function in the Catholic Church, then Mary herself, if anyone, should have ministered as a priest in the New Testament. [. . .] Even she was not permitted to baptize. [. . .] To be sure, there is an order of deaconesses in the Church. Its purpose is not that women be priests or do any type of official [liturgical?] work. Deaconesses exist to preserve the modesty of the female sex, either when women are baptized or when there is the question of examining the sick or the suffering. In this way a woman's naked body may not be seen by men administering the holy rites but only by the deaconess appointed by the priest, the deaconess who will attend the woman when the woman's garments are removed. The prescription as to modesty is the result of a purposeful rule, one determined by church discipline and by the canons. Wherefore the Scriptures do not allow a woman to speak in church or to exercise authority over men.[3] [. . .]

---

p. The heretics treated in Heresy 79 are the Collyridians, a fourth-century group of women in Arabia who offered twice-baked bread to the Virgin Mary.

3. See 1 Cor 14:34.

78-C. On Faith†

The treatise *On Faith* (*Expositio Fidei*), a doctrinal summary of what Christians believe and containing twenty-four brief chapters, appears at the end of the *Panarion.*

XXI. [. . .] The Church does not allow a man who has married a second 1931
time to advance to the priesthood, not even if he refrains from his wife or is a widower. He is likewise denied the rank of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and subdeacon. After these grades is that of the reader, who can be selected from all ranks, namely, from among virgins, monks, those who are continent, widows, and those bound by a lawful marriage. To be sure, if necessity requires, to be approved as readers are those who after the death of a previous spouse marry again; certainly a reader is not a priest but is, as it were, a scribe of God's word. Deaconesses are used only for the sake of grace and respectability; they assist women, should this be necessary, whether when these women are initiated at baptism or when their bodies are examined. Deaconesses are to have been married only once and then being widowed they are to be chaste. Or they are always to have been virgins. Next are the exorcists and those who translate either the readings or the sermons from one language to another. Next are those who care for the bodies of the deceased. Then come the doorkeepers and the other ranks that have been established for the sake of good order.

XXII. Long ago the apostles determined that assemblies and synaxes are 1932
to be held especially on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday. On Wednesday and Friday there is a fast till the ninth hour: on Wednesday because on this day the Lord was arrested, and on Friday since this was the day of his crucifixion. And so the apostles ordered that a fast be observed on these days so as to fulfill what was written, "The day will come when the bridegroom will be taken away from them; then they will fast on these days."[1] It is not to please him who suffered for our sake. No, the fasts were instituted so that we, for the sake of our salvation, may proclaim that the passion our Lord suffered for us might bring about our salvation and so that God might view these fasts as expiating our sins. Long ago the Catholic Church diligently observed a fast of this kind up till the ninth hour on Wednesdays throughout the year and on Fridays, but not during the fifty days of Pentecost, a time when there is no kneeling or fasting. Replacing the Wednesday and Friday services are those held early Sunday morning. There is no fasting [or kneeling] during the fifty days of Pentecost; nor is there fasting on the Epiphany, the day when our Lord was born in the flesh, not even if this day should fall on a Wednesday or on a Friday. Yet those striving after perfection, doing so admirably and laudably, take upon themselves continuous fasting and observe vigils except on Sundays

† Translated from PG 42:823ff.

1. Luke 5:35.

and the days of Pentecost. The Catholic Church has sanctified all Sundays as joyful feasts and established solemn gatherings during the morning hours; on these days there is no fasting, and so it is foolish to fast on the Lord's Day. The Church habitually observes *Quadragesima* before the seven days of the Pascha, fasting each day but never on Sundays. [. . .]

1933 In addition, in the evening during the six days before the Pasch all the people eat dry food—namely, taking only bread, salt, and water. Some extend the fast for two, three, even four days. Others go the whole week without food till dawn on the following Sunday. They keep vigil on Saturday, celebrating synaxes on Saturday and throughout *Quadragesima* from the ninth hour till evening. But in some places they keep vigil only from Friday dawn till the Saturday evening before the Lord's Day. In other places there is worship at the ninth hour on Thursday, and thus the people cease fasting. Elsewhere the divine mysteries are celebrated only on Sunday, the vigil concluding at cockcrow on the feast of the Resurrection. It is on this solemn and celebrated day that, as prescribed, there is a festal assembly. The various other mysteries, namely, baptism and the secret rites, are carried out in accordance with the tradition of the Gospel and according to apostolic authority.

1934 XXIII. As to the deceased, they are mentioned by name; there are prayers and worship. In addition to the morning hymns, in the Catholic Church there are also the morning prayers, these being said with the utmost of zeal; likewise the evening psalms and prayers. [. . .]

1935 XXIV. [. . .] The Church accepts baptism in Christ as replacing outmoded circumcision; the repose of the great Sabbath replaces the small Sabbath. [. . .] The Church accepts offerings from those who have not injured anyone and live in a righteous way. It enjoins that night and day assiduous and most frequent prayers to God be fervently poured forth on the appointed days, days when all are to kneel. Long ago in some places holy gatherings and synaxes were also to take place on Saturday. Not all observed this; only the more pious. [. . .]

79. *ANAPHORA OF ADDAI AND MARI*[†]

One of the most intriguing anaphoras that have come down to us is that entitled the *Anaphora of Addai and Mari.* This prayer's oldest manuscripts date from about the sixteenth century; yet many scholars assign the primitive text as belonging to a period between the second and fourth centuries, with others dating it in the fifth century. The attribution to Addai and Mari, supposedly the founders of Christianity in Mesopotamia (today Iraq), first appears in the eleventh century; formerly the formula was simply called the *Anaphora of the Apostles.*

[†] Translation with slight modifications from Jasper 42–45. The text is that found in the church of Mar Eshaya, Mosul. Sections in brackets [. . .] are from other manuscripts.

Among the interesting features of the anaphora is that it lacks an institution narrative, a fact that raises the question as to whether this absence is the result of later editing (e.g., B. Botte) or textual corruption, or whether this lack is original. In time, however, an institution narrative was added either to the anaphora itself or to the pre-Communion prayers in the liturgies of the Malabarese and Chaldean Christians in communion with Rome. Furthermore, the person to whom the prayer is addressed seems to waver between God the Father and God the Son, this giving rise to speculation that the formula was initially addressed to the Son alone.

Scholars, in a search to arrive at an "original" text, have attempted to unravel the additions or interpolations made to the prayer. Various scholars have suggested that the following structural elements were added through the centuries: the *Sanctus*, certain intercessions, the epiclesis, the paragraph "And we also, Lord," which may or may not be understood as an anamnesis.

The homeland of the anaphora is eastern Syria, an area that for centuries was somewhat isolated from the West and resisted various attempts to bring it into conformity with the practices not only of Christian Europe but also of Constantinople. In light of such a semi-isolationist religious conservatism and considering that the prayer itself is characterized by such Semitic literary devices as textual parallelism and redundancy, a strong case has been made for linking the origins of this anaphora to Jewish practice, either that of the Jewish meal prayers or that of the Jewish synagogue morning service.

Recent research takes into account the Maronite anaphora known as the *Sharer* or the *Anaphora of Peter the Apostle*,[a] which shows a close relationship with the Addai and Mari textual tradition.

CE 1:136–37 * DPAC 1:49–50 * EEC 10–11 * EEChr 1:19–20 * NCE 3:431 * NCES 1:112–13 * ODCC 17

TEXT AND EDITIONS

F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1 (London, 1896) 245–305. * J.E.Y. Kelaita, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East* (Mossul, 1928) [English]. * A. Hänggi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgicis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg i. S., 1968) 375–80 [Latin]. * L. Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* (Collegeville, 1979) 155–63 [English]. * B.D. Spinks, *Addai and Mari—The Anaphora of the Apostles: A Text for Students*, Grove Liturgical Study 24 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1980) [English]. * Jasper 124–28 [English]. * A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford, 1992).

STUDIES (MANY OF THESE ALSO INCLUDE THE TEXT.)

R.H. Connolly and E. Bishop, "The Work of Menzenes on the Malabar Liturgy," JThSt 15 (1914) 396–425, 569–89. * E.C. Ratcliff, "The Original Form of the

a. A Latin translation of this anaphora is given by Hänggi 410–15. An English version is found in Jasper 45–51 as well as in Spinks, *Addai and Mari* 15–23.

Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion," JThSt 30 (1928–29) 23–32. * H. Engberding, "Urgestalt, Eingenart und Entwicklung eines altantiochenischen eucharistischen Hochgebetes," OC 29 (1932) 32–48. * A. Raes, "Le récit de l'institution eucharistique dans l'anaphore chaldéenne et malabre des apôtres," OCP 10 (1944) 216–26. * Dix 177–87. * B. Botte, "L'anaphore chaldéenne des apôtres," OCP 15 (1949) 259–76 [Latin]. * B. Botte, "L'épiclèse dans les liturgies syriennes orientales," SE 6 (1954) 48–72. * B. Botte, "Problèmes de l'anamnèse," JEH 5 (1954) 16–24. * H. Engberding, "Zum anaphorischen Fürbittgebet der ostsyrischen Liturgie der Apostel Addaj und Mar(j)," OC 41 (1957) 102–24. * D. Webb, "Antonio de Gouvea's Version of the Nestorian Liturgy of the Apostles," SP 5 (1962) 213–40. * B. Botte, "Problèmes de l'anaphore syrienne des apôtres Addai et Mari," OrSyr 10 (1965) 89–106 [French]. * W.F. Macomber, "The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari," OCP 32 (1966) 335–71 [Syriac and Latin]. * D. Webb, "Variations dans les versions manuscrites de la liturgie nestorienne d'Addai et de Mari," SE 18 (1967/1968) 478–523. * Bouyer 146ff. * A. Raes, "The Enigma of the Chaldean and Malabar Anaphora of the Apostles," in J. Vellian, *The Malabar Church*, 1–8, OCA 186 (Rome, 1970). * D. Webb, "La liturgie nestorienne des Apôtres Addai et Mari dans la tradition manuscrites," in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. B. Botte, LO 47 (Paris, 1970) 25–49. * W.F. Macomber, "The Maronite and Chaldean Versions of the Anaphora of the Apostles," OCP 37 (1971) 55–84. * J. Vellian, "The Anaphoral Structure of Addai and Mari Compared to the Berakoth Preceding the Shema in the Synagogue Morning Service," Mus 85 (1972) 201–23. * E. Cutrone, "The Anaphora of the Apostles: Implications of the Mar Esa'ya Text," TS 34:4 (December 1973) 624–42 [English]. * R.J. Galvin, "Addai and Mari Revisited: The State of the Question," EphL 87 (1973) 383–414. * G. Vavanikunnel, *Die eucharistische Katechese der Anaphore der Apostel Mar Addai und Mar Mari in der syro-malabarischen Kirche gestern und heute* (Würzburg, 1976). * J.M. Sanchez Caro, "La anafora de Addai y Mari y la anafora meronita Sarrar: intento de reconstruccion de la fuente primitiva comun," OCP 43 (1977) 41–69. * B.D. Spinks, "The Original Form of the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Suggestion in the Light of Maronite Sharar," EphL 91 (1977) 146–61. * H.A.J. Wegman, "Pleidooi voor een Teskst de Anaphora van de Apostelen Addai en Mari," *Bijdragen* 40 (1979) 15–43. * A. Verheul, "La prière eucharistique de Addaï et Mari," QLP 61:1 (January–March 1980) 19–27; repr. in QL 80 (1999) 348–57 [French]. * B. Spinks, "Priesthood and Offering in the Kussape of the East Syrian Anaphoras," StudLit 15 (1981/1983) 104–17. * W.F. Macomber, "The Ancient Form of the Anaphora of the Apostles," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N.G. Garsoïan (Washington, D.C., 1982) 73–88. * G. Cuming, "Four Very Early Anaphoras," Wor 58 (March 1984) 168–72. * B.D. Spinks, "Addai and Mari and the Institution Narrative: The Tantalising Evidence of Gabriel Qatraya," EphL 98 (1984) 60–67. * J. Magne, "L'anaphore nestorienne dite d'Adeé et Mari et l'anaphore maronite dite de Pierre III. Etude comparative," OCP 53 (1987) 145–47. * N. Marston, "A Solution to the Enigma of 'Addai and Mari,'" EphL 103 (1989) 79–91. * P.G. Cobb, "The Anaphora of Addai and Mari," in StLit, 217–19. * A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (New York, 1992) [Syriac, English]. * W.D. Ray, "The Chiastic Structure of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari," StudLit 23:2 (1993) 187–93. * S.H. Jammo, "Le Quddasha des Apôtres Addai et Mari: un lien avec l'époque apostolique," Ist 40 (1995) 106–20. * P. Hofrichter, "L'anaphore d'Addai et Mari dans l'Eglise de l'Orient: une eucharistie sans récit d'institution," Ist 40 (1995) 95–105. * S.B. Wilson, "The Anaphora of the Apostles

Addai and Mari," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 19–37. * M. Stylianos, "A Brief Overview of the Structure and Theology of the Liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari," GOTR 43 (1998) 59–83.

Priest: Peace be with you. 1936
Answer: And with you and your spirit.
Priest: The grace of our Lord [Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with us all now and for ever world without end.[1]]
Answer: Amen.
Priest: Up with your minds.
Answer: They are with you, O God.
Priest: The oblation is offered to God, the Lord of all.
Answer: It is fitting and right.

The priest says privately: Worthy of glory from every mouth and thanks- 1937
giving from every tongue is the adorable and glorious name[2] of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He created the world through his grace and its inhabitants in his compassion, he saved all people through his mercy, and gave great grace to mortals.

Your majesty, O Lord, a thousand thousand heavenly beings adore; myr- 1938
iad myriads of angels, and ranks of spiritual beings, ministers of fire and of spirit together with the holy cherubim and seraphim glorify your name, crying out and glorifying [unceasingly calling to one another and saying]:

People: Holy, holy, [holy, Lord God almighty, heaven and earth are full of 1939
his praises].

The priest says privately: And with these heavenly armies we, yes we 1940
your lowly, weak, and miserable servants, Lord, give you thanks because you have brought about us a great grace which cannot be repaid. You took upon yourself our human nature in order to give us life through your divine nature; you raise us from our lowly state; you restored our Fall; you restored our immortality; you forgave our debts; you justified our sinfulness; you enlightened our understanding. You, our Lord and our God, conquered our enemies, and made the lowliness of our weak nature to triumph through the abundant mercy of your grace.

[*aloud*] And for all [your help and grace toward us, let us raise to you 1941
praise and honor and thanksgiving and worship, now and ever and world without end]. *People:* Amen.

The priest says privately: You, Lord, through your many mercies which 1942
cannot be told, be graciously mindful of all the pious and righteous fathers who were pleasing in your sight, in the commemoration of the Body and Blood of your Christ, which we offer to you on the pure and holy altar, as you taught us.

1. See 2 Cor 3:13. 2. See Phil 2:9–11.

1943 And grant us your tranquility and your peace for all the days of this age [*repeat*]. *People:* Amen. That all the inhabitants of the earth may know you, that you alone are the true God and Father, and you sent our Lord Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, and he, our Lord and our God, taught us through his life-giving gospel all the purity and holiness of the prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons, and all sons of the holy Catholic Church who have been sealed with the living seal of holy baptism.[b]

1944 And we also, Lord, [thrice] your lowly, weak, and miserable servants, who have gathered and stand before you, [and] have received through tradition the form which is from you, rejoicing, glorifying, exalting, commemorating, and celebrating this great mystery of the passion, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.[c]

1945 May your Holy Spirit, Lord, come and rest on this offering of your servants, and bless and sanctify it that it may be to us, Lord, for remission of debts, forgiveness of sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all who have been pleasing in your sight.

1946 And because of all your wonderful dispensations towards us, with open mouths and uncovered faces we give you thanks and glorify you without ceasing in your Church, which has been redeemed by the precious blood of your Christ, offering up [praise, honor, thanksgiving, and adoration to your living and life-giving name, now and at all times for ever and ever]. *People:* Amen.

80. SYNODS

80-A. Synod of Antioch (341)†

In the autumn of 341 and on the occasion of the dedication of Constantine's Golden Church in Antioch, a synod of eastern bishops was held; this meeting is known as the "Dedication Council." The twenty-five canons often ascribed to this synod, however, are, as many believe, most probably the work of an earlier episcopal gathering at Antioch in 330.

CPG 4: nos. 8556ff. * Hefele (1871) 2:56–82 * Hefele (1905) 1.2:702–33 * CATH 1:652 * DCA 1:92 * DDC 1:589–98 * DDCon 1:48 * DHGE 3:572 * DPAC 1:234 * DTC 1.2:1433–34 * EC 1:1467–68 * EEC 1:49 * ODCC 78

1947 Canon 1. All who dare to act contrary to the command of the great and holy synod that assembled at Nicaea in the presence of the Emperor Constantine, loved by God, in regard to the holy and salutary feast of the

b. Botte places the institution narrative here.

c. In most manuscripts this paragraph contains no main verb.

† Canons translated from DGA 104–12.

Pasch, shall be excommunicated from and rejected by the Church if they obstinately persist in their opposition to this most excellent decision.[a] This applies to the laity. But if after this decree any of the Church's officials, bishops, presbyters, or deacons still dare to celebrate the feast of the Pasch with the Jews, and to follow their own perverse will to the ruin of the people and the disturbances of the Church, the holy synod considers them from that time on as separated from the Church because they not only sin themselves but are the cause of corruption and confusion for many; the synod not only deposes such clerics from their offices but also all who after their deposition shall dare communicate with them. The deposed shall also be deprived of the external honors merited by the holy canon and by God's priesthood.

Canon 2. All who enter the church of God and hear the sacred Scriptures 1948
but do not join the people in prayer[b] or, lacking restraint, turn away from sharing in the Eucharist shall be excommunicated from the Church till they have done penance, shown forth the fruits of penance, and by their prayers have obtained pardon. It is not permitted to associate with those who have been excommunicated[c] or to assemble in private houses for prayer with those who do not pray with the Church or to receive into one church those who have been excluded from another. If a bishop, a presbyter, a deacon, or another cleric associates with the excommunicated, he shall also be excommunicated because he disturbs the ecclesiastical order.

Canon 5. Should any presbyter or deacon, despising his bishop, separate 1949
himself from the Church, form a separate community, set up an altar, refuse to listen to the warnings of his bishop, and refuse to obey, even though summoned once or twice, he will be completely deposed, have no further remedy, and be unable to regain his office. [. . .]

Canon 10. According to the decree of the holy synod the bishops of vil- 1950
lages and country places, namely, the chorbishops,[d] even though consecrated bishops, are to know their appointed limits and govern only the churches subject to them and be content with caring for and guiding them. They shall not appoint readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, nor shall they presume to ordain a priest or deacon[e] without permission of the bishop of the city to which the chorbishop himself and the whole district is subject. Whoever dares to disobey these rules will be deposed and deprived of his office. The chorbishop is to be appointed by the bishop of the city to which he is subject.

---

a. Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 1 can. 1 (WEC 2:880); Carthage V (401) can. 73 (WEC 3:2747); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 78 (WEC 3:3103); Orleans IV (541) can. 1 (WEC 4:4615).

b. See Agde (506) can. 47 (WEC 4:4562); Orleans I (511) can. 26 (WEC 4:4571); Orleans III (538) can. 32 (WEC 4:4612); Narbonne (589) can. 12 (WEC 4:4659).

c. See Irish Synod I (between 450 and 456) can. 28 (WEC 3:3179).

d. See WEC 2:71-A, note c.

e. See Ancyra (314) can. 13 (WEC 2:1431); Riez (439) can. 3 (WEC 3:3121).

80-B. Synod of Gangra (ca. 345)[†]

Held in Gangra in Paphlagomia (present-day Cankiri in Turkey), this synod is of uncertain date, perhaps ca. 345. The fourteen bishops attending issued twenty canons directed against a rigorist and false asceticism espoused by the followers of a certain Eustathius of Sebaste. Among other practices, the Eustathians rejected marriage, fasted on Sundays, and held their own liturgical assemblies.

CPG 4: nos. 8553ff. * Hefele (1871) 2:325–39 * Hefele (1905) 1.2:1029–45 * CATH 4:1745–46 * CE 6:377 * DCA 1:709–10 * DDCon 2:100–101 * DDC 5:935–38 * DPAC 2:1435 * EEC 1:337 * LTK 4:288–89 * NCE 6:279 * NCES 6:88–89 * ODCC 654–55

T.D. Barnes, "The Date of the Council of Gangra," JThSt, n.s., 40 (1989) 121–24. * A. Laniado, "Note sur la datation conservée en syriaque du Concile de Gangres," OCP 61 (1995) 195–99.

1951 Canon 4. If any maintain that when a married presbyter offers the sacrifice no one should participate, let them be anathema.

1952 Canon 5. If any teach that the house of God as well as the assemblies held there are to be despised, let them be anathema.

1953 Canon 6. If any hold assemblies outside the churches and do what only the Church can do, with the presbyter refusing permission and the bishop agreeing with him, let them be anathema.

1954 Canon 11. If any despise those who in the spirit of faith prepare an *agape* and in honor of the Lord invite their brethren to it, and if they do not respond to these invitations because they are considered as being of no importance, let them be anathema.

1955 Canon 18. If any under the pretext of asceticism fast on Sunday,[a] let them be anathema.

80-C. Synod of Laodicea (between 343 and 381)[††]

Some suggest that these canons are apocryphal, being the product of the late fourth or the fifth century. Others postulate that they do indeed derive from a synod held at Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatania, a synod whose date is difficult to determine. Certainly such a meeting would be post-Nicene, probably between 343 and 381. Its sixty canons, found in both Latin and Greek canonical collections (and thus the text has come down to us in both these languages), treat many diverse aspects of liturgical practice. There

---

[†] Canons translated from DGA 1.2:91–96.

a. See Saragossa (ca. 380) can. 2 (WEC 2:1295); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 77 (WEC 3:3102); Agde (506) can. 12 (WEC 4:4549); Orleans IV (541) can. 2 (WEC 4:4616); Braga I (561) ser. 1 can. 4 (WEC 4:4737); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 57 (WEC 4:4692).

[††] Canons translated from DGA 1.2:131–56.

is reason to believe that canon 60, listing the approved books to be read in the liturgical assembly, is a later addition.

CPG 4: no. 8607 * Hefele (1871) 2:295–325 * Hefele (1905) 1.2:989–1028 * Jurgens 1:315–19 * CATH 6:1818–19 * CE 8:794 * DCA 1:928–30 * DDC 6:338–43 * DDCon 2:227–29 * DPAC 2:1898–99 * DTC 8.2:2611–15 * EEC 1:472–73 * EEChr 2:663 * ODCC 950–51

R. Gryson, "Les élections épiscopales en Orient au IVe siècle," RHE 74 (1979) 301–45.

Canon 2. Sinners of various kinds who have persevered in the prayer of confession and penance and who have completely turned away from evil shall, after a time of penance that is proportionate to the seriousness of their sins, be again received into communion due to the mercy and goodness of God. 1956

Canon 3. Those who have been recently baptized are not to be raised to the clerical office.[a] 1957

Canon 5. Ordinations are not to take place in the presence of the hearers.[b] 1958

Canon 6. Heretics as long as they continue in heresy may not enter the house of God. 1959

Canon 7. Heretics returning from the Novatian,[c] Photinian,[d] or Quartodeciman[e] heresies, whether they are among the catechumens or among the faithful, shall not be received till they have anathematized all heresies, especially those in which they were involved. Those among them whom these sects call "the faithful" may be allowed to participate in the holy mysteries as soon as they learn the creed and receive the anointing with the holy chrism.[f] 1960

Canon 8. Those converting from the heresy of the so-called Phrygians[g] are to be most carefully instructed in religion; they are also to be baptized by the bishops and presbyters of the Church. This rule is to be observed even 1961

a. See Nicaea I (325) can. 2 (WEC 2:1448); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 1 (WEC 3:3139).

b. See WEC 2:71-A, note b. Some understand this canon as forbidding the presence of the hearers at the session during which the candidates for ordination were examined.

c. Novatians: a rigorist group that arose out of the Decian persecution in 249–50.

d. Photinus: a fourth-century heretic whose followers were condemned at the Council of Constantinople (WEC 2:71-D).

e. Quartodecimans: Christians who celebrated the Christian Pasch or Easter always on the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan and not on the following Sunday.

f. Orange I (441) can. 1 (WEC 3:3123); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 17, 26 (WEC 3:3145, 3148); Epaon (517) can. 16 (WEC 4:4576).

g. The name given to the Montanists, an apocalyptic ascetic group. Its founder, Montanus, first began to prophecy in Phrygia.

by those who were part of the so-called clergy of this heresy and who were among its leading members.

1962 Canon 9. Members of the Church shall not be allowed, for purposes of prayer or worship, to go into cemeteries[h] or places called *martyria*[i] belonging to any heretical group whatever. The faithful who do so will be excommunicated for a time; but if they do penance and acknowledge their fault, they shall again be received.

1963 Canon 10. Members of the Church shall not indiscriminately give their children in marriage to heretics.

1964 Canon 11. Those called *presbyterae* or *praesidentes* are not to be appointed in the church.[j k]

1965 Canon 13. The selection of those to be appointed to the priesthood shall not rest with the people.[l]

1966 Canon 14. During the Easter season the Eucharist is no longer to be sent to foreign dioceses as *eulogia*.[m]

1967 Canon 15. Except for those who mount the ambo and sing from the book, no others are allowed to sing in church.[n o]

1968 Canon 16. On Saturday the Gospels and other sections of the Scripture will be read.[p]

1969 Canon 17. At the gathering of the people the psalms are no longer to be sung immediately one after another, but a lesson is to be read after each psalm.

1970 Canon 18. The same service of prayers shall take place everywhere at the ninth hour as in the evening.[q]

1971 Canon 19. After the bishop's homily the prayer for the catechumens will be said separately; after the departure of the catechumens prayers will be

---

h. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 35 (WEC 2:1282).

i. *Martyrium*: name given to a church built over the grave of a martyr or, at times, a church built in honor of a martyr.

j. Although the precise meaning of this canon has given rise to much discussion, there seems to be general agreement that the canon concerns deaconesses and not female presbyters. See Hefele (1871) 2:305–7; Jurgens 1:318.

k. See Nicaea I (325) can. 19 (WEC 2:1456); Nîmes (394) can. 2 (WEC 2:1226); Orange I (441) can. 25 (WEC 3:3136); Chalcedon (451) can. 15 (WEC 3:3379); Epaon (517) can. 21 (WEC 4:4577); Orleans II (533) can. 18 (WEC 4:4600).

l. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 20 (WEC 2:884); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 10 (WEC 3:3072); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 1 (WEC 4:4675).

m. For an explanation of this canon see Hefele (1871) 2:308–9. For a listing of the many meanings of *eulogia* (literally "to speak well" or "to bless") see EEC 1:297.

n. See *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 45 (WEC 4:4682).

o. It is generally agreed that this canon refers to singing by an appointed soloist, not to the singing of the people as a whole.

p. Namely, that on Saturday (as well as on Sunday) the liturgy is to be celebrated.

q. See Hefele (1871) 2:311.

offered for those doing penance; and when these also have received the imposition of hands and have left, then three prayers are said for the faithful: the first silently, the second and third aloud. The [kiss of] peace is then given. After the presbyters have given the [kiss of] peace to the bishop, the laity give the same to one another, and the holy sacrifice is offered. Only clerics are allowed to approach the altar[r] and there to receive Communion.

Canon 20. A deacon may not sit in the presence of a presbyter[s] unless bidden to do so by the presbyter. In like manner the deacons shall be honored by the ministers and all clerics. 1972

Canon 21. Subdeacons shall not have a place in the *diaconicum*,[t] nor are they to touch the sacred vessels.[u] 1973

Canon 22. A subdeacon is not to wear the *orarion*[v] nor leave the doors unattended. 1974

Canon 23. Readers and cantors are not to wear the *orarion* while reading or singing. 1975

Canon 24. No cleric—from a presbyter to a deacon, and so on in churchly orders, to subdeacons, readers, cantors, exorcists, door-keepers, or any class of ascetics—is to frequent a tavern. 1976

Canon 25. Subdeacons may not distribute the bread or bless the cup.[w] 1977

Canon 26. Those lacking the bishop's appointment may not exorcise,[x] whether in churches or in private homes. 1978

Canon 28. The so-called *agape* shall not be held in the Lord's houses or churches; nor is it permitted to eat or to place couches in the house of God. 1979

Canon 29. Christians shall not judaize nor shall they rest on Saturday but shall work on that day; the Lord's Day they will especially honor. Being Christians, they shall if possible do no work on that day.[y] However, if they are found to be judaizing, then before Christ they shall be anathema. 1980

Canon 31. Christians are not to marry heretics. They shall neither take them nor their children in marriage, nor shall they give their sons or daughters in marriage to them until the latter promise to become Christians. 1981

---

r. See Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 13 (WEC 4:4748); Tours II (567) can. 4 (WEC 4:4623).

s. See Nicaea I (325) can. 18 (WEC 2:1455); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 15 (WEC 4:3144); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 4 (WEC 4:4727).

t. The *diaconicum* would presumably be the room in which the various liturgical vessels and garments were placed, namely, the sacristy.

u. See *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 41 (WEC 4:4680).

v. See Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 9 (WEC 4:4744). In the Eastern Churches the *orarion* is the stole hung over the deacon's left shoulder.

w. To "bless the cup" appears to be an idiomatic expression for "to present the cup."

x. See Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 64, 95 (WEC 3:3096, 3114); Braga II (572) can. 1 (WEC 4:4755).

y. See Orleans III (538) can. 31 (WEC 4:4611); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 16 (WEC 4:4640); Mâcon II (585) can. 1 (WEC 4:4651); Narbonne (589) can. 4 (WEC 4:4657).

1982 Canon 32. The *eulogiae*[z] of the heretics shall not be accepted, for they are *alogiai* [absurdities] rather than *eulogiae* [blessings].

1983 Canon 33. No one shall pray together with heretics and schismatics.[aa]

1984 Canon 34. No Christian is to forsake the martyrs of Christ and turn to false martyrs, namely, those of the heretics, or to the leaders of the heretics, for these are far from God. Whoever goes over to them shall be excommunicated.

1985 Canon 35. Christians shall not forsake the Church of God and turn to the worship of angels, thus having gatherings in their honor. This is forbidden. Those who devote themselves to this hidden idolatry, let them be anathema because they have forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to idolatry.

1986 Canon 37. No one shall accept festal presents from Jews and heretics or celebrate feasts with them.

1987 Canon 38. No one shall accept unleavened bread from the Jews or share in their impiety.

1988 Canon 39. No one shall participate in the feasts of the heathens[bb] or take part in their impiety.

1989 Canon 43. Subdeacons may not leave the doors even for a short time, not even to pray.

1990 Canon 44. Women may not go near the altar.[cc]

1991 Canon 45. After the second week of Lent no one shall be received for baptism.[dd]

1992 Canon 46. Those to be baptized shall learn the creed by heart and on Thursday recite it before the bishop or the presbyters.[ee]

1993 Canon 47. Those who have been baptized during an illness and then recover shall learn the creed by heart and be made to understand that they have received a divine gift.

1994 Canon 48. The baptized shall after baptism be anointed with the heavenly chrism[ff] and become participants in the kingdom of Christ.

---

z. For *eulogia* see note m above.

aa. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 82 (WEC 3:3105); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 70 (WEC 4:4698).

bb. See Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 1 (WEC 4:4629); Tours II (567) can. 23 (WEC 4:4627).

cc. See Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 13 (WEC 4:4748); Tours II (567) can. 4 (WEC 4:4623); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 42 (WEC 4:4681).

dd. See Irish Synod II (after 456) can. 19 (WEC 3:3180); Agde (506) can. 13 (WEC 4:4550); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 18 (WEC 4:4641); Gerunda (517) can. 4 (WEC 4:4720); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 49 (WEC 4:4684); Mâcon II (585) can. 3 (WEC 4:4653).

ee. See Agde (506) can. 13 (WEC 4:4550); Braga II (572) can. 1 (WEC 4:4755).

ff. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 77 (WEC 2:1294); Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Riez (439) can. 3 (WEC 3:3121); Orange I (441) can. 2 (WEC 3:3124); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757).

Canon 49. During Lent the bread will be offered only on Saturday and Sunday.[gg] 1995

Canon 50. The fast is not to be relaxed on Thursday of the last week of Lent,[hh] thereby dishonoring the whole season. It is to be strictly observed throughout the whole period. 1996

Canon 51. During Lent no anniversaries of the martyrs are to be celebrated, but the holy martyrs are to be commemorated on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent. 1997

Canon 52. No wedding or birthday shall be celebrated during Lent. 1998

Canon 53. When attending weddings Christians shall not clap and dance but shall partake of the meal or breakfast with a modesty becoming Christians.[ii] 1999

Canon 56. Presbyters shall not enter and be seated in the *bema*[jj] before the entrance of the bishop, but they shall always come in after the bishop unless he is ill or has departed.[kk] 2000

Canon 58. No sacrifices are to be offered in private homes by bishops or presbyters.[ll] 2001

Canon 59. No psalms composed by private individuals are to be read in church;[mm] nor are the uncanonical books but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments.[nn] 2002

Canon 60. These are the books of the Old Testament appointed to be read: (1) Genesis of the world; (2) the Exodus from Egypt; (3) Leviticus; (4) Numbers; (5) Deuteronomy; (6) Joshua, the son of Nun; (7) Judges, Ruth; (8) Esther; (9) First and Second [Books] of Kings; (10) Third and Fourth [Books] of Kings; (11) First and Second [Books] of Paralipomenon; (12) First and Second [Books] of Ezdras; (13) the Book of the 150 Psalms; (14) the Proverbs of Solomon; (15) Ecclesiastes; (16) the Song of Songs; (17) Job; (18) the Twelve Prophets; (19) Isaiah; (20) Jeremiah and Baruch, the Lamentations and the Letters; (21) Ezekiel; (22) Daniel. The books of the New Testament are these: four Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles; the seven Catholic Epistles, namely, one 2003

---

gg. Namely, during Lent the liturgy is celebrated only on Saturday and Sunday.

hh. See *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 50 (WEC 4:4685).

ii. See Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320) can. 7 (WEC 2:1439); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 11 (WEC 3:3162); Agde (506) can. 39 (WEC 4:4559).

jj. The Greek word *bema* has a number of meanings: it was a raised space upon which the presbyters were seated, or upon which the Scriptures were proclaimed, or upon which the altar was placed, etc.

kk. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 12 (WEC 3:3073).

ll. Dvin (527) can. 16 (WEC 4:4843); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 3 (WEC 4:4631).

mm. See Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 12 (WEC 4:4747); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 67 (WEC 4:4696); Tours II (567) can. 24 (WEC 4:4628).

nn. Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 36-a (WEC 2:892); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 67 (WEC 4:4696).

of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude; the fourteen Epistles of Paul—one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus, one to Philemon.[oo pp]

PALESTINE

81. EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS OF CAESAREA

Born ca. 260 in Palestine and probably at Caesarea, Eusebius studied in that city under Pamphilus, who continued the theological tradition of Origen. So grateful was Eusebius to Pamphilus that he assumed his teacher's name, thus becoming *Eusebius Pamphilii*, namely, "Eusebius son of Pamphilus." When the persecution of 303 began, he fled to Tyre and then to Egypt, where he was imprisoned for several months. After the edict of toleration (311) Eusebius returned to Caesarea, where he was ordained bishop (ca. 313).

From the very beginning of his years as bishop Eusebius was involved in the Arian controversy. There can be little doubt that he strongly leaned toward the position of the Arians and strongly rejected the *homoousios* of Athanasius (WEC 2:90). Yet some consider him to have been more of a peacemaker. At any rate, Eusebius signed the decrees of the Council of Nicaea (WEC 2:71-C), although withholding internal consent. He did so to please the emperor, with whom he was close friends. In fact, Eusebius has been described as the perfect model of a "court" bishop.

Continuing to write on a vast variety of topics till very old age (d. ca. 340), Eusebius was neither a skilled author nor a great theologian. His fame and designation as the "Father of Church History" come from his ability to collect previous material that would have otherwise been lost, thereby giving us invaluable insights into the early centuries of Christianity.

CPG 2: nos. 3465ff. * Altaner (1961) 263–71 * Altaner (1966) 217–24 * Bardenhewer (1908) 245–53 * Bardenhewer (1910) 275–81 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:240–62 * Bardy (1929) 104–9 * Bautz 1:1561–64 * Campbell 43–46 * Goodspeed 191–95 * Hamell 93–95 * Jurgens 1:290–99 * Quasten 3:309–45 * Steidle 101–3, 251, 254 * Tixeront 185–90 * Wright (1932) 327 * CATH 4:702–7 * CE 5:617–22 * CHECL 266–73 * DACL 5.1:747–75 * DCB 2:308–48 * DHGE 15:1437–60 * DictSp 4.2:1687–90 * DPAC 1:1285–93 * DTC 5.2:1527–32 * EC 5:841–54 * EEC 1:299–301 * EEChr 1:399–402 * LTK 3:1007–9 * NCE 5:633–36 * NCES 5:451–54 * ODCC 574 * PEA (1894) 6.1:1370–1439 * PEA (1991) 4:310–11 * RACh 6:1052–88 * TRE 10:537–43

---

oo. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 36-b (WEC 2:892).

pp. Missing from this list are the Old Testament books of Judith, Tobias, Wisdom, Sirach, Maccabees; and from the New Testament, the book of Revelation.

F.H. Chase, "The Lord's Command to Baptize (St. Matthew xxxviii:19)," JThSt 6 (1904–5) 481–512. * F.J. Dölger, "Die Taufe Konstantins und ihre Probleme," RQ Supplementheft 19 (1913) 377–447. * B.H. Cuneo, "The Lord's Command to Baptize: An Historico-Critical Investigation with Special Reference to the Works of Eusebius of Caesarea," diss., Studies in Sacred Theology 21 (Washington, D.C., 1923). * J. de Ghellinck, "L'histoire du Symbole des Apôtres: à propos d'un texte d'Eusèbe," RSR 18 (1928) 118–25. * N. Zernov, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy at the End of the Second Century," ChQ 116 (1933) 24–41. * G. Florovsky, "Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy," CH 19 (1950) 77–96. * D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, "Eusebius and the Institution Narrative in the Eastern Liturgies," JThSt, n.s., 4 (1953) 41–42. * G. Bardy, "La théologie d'Eusèbe de Césarée d'après 'l'Histoire Ecclésiastique,'" RHE 50 (1955) 5–20. * B. Botte, "La question pascale: Pâque du vendredi ou Pâque du dimanche?" LMD, no. 41 (1955) 84–95. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * E. Ferguson, "Eusebius and Ordination," JEH 13 (1962) 139–44. * G.J.M. Bartelink, "'Maison de prière' comme dénomination de l'église en tant qu'édifice, en particulier chez Eusèbe de Césarée," REG 84 (1971) 101–18. * T.D. Barnes, "The Emperor Constantine's Good Friday Sermon," JThSt, n.s., 27 (1976) 414–23. * H.A. Drake, "Eusebius on the True Cross," JEH 36 (1985) 1–22. * P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places: Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 1990). * G. Florovsky, "Origène, Eusèbe et la controverse iconoclaste," Ist 39 (1994) 341–57.

81-A. Church History[†]

This, the most well-known of Eusebius's works, is largely a collection of materials pertaining to the history of the Church from its beginnings down to Constantine's victory over Licinius[a] in 324. Errors are not infrequent. The work, in ten books, possibly underwent various redactions, with the last three books being added to account for more recent events. The author's purpose is apologetic: to show how God has been at work in bringing the Church to its victory over the pagan State.

The original Greek still exists as well as versions in Syriac, Latin, and Armenian.

[Philo and the Therapeutes]

II.xvii.9. Then Philo[b] writes in regard to their dwelling places, and this 2004
is what he says about the churches in the area: "In each house there is a holy room called an oratory or monastery. It is there that the therapeutes[c]

[†] Translated from *Histoire ecclésiastique. Eusèbe de Césarée*, trans. and ed. G. Bardy, SChr 31, 41, 55, 73 (Paris, 1952–60).

a. Licinius (ca. 270–325): coemperor with Constantine; in charge of the East.

b. Philo (ca. 20 B.C.–ca. 50 A.D.): a Hellenistic Jewish writer and philosopher who lived in Alexandria.

c. Therapeutes: a pre-Christian monastic community of Egyptian Jewish ascetics, here mistakenly taken by Eusebius to be early followers of Christ.

go to celebrate the mysteries of the religious life. They bring nothing with them, neither drink nor nourishment, nothing needed by the body but only the laws and inspired oracles of the prophets, together with hymns, and other [books] that increase and perfect knowledge and godliness."[d]

2005 II.XVII.12. [. . .] "They not only engage in meditation but also perform songs and hymns to God in a variety of meters and melodies, although of necessity dividing them into solemn measures."[e]

2006 II.XVII.21. It is necessary to add an account of their gatherings in one place, or of their respective occupations, or of the separation between the men and the women, or of traditional practices still observed among us today, especially at the time of the feast of the Savior's passion when it is our custom to fast, to spend the night in prayer, and to meditate on God's words.

2007 II.XVII.22. All this the above-mentioned author indicates exactly; his account agrees with the usages that we observe still today, and he has included this information in his writings: the vigils kept at the time of the great feast; the religious practices observed during these vigils; the hymns we are accustomed to sing; how one person harmoniously sings in regular rhythm while the others listen in silence, singing with him only the last words of the hymn; how on appointed days they sleep on the ground upon beds of straw; and how they—to use Philo's very words—"taste no wine at all, nor any meat, but having only water to drink, and with their bread they take only salt and hyssop."

2008 II.XVII.23. Furthermore, Philo describes the order of precedence of those who perform the ecclesiastical liturgies, from the functions of the deacon to the presidency of the bishop who sits above all. Whoever desires to carefully study these things can learn them from the book by Philo that I have cited. [. . .]

[Sunday celebration]

2009 III.XXVIII.5. They [the Ebionites[f]] kept the Sabbath and observed other Jewish practices as did the Jews, but they celebrated Sundays in a manner close to our own, doing so in memory of the Savior's resurrection.

[Date of Easter]

2010 V.XXIII.1. In those days there arose a question certainly of no small importance since Christians throughout Asia, following a very ancient tradition, believed that they were to observe the fourteenth day of the moon as the Pasch of the Savior. This was the day when the Jews were to sacrifice the lamb and, according to them, it was absolutely necessary that their

---

d. *On the Contemplative Life*, III.25.

e. Ibid.

f. Ebionites: a sect of Jewish Christians existing in the early centuries of Christianity.

fast end on this day, no matter on which day of the week it occurred. But the churches in the rest of the world were not accustomed to observing in this fashion and, according to apostolic tradition, they followed the usage which still prevails, namely, that it was improper to conclude the fast on any day of the week other than that of our Savior's resurrection.

V.XXIII.2. Synods and assemblies of bishops were held regarding this. 2011
All were of one accord, formulating an ecclesiastical decree by means of a letter for all the faithful that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from among the dead should never be celebrated on a day other than Sunday and that on this day only would the fast conclude.

V.XXIII.3. We have the letter of those who gathered in Palestine over 2012
which presided Theophilus,[g] bishop of the Christians in Caesarea, and Narcisius,[h] bishop of Jerusalem. We likewise have a letter on the same question by those who gathered in Rome; it indicates that Victor[i] was the bishop there. There is another, from the bishops of Pontus over whom Palmas,[j] being the oldest, presided; and still another letter from the province of Gaul over which Irenaeus[k] presided.

V.XXIII.4. Also from Osrhoene[l] and the towns located in that region; and 2013
especially from Bacchylus,[m] bishop of the church at Corinth, and of many more, who all agreed in giving the same opinion and judgment and voted likewise. What we stated above is what they decided.

V.XXIV.1. Nonetheless, the bishops of Asia vigorously affirmed that the 2014
ancient and primitive custom, the one handed down to them, had to be retained. Their leader was Polycrates.[n] In a letter written to Victor and the Roman church he set forth the tradition that he had received.

V.XXIV.2. "And so we celebrate the very day, without adding or taking 2015
away anything. In fact, it is in Asia that the great lights have fallen asleep, they who will rise again on the day of the Lord's coming when he will come from heaven with glory and will seek out all his holy ones. [. . .]

V.XXIV.6. "All these have observed the fourteenth day [of the month] as 2016
the Pasch according to the Gospel, in no way deviating from but conforming to the rule of faith. I also, Polycrates, the least among you, observe the tradition of my ancestors, some of whom were my predecessors. Seven of my relatives were bishops. I am the eighth. They have always observed the Pasch on the day when the Jewish people refrained from eating leavened bread.

---

g. Theophilus: bishop who lived in the late second century.
h. Narcisius: became bishop of Jerusalem between 180 and 192; died after 212.
i. Victor: bishop of Rome 189–98.
j. Palmas (late second century): bishop of Amastris in Pontus.
k. Irenaeus: bishop of Lyons (WEC 1:15).
l. Osrhoene: a province in eastern Syria; its major city was Edessa.
m. Bacchylus: lived in the late second century; this letter was sent in 196.
n. Polycrates: bishop of Ephesus in the late second century.

2017 V.XXIV.7. "But for me, brethren, I have lived sixty-five years serving the Lord. I have been in contact with brethren throughout the whole world; I have read all the Scriptures; I have not been frightened by those who would attempt to intimidate me[1] since one greater than I has said, 'It is better to obey God rather than men.'"[2]

2018 V.XXIV.8. He adds in regard to the bishops who were with him when he wrote and who thought as he did.

2019 "I could mention the bishops who were with me, those I invited at your bidding. Their names, should I write them, would be numerous. They, seeing my littleness, consented to the letter, knowing that I did not squander my long life but that I have always served Christ Jesus."

2020 V.XXIV.9. Thereupon Victor, head of the church at Rome, attempted to cut off completely from common unity all the churches of Asia as well as neighboring churches, considering them as being heterodox; he published a letter of condemnation and declared excommunicated all the brethren, no exceptions, of these lands.

2021 V.XXIV.10. But this did not please all the bishops. They, for their part, counseled him to consider the things of peace, union with and love for one's neighbor. Their words, quite sharp, still exist.

2022 V.XXIV.11. Among these was Irenaeus, writing in the name of the Christians whom he directed in Gaul. He first established that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection was to be celebrated only on a Sunday. Then he exhorted Victor, in a very becoming way, not to cut off entire churches of God because they retained a tradition based on a very ancient custom. This is how he continued.

2023 V.XXIV.12. "The dispute is not only about the day but also about the very manner of fasting. Some in fact believe that they should fast for only one day; others, two days; others, even more. Some count their 'day' as having forty hours of day and night. Such variety of observances did not arise in our own day but long ago, during the time of our ancestors, who—in all likelihood not following strict accuracy—retained this custom in their simplicity and particular characteristics, handing it down to those coming after them. All of them lived in peace, as do we. The difference in fasting highlights our agreement in faith."

2024 V.XXIV.14. To this Irenaeus adds an account which I can relate. It goes like this.

2025 "Among these were the presbyters previous to Soter[o] who directed the church that you lead today, namely, Anicetus,[p] Pius,[q] Hyginus,[r]

---

o. Soter: bishop of Rome ca. 166–ca. 175.
p. Anicetus: bishop of Rome ca. 154–ca. 166.
q. Pius: bishop of Rome ca. 140–ca. 154.
r. Hyginus: bishop of Rome ca. 137–ca. 140.
1. See Phil 1:28. 2. Acts 5:29.

Telesphorus,[s] and Xystus.[t] They kept it [the fourteenth day] themselves, nor did they impose [their usage] on those who were with them; and even if they themselves did not keep [the fourteenth day], they were nonetheless at peace with those coming from churches where this day was observed; although keeping the fourteenth day was more objectionable to those who did not observe it.

V.xxiv.15. "No one, however, was ever expelled for doing so. But the 2026
presbyters who preceded you, even though they did not observe [the fourteenth day], sent the Eucharist to the churches that observed this day.

V.xxiv.16. "When blessed Polycarp[u] was at Rome at the time of Anicetus, 2027
they disagreed over certain matters of minor importance, but they immediately made peace with each other since they did not want to dispute this question. On the one hand, Anicetus was unable to persuade Polycarp concerning what he, Anicetus, had always observed with John, the Lord's disciple, and with the other apostles with whom he associated. On the other hand, Polycarp could not persuade Anicetus to observe his observance, for Polycarp's position was that he had to preserve the custom of the presbyters who lived before him.

V.xxiv.17. "Nonetheless, they shared the Eucharist with one another, 2028
and Anicetus allowed Polycarp [to preside at] the Eucharist in the church, surely out of respect. It was in peace that they departed from one another; and there was peace throughout the Church, whether or not the fourteenth day was observed."

V.xxiv.18. Thus the name "Irenaeus" was most fitting since what he 2029
did always agreed with his name: it was in this way that he exhorted the churches and brought about peace for them. By letter he conferred not only with Victor but also with many other heads of the various churches, laying out both sides of any question under discussion.

V.xxv. Those in Palestine whom I just mentioned, namely, Narcisius 2030
and Theophilus—with Cassius,[v] bishop of the church at Tyre, and Clarus, bishop of the church of Ptolemais,[w] and those who gathered with them gave very explicit information on the tradition handed down to them from the apostles on the subject of the feast of the Pasch; at the end of their letter they added the following.

"Try to send copies of our letter to each church so that we may not be re- 2031
sponsible for those who easily lose their own souls. We tell you that those in Alexandria also celebrate [the Pasch] on the same day as we do, In fact, letters are exchanged among us so that we celebrate together the same day."

---

s. Telesphorus: bishop of Rome ca. 127–ca. 137.

t. Xystus: bishop of Rome ca. 117–ca. 127.

u. Polycarp (ca. 69–ca. 155): bishop of Smyrna (WEC 1:12).

v. Cassius: participant in a council of 190 that discussed the question of the date of Easter.

w. Ptolemais: a seaport town in Phoenicia.

[Serapion and the Eucharist]

2032 VI.XLIV.1. Dionysius of Alexandria[x] also wrote a letter to the same Fabius[y] who leaned somewhat toward schism. In these letters he treated many questions, penance among others, and recounted the most recent conflicts of those at Alexandria who had given witness through martyrdom. [. . .] He mentions something wonderful, an event I must now recount.

2033 VI.XLIV.2. "I will relate to you one example, an event that happened here. A certain Serapion, an elderly member of the faithful, resided among us. For a long time he lived a life beyond reproach, but he lapsed when he underwent testing. Often did he request [pardon of his sins], and yet no one paid any attention to him, for he had sacrificed. He fell ill and for the next three days was speechless and unconscious. On the fourth day he improved somewhat and called for his grandson. 'My child, how long will you allow me to live? I beseech you, hurry, allow me to depart quickly. Summon one of the presbyters for me.' Having said this, Serapion again was unable to speak.

2034 VI.XLIV.4. "So the boy hastened off to get the presbyter. It was night, and the presbyter, being sick, could not come. Since I had ordered that persons on the point of death should be pardoned if they requested it—and especially if they did this previously—so that they might die in hope, the presbyter gave a little of the Eucharist to the little boy, telling him to soak it and let it drop part by part into the elderly man's mouth.

2035 VI.XLIV.5. "The boy, carrying the Eucharist, returned home. As the lad was approaching and before entering, Serapion again rallied, saying, 'My child, you have come because the presbyter was unable to do so. Quickly do what he commanded you to do, and let me depart.' Then the boy soaked the portion of the Eucharist and let it drop into the old man's mouth. When the man had swallowed it a little, he immediately expired.

2036 VI.XLIV.6. "Is it not evident that the man was preserved and his life was prolonged till he was absolved and, his sin being blotted out, could be acknowledged [as a Christian] for the many good actions he had done?"

[Baptism and the heretics]

2037 VII.II.2. [. . .] Dionysius[z] addressed the first of his letters on baptism to Stephen.[aa] A spirited controversy broke out at that time as to whether those coming from heresy of any kind were to be washed by baptism.

2038 VII.II.3. To be sure, there was the ancient custom that in such instances all that was necessary was prayer and the laying on of hands.

---

x. Dionysius (d. ca. 264): bishop of Alexandria who was very involved in many of the controversies of his time (WEC 1:45).

y. Fabius: bishop of Antioch; martyred in 249.

z. See note x above.

aa. Stephen I: bishop of Rome 254–57.

VII.III.1. Cyprian,[bb] pastor of the church at Carthage, was the first in his 2039
day to maintain that baptism was required for them to be admitted.

VII.III.2. Stephen, however, believing it wrong to introduce any innovation 2040
contrary to the tradition established in the beginning, strongly protested.

VII.IX.1. The fifth letter of Dionysius of Alexandria was written to Xys- 2041
tus, the bishop of Rome.[cc] In it he accuses the heretics and relates what he experienced.

"My brother, truly do I need your advice. And so I request your counsel 2042
concerning something that has happened to me, for I fear that I have acted wrongly.

VII.IX.2. "In fact, among us there is a man who has long been considered 2043
a believer. He became so before my ordination and, as I believe, even before the installation of blessed Heraclas.[dd] Recently he attended a baptism where he could hear the questions and the responses. Afterwards, he came to me in tears and fell down, declaring and protesting that his baptism among the heretics was not like ours, having nothing in common with it and being full of impieties and blasphemies.

VII.IX.3. "He said that his soul was now full of sorrow and that he even 2044
lacked the courage to lift up his eyes toward God,[3] after making his beginning with these words and sacrilegious rites. And so he asked to receive this purification, this welcome, this very grace.

VII.IX.4. "But I could not do this. I informed him that his long com- 2045
munion [with the Church] was sufficient. He had, in fact, listened to the eucharistic prayer and responded *Amen*;[4] he stood before the table and extended his hands to accept the holy food; he received it, for a long time partaking in the Body and Blood of the Lord; I could not presume to renew him from the beginning. Rather, I told him to be strong, to go with a solid faith, and with much hope to participate in the holy things.

VII.IX.5. "But he, continuing to grieve, is too scared to approach the 2046
[holy] table; and although invited by me to do so, scarcely is he present at the prayers."

VII.XXXII.13. Anatolius[ee] did not write a large number of works, but in 2047
those that have come down to us we can discern his eloquence and knowledge. In these works he presents in particular his thinking on the Pasch, and so we should cite the following.

Extract from the Canons of Anatolius on the Pasch

VII.XXXII.14. "There is then in the first year the new moon of the first 2048
month, which begins the whole cycle of nineteen years, according to the

---

bb. Cyprian: bishop of Carthage 248–58 (WEC 1:27).

cc. See note t above.

dd. Heraclas: ordained bishop of Alexandria in 231/232.

ee. Anatolius: bishop of Laodicea 270–80.

3. See Luke 18:13. 4. See 1 Cor 14:16.

Egyptians the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, according to the Macedonians the twenty-second of Dystrus, or—as the Romans would say—the eleventh before the calends of April [22 March].

2049 VII.xxxii.15. "On the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, which was just mentioned, the sun has not only reached the first sign [of the Zodiac] but is already passing through its fourth day. This sign is customarily called the first of the twelve, the equinox, the beginning of months, the head of the cycle, and the starting point of the planetary circle. This is why we say that those who place the first month in it, determining the fourteenth to be the Passover, are greatly mistaken, not just slightly so.

2050 VII.xxxii.16. "This is not an opinion of our own but something known to the Jews of old, even before Christ, and was carefully observed by them. We learn this from Philo, from Josephus,[ff] from Musaeus,[gg] and not only from them but also from those who lived earlier, namely, the two Agathobuli[hh] surnamed 'Masters' and the famous Aristobulus,[ii] who was chosen to be among the seven translators of the sacred and divine Hebrew Scriptures by Ptolemy Philadelphus[jj] and his father, and who also dedicated his exegetical books on the Mosaic Law to the same kings.

2051 VII.xxxii.17. "These writers, explaining questions relating to the Exodus, say that the Passover is always to be sacrificed after the spring equinox, at the middle of the first month. But this happens while the sun is passing through the first sign of the solar, or as some of them state it, the zodiacal cycle. Aristobulus adds that it is necessary at the feast of the Passover that not only the sun but also the moon should be passing through an equinoctial sign.

2052 VII.xxxii.18. "There are two such signs, in the spring and in the autumn, directly opposite each other, and the day of the Passover is appointed to the fourteenth of the month, in the evening so that the moon will hold a position diametrically opposite the sun, as may be seen when the moon is full. The sun will be in the sign of the spring equinox, with the moon necessarily in that of autumn.

2053 VII.xxxii.19. "I know that many other things have been said by them, in some cases probable, in others presumed to be final proof, by which they attempt to prove that the feast of Passover and of the Unleavened Bread are to be celebrated after the equinox. But I refrain from demanding such proof from those from whom the veil of Moses has been removed. With faces unveiled they are at all times to reflect as in a mirror both Christ

---

ff. Flavius Josephus (ca. 37–ca. 100): a Jewish historian.

gg. Musaeus: the semimythological personage, son or pupil of Orpheus, and said to have written various poems and oracles.

hh. We have no information on the "Agathobuli."

ii. Aristobulus: a well-known Hellenistic philosopher in Alexandria during the second century B.C.

jj. Ptolemy Philadelphus: ruler of Egypt 285–246 B.C.

and his teachings and suffering.[5] That the Hebrews considered the first month as including the equinox is shown by the teachings of the Book of Enoch."[kk]

[Edict of Galerius]

VIII.XVII.1. As Galerius[ll] wrestled with this awful illness, he was filled with sorrow for his cruel treatment of God's servants. So he pulled himself together, and after first confessing openly to the God of the universe, he summoned the court officials, ordering them to lose no time in halting the persecution of the Christians. By an imperial law and decree the building of churches was stimulated as well as the performance of the customary rites with the addition of prayers for the Emperor's Majesty. Word was immediately followed by action. The imperial decrees were published in all the cities, setting forth as follows the recantation by our Emperor. [. . .][mm] 2054

[Feasts of Dedication]

X.III.1. After this all of us saw what we desired and hoped for: in each city there were feasts of dedication, the consecration of recently constructed churches, bishops gathering for this purpose, crowds coming from far and wide, people exchanging signs of friendship, the unification of the members of Christ's Body[6] into one harmonious assembly of people. 2055

X.III.3. One and the same power of the divine Spirit circulated through all the members. There was one soul in all,[7] one and the same enthusiastic faith, one hymn glorifying God. Yes, perfect services were conducted by our leaders, sacred rites by the priests; and in the church there were institutions worthy of God—at times manifested by singing the psalms, by hearing God's words that were sent to us; at times by carrying out the divine and mystical rites, which are the ineffable symbols of the Savior's passion. 2056

X.III.4. People of all ages, both men and women,[8] with all the power of their minds and united in spirit and soul, gave glory to God, the author of all that is good, through prayers and thanksgivings. And every bishop present, each as best as he could, gave a panegyric oration, thus inspiring the assembly. 2057

X.IV.1. One of those who was moderately gifted[nn] came forward to the middle of the assembly. He had composed a discourse. The church being full and in the presence of a very large number of pastors who in silence 2058

---

kk. Book of Enoch: an important Jewish noncanonical book well known to many early Christian writers.

ll. Galerius: ruled the western part of the Roman Empire from 305 to 311.

mm. What follows is the Edict of Galerius, which is also found in its original Latin in *The Death of the Persecutors* by Lactantius (WEC 2:1307–12).

nn. Commentators generally agree that this discourse was given by Eusebius himself.

5. See 2 Cor 3:16–18. 6. See Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 12:12. 7. See Acts 4:32. 8. See Ps 148:12.

and in good order were listening, he spoke as follows to one most excellent bishop, a man beloved of God, through whose zeal and activity was constructed at Tyre the most beautiful temple in Phoenicia.

Panagyric on the Building of Churches
Addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre

2059 X.IV.2. "Friends of God, priests clothed in holy garb, adorned with the heavenly crown of glory, anointed with the divine unction, clothed with the priestly robe of the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

2060 X.IV.20. "These [ornamental offerings] would need a special discourse if we were to give an exact description and explanation of them.

2061 X.IV.37. "For this church he [God] has thus given boundaries for the whole site, much larger [than the first]. The exterior perimeter is fortified by a wall that entirely surrounds it, thus providing a veritable rampart for the whole.

2062 X.IV.38. "You see a large and very high gateway which receives the rays of the rising sun. Those standing outside the sacred precincts have a full view of what is within; those not of the faith are, as it were, invited to look toward the primary entrances. No one can pass in front of the temple whose soul is not penetrated by the memory of former desolation and by the astonishing wonder that has taken place. It was hoped that people, thus filled with sorrow, might be attracted and induced to enter by the very sight [of the building].

2063 X.IV.39. "Once inside, a person is not permitted to go through the door and immediately enter the sanctuary with soiled and unwashed feet; a very wide space has been left between the temple and its outer entrances; this area is adorned with four colonnades set at right angles so that there is, as it were, a type of quadrangle with colonnades standing upright on all sides. The space between them is filled with wooden lattice screens of an appropriate height. There is an open space through which the sky can be seen so that the air is bright and exposed to the rays of the sun.

2064 X.IV.40. "Placed there are the symbols of the holy purifications. In front of the temple are fountains that supply an abundance of living water with which those who enter the temple precincts can wash themselves. This first stopping-place is for all who enter. It offers to all something beautiful and graceful; to those still in need of initial instruction it presents a station suitable for their needs.

2065 X.IV.41. "But let us go beyond such a wonderful sight. Still more numerous interior gateways allow entrance into the temple. These face the east. There are three doors on one side, the middle door being larger than the other two in height and width; this door is decorated with bronze plates joined together with iron. It has various reliefs. There are two other doors, one on each side as if bodyguards for a queen.

2066 X.IV.42. "Likewise provided are a number of gateways to the colonnades on both sides of the structure, their number corresponding to that of the colonnades. To allow more light to shine through, separate openings are

provided over the colonnades; these also are decorated with various wood carvings.

"As to the church itself, even more precious and richer materials were used. No attention was given to cost. 2067

X.IV.43. "It is, I believe, superfluous to describe the length and breadth of the building, its striking beauty, its indescribable majesty, the wonderful workmanship, the pinnacles reaching to the sky, the precious cedars of Lebanon placed above the edifice. The divine oracle itself has not failed to mention these, 'The trees of the Lord will rejoice and the cedars of the Lord which he has planted.'[9] 2068

X.IV.44. "Why must I now exactly describe the perfection of the building's general architectural design, the astounding beauty of its individual parts, since the witness of what is seen renders superfluous what is heard by the ears? Once the building was completed, it was given three lofty thrones to accord with the honor of those who preside; also with seats in proper order for common use as needed. Placed in the middle was the altar for the holy mysteries. So that it not be accessible to the multitude, the altar is encircled with a wooden trellis which is so artistically created as to present a wonderful picture to all who gaze upon it. 2069

X.IV.45. "Not even the floor is neglected, for this too is exquisitely constructed of the most beautiful marble. 2070

"Equal thought was given to the building's exterior. On both sides are very large halls and chambers; these were joined to the basilica and were linked to the passageways leading to the central building. As to the places necessary for those still requiring purification and absolutions given by water and the Holy Spirit, our very peaceful Solomon, who built God's temple, created these. [. . .]" 2071

Copies of imperial laws pertaining to the Christians

X.V.1. Let us now add the imperial laws of Constantine and Licinius, these being translated from the Latin. [. . .] 2072

X.V.2. "Long ago we saw that religious freedom should not be denied, but every person, according to his or her own judgment and desire, should be allowed to perform religious duties as he or she so chooses. For this reason we ordered that each person, Christians as well as non-Christians, should be permitted to keep the faith of his or her belief and religion. 2073

X.V.3. "But since numerous and various conditions clearly seem to have been added to the rescript that granted such permission to these very same Christians, perhaps some of them were soon afterwards hindered from practicing their religion. 2074

X.V.4. "When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came together [. . .]."[oo] 2075

oo. See *The Death of the Persecutors* (WEC 2:1314–21).

9. Ps 104:16.

81-B. Life of Constantine†

The four books constituting this work are not historical biography in our understanding of the word. Rather, they are an *encomium,* in this case a praise of the emperor's activity on behalf of the Christian cause.

2076 I.LIII. Licinius passed another law commanding that men were not to gather with women in the church of God; nor were women to frequent the revered schools of virtue in order to receive instruction; nor were bishops to teach women the precepts of religion. Rather, women were to be appointed to be teachers of other women. Since everyone ridiculed all this, Licinius devised other means for bringing about the destruction of the churches. He ordered that the solemn assemblies of the people were to be held outside the city in the open countryside, outside the gates, alleging that the open air outside the city was more suitable for a crowd of people than houses of prayer within the city.

2077 IV.XVII. Still more venerable proof of Constantine's piety might be discerned by those who notice how he turned, as it were, his own palace into a church of God, how he himself was a model of attentiveness and eagerness for all who gathered there, how he took the sacred books into his hands, devoting himself to studying these divinely inspired oracles, and after which he would offer up regular prayers with all who belonged to the imperial court.

2078 IV.XVIII. Constantine also decreed that one day should be regarded as a special time for prayer, namely, the first and principal day, the day of our Lord and Savior. He ordered that the entire care of his household be entrusted to the deacons and other ministers consecrated to God and distinguished by seriousness of life. [. . .] He enjoined that all the subjects of the Roman empire should observe the Lord's Day as a day of rest and also honor the day that precedes the Sabbath in memory, as it seems, of what the Savior of all is said to have done on this day. Since he desired to teach his whole army to zealously honor the Savior's day—a day whose name comes from the light and from the sun—he freely granted to those among them who embrace the divine faith leisure for attending the services of God's Church so that without any hindrance they might have sufficient time for prayer.

2079 IV.XIX. As to the others who were still ignorant of divine truth, he issued a second statute that they should appear on the Lord's Day on an open plain near the city. There, at a given signal, they were all to offer God a prayer that they had previously learned. [. . .]

2080 IV.XXII. The emperor himself, as a sharer in the holy mysteries, would seclude himself daily at appointed hours within the innermost rooms of the palace. There, speaking alone with God, he would kneel in humble supplication and ask for whatever he needed. It was especially at the

† Translated from PG 20:967–68, 1163–70, 1213–18.

salutary feast of the Pasch that his religious activity increased. He carried out, as it were, the duties of a high priest and instructor in worship with the utmost energy of soul and body, surpassing all others in celebrating this feast. He changed the night's vigil into a brightness akin to that of the day by having long wax candles lighted throughout the city; furthermore, lighted torches shed their light everywhere, giving this mystical vigil a brilliant splendor surpassing that of the day. As soon as day broke, he imitated our Savior's kindness by extending a bountiful hand to all his subjects, to every province and people, by giving the most lavish presents to all.

IV.LXII. "The time has arrived," [said Constantine,] "that I long hoped 2081
for, that I earnestly longed for, and with the prayers of all desired so as to obtain salvation from God. The hour has come when I also might receive the seal that confers immortality; it is the hour when I will receive the seal of salvation. There was a time when I anticipated doing this in the Jordan River where our Savior, as an example for us, is said to have been baptized. But God, who knows what is good for us, is pleased that I be baptized here. Then may all doubt be removed. But should the Lord, the judge of life and death, desire that my life here on earth be prolonged, and should it be decreed that henceforth I am to associate myself with God's people and be united to them as a member of the Church, I pledge to prescribe laws that are considered worthy of God."

After he had spoken, the sacred ceremonies were carried out as custom- 2082
ary. Having received the necessary instructions, he was made a partaker in the holy mysteries. [. . .] Afterwards, he clothed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of shining white, refusing to wear purple any longer.

81-C. Address to the Assembly of the Saints[†]

This Good Friday sermon, appearing in some manuscripts as an appendix to the *Life of Constantine*, is given as an example of the emperor's eloquence on sacred things. Questions, however, remain as to the document's authenticity.

XII. [. . .] Just as the life of a martyr is one of sobriety and obedience to 2083
God's commandments, so the martyr's death is an example of strength and nobility. And so afterwards there are hymns and psalms, words and songs of praise to the God who sees all things. A sacrifice of thanksgiving is offered in their memory; it is bloodless, without violence. There is no need of fragrant incense, no need of a funeral pyre, but only as much light as is needed by those praying to God. There are many who prepare temperate banquets to assist the needy and to offer relief to those who have lost their property and homelands. [. . .]

[†] Translated from GCS 7:171.

81-D. Proof of the Gospel†

Twenty books were intended for this work; yet only Books I–X and a large fragment of Book XV have come down to us. Written sometime during the first quarter of the fourth century, the intent of the *Demonstratio evangelica* is to show how the Mosaic Law prepared for Christ.

2084 I.x. [. . .] According to the testimony of the prophets the great and highly esteemed ransom for redeeming Jews and Greeks alike has been found. It is an expiation for the whole world, a sacrifice for the spiritual well-being of all, a most pure offering for every stain and sin. It is certainly the Lamb of God, the most pure sheep pleasing to God. It is the Lamb concerning which the prophets spoke so often, through whose divine and mystical teaching all of us—who have been taken from among the Gentiles—have received the forgiveness of our past sins. It is through him that the Jews [Jewish Christians] who hope in him are freed from the curse of Moses as they daily celebrate the memorial of his Body and Blood. [. . .]

2085 We have received a memorial of this sacrifice. It is celebrated on a table. We do so by signs of his Body and saving Blood so that we might receive what was established by the new covenant. We are again taught by David the prophet to say, "You have prepared a table before me in the face of those afflicting me. My head you have anointed with oil, and your cup cheers me like the best [wine]."[1] Therefore these things signify the mystical anointing and the magnificent sacrifice of Christ's table. By these we are instructed to offer to God on high, and through our great High Priest, the celebration of our unbloody, reasonable, and well-pleasing sacrifices, doing so throughout our whole lives. Isaiah the great prophet wonderfully foretold this through the Holy Spirit. He predicted it when he said, "O Lord, my God, I will praise you, I will glorify your name because you have done marvelous deeds."[2] The prophet then proceeds to explain what these deeds are, saying, "The Lord of the Sabbath will prepare a feast for all the nations. They will drink joy; they will drink wine; they will be anointed with oil on this mountain. Impart all these things to the nations since this is God's counsel among all of them."[3] Such were the "marvelous deeds" spoken of by Isaiah, the promise of a pleasant smelling anointing done with myrrh and promised to all the nations, not just to Israel. Christians receive their name, and rightly so, from the anointing with oil. Isaiah also speaks to the nations about the "wine of joy," thereby in an obscure fashion referring to the sacrament of Christ's new covenant, a sacrifice now openly celebrated among the nations. [. . .]

† Translated from PG 22:87, 91.

1. Ps 23:5. 2. Isa 25:1. 3. Isa 25:6.

81-E. Commentary on the Psalms†

Although of uncertain date, this work—it must have been monumental—is often dated among the last treatises of Eusebius. Highly regarded in Christian antiquity, the work was translated into Latin by both Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367/368) and Eusebius of Vercelli (d. 371). These translations, however, have been lost, and only sections of the original Greek survive.

Psalm 64

[. . .] At every rising of the sun and at every return of the evening, 2086
God's churches throughout the world offer hymns, praises, and divine pleasures. This is no ordinary sign of God's power. The hymns that rise up daily at dawn and dusk in churches everywhere are indeed "pleasures for God." [. . .]

Psalm 65

[. . .] Psalms are to be sung to his name. We know that this custom is 2087
observed in all places. For in all the churches of God established among the pagans, not only among the Greeks but even among the barbarians, people are instructed to sing melodies and psalms to God. [. . .]

Psalm 91

7. The followers of Moses certainly sacrificed the paschal lamb only 2088
once each year, doing so toward evening on the fourteenth of the first month. We however, being children of the new covenant and celebrating our Pasch on every Sunday, are always fed with the Body of the Savior; we always share in the Blood of the Lamb. [. . .]

12. [. . .] Throughout the whole year we celebrate these mysteries, com- 2089
memorating the Savior's passion with a fast on the preceding Saturday, a fast the apostles observed when the Spouse was removed from their midst.[1] Each Sunday we are given life by the sanctified Body of the same saving Lamb, and our souls are nourished by his precious Blood.

82. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

The date of Cyril's birth is often given as ca. 313/315. Presumably the place was Palestine. Cyril was probably educated in Jerusalem, where he was ordained a deacon in 325, and a presbyter in 345. Ordination as bishop of Jerusalem occurred ca. 348–50.

Cyril's years as bishop were indeed turbulent. Questions as to Jerusalem being an independent see and the manner of formulating the Son's relationship to the Father within the Trinity were among the causes

† Translated from PG 23:639–40, 647–48, 701–2, 705–6. The psalm numbering is that of the LXX.

1. See Matt 9:15–16; Mark 2:19–20; Luke 5:34–35.

leading to his being deposed and even exiled several times. The last period of banishment, during the reign of Valens, began in 367 and lasted eleven years. He died in 387, probably on March 18.

In regard to the Son's relationship to the Father, Cyril, although a staunch opponent of Arianism, personally avoided the term *homoousios* (*consubstantialis*), perhaps because the word is nonscriptural and open to misinterpretation. Yet he was among the 150 or so bishops attending the Council of Constantinople (381), which ratified the Nicene Creed, a profession of faith containing the word *homoousios*.

Cyril's greatest literary contribution is certainly the two groups of lectures or instructions he delivered to those preparing for baptism and to those who had just been baptized. Most probably the text we have received is based upon notes transcribed by one of his listeners.

CPG 2: nos. 3585ff. * Altaner (1961) 361–63 * Altaner (1966) 312–13 * Bardenhewer (1908) 271–74 * Bardenhewer (1910) 283–86 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:273–81 * Bardy (1929) 110–11 * Bautz 1:1186–87 * Hamell 99–100 * Jurgens 1:347–71 * Leigh-Bennett 178–95 * Quasten 3:362–77 * Steidle 105–6 * Tixeront 191–92 * CATH 3:412–14 * CE 4:595–96 * CHECL 284–86 * DACL 7.2:2374–92 * DCB 1:760–63 * DHGE 13:1181–85 * DictSp 2.2:2683–87 * DPAC 1:696–97 * DTC 3:2527–77 * EC 3:1725–29 * EEC 1:215 * EEChr 1:312–13 * LTK 2:1370 * NCE 4:576–78 * NCES 4:470–72 * ODCC 442–43 * TRE 8:261–66

General Studies on Initiation

L.L. Rochat, *Le catéchuménat au IVe siècle d'après les Catéchèses de s. Cyrille de Jérusalem* (Geneva, 1875). * C.P. Caspari, "Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols," *Christiana* (1879) 146–60. * J. Marquardt, *S. Cyrillus Hieros. baptismi, chrismatis, eucharistiae mysteriorum interpres* (Leipzig, 1882). * A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1908) 47–89. * J.P. Bock, *Die Brotbitte des Vaterunsers: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Universalgebetes und einschlägiger liturgisch-patristicher Fragen* (Paderborn, 1911). * S. Salaville, "Les 'Catéchèses mystagogiques' de s. Cyrille de Jérusalem: une question critique littéraire," EO 17 (1915) 531–37. * T.H. Bindley, "On Some Points Doctrinal and Practical in the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem," *American Journal of Theology* 21 (1917) 598–607. * A. Bludau, "Der Katechumenat in Jerusalem im 4. Jahrhundert," ThGl 16 (1924) 225–42. * A. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria* (Paderborn, 1927) 41–190. * L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1925) 57–65. * H. Leclercq, "Jérusalem (La liturgie à)," DACL 7 (1927) 2374–92. * W.J. Swaans,"A propos des catéchèses mystagogiques attribuées à s. Cyrille de Jérusalem," Mus 55 (1942) 1–43. * J. Daniélou, "Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux," DV 1 (1945) 15–43. * G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945) 187–209, 349–54. * J. Quasten, "The Blessing of the Baptismal Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century," TS 7 (1946) 309–13. * D. Moraitis, "Cyril of Jerusalem as a Catechist and Educator," *Greg. Palamas* 30 (1948) 57–59, 122–30, 187–200, 238–46, 283–86 (in Greek). * J.C.M. Fruytier, *Het woord MYSTERION in de Catechesen van Cyrillus van Jeruzalem* (Nijmegen, 1950). * G. Touton, "La méthode catéchétique de s. Cyrille de Jérusalem comparée à celles de s. Augustin et de Théodore de Mopsuestia," PrOChr 1 (1951) 265–85. * A.A. Stephenson, "The Lenten Catechetical Syllabus in the Fourth-Century Jerusalem," TS 15 (1954) 103–16. * E. Ferguson, "Baptism

from the Second to the Fourth Century," ResQ 1 (1957) 185–97. * C.L. Beukers, "'For Our Emperors, Soldiers and Allies': An Attempt at Dating the Twenty-third Catechesis by Cyrillus of Jerusalem," VC 15 (1961) 177–84. * M.-B. Carra de Vaux Saint Cyr, "Le sacrement de confirmation: Notes historiques," LV 10 (1961), no. 51, 16–58. * A. Renoux, "Les catéchèses mystagogiques dans l'organisation liturgique hiersolymitaine du IVe et du Ve siècle," Mus 78 (1965) 355–59. * A. Piédagnel, "A propos des catéchèses mystagogiques de Cyrille de Jérusalem," RSR 55 (1967) 565. * R. Tura, "Battesimo e storia della salvezza nelle catechesi di s. Cirillo di Gerusaalemme," StP 17 (1970) 556–74. * H.M. Riley, "The Rite of Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan," diss. (Regensberg, 1971). * E.J. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1972). * E.J. Yarnold, "'Ideo et Romae fideles dicuntur qui baptizati sunt': A Note on 'De Sacramentis' I.I," JThSt, n.s., 24 (1973) 202–7. * H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation*, SCA 17 (Washington, D.C., 1974). * R. Tura, "Il battesimo dei bambini. Revisione in vista? Simposio su una prassi pastorale millenaria," StP 21 (1974) 511–85. * K. Deddens, "Annus liturgicus? Een ondersoek naar de betekenis van Cyrillus van Jeruzalem voor de ontwikkeling van het 'kerkelijk jaar,'" diss. (Goes, 1975). * E.J. Cutrone, "Saving Presence in the Mystagogical Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem," diss. (Notre Dame, 1975). * E.J. Yarnold, "Did St. Ambrose Know the Mystagogic Catecheses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem?" SP 12 (1975) 184–89. * E.J. Cutrone, "Cyril's Mystagogical Catecheses and the Evolution of the Jerusalem Anaphora," OCP 44 (1978) 52–64. * S. Janeras, "A propos de la catéchèse XIVe de Cyrille de Jérusalem," EOr 3:3 (1986) 307–18. * M.E. Johnson, "Reconciling Cyril and Egeria in the Catechetial Process in Fourth-Century Jerusalem," in *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 8 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1988) 18–30. * A.J. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, D.C., 2001).

EUCHARIST

Becker, "Der hl. Cyrillus von Jerusalem über die reale Gegenwart Christi in der heiligen Eucharistie," Kat 1 (1872) 433–49, 539–54, 641–61. * V. Schmitt, *Die Verheissung der Eucharistie (Joh. 6) bei den Antiochenern Cyrillus von Jerusalem und Johannes Chrysostomu* (Würzburg, 1903). * R. Rios, "St. Cyril of Jerusalem on the Holy Eucharist," *Pax* 25 (1935) 77–81. * J. Daniélou, "Eucharistie et Cantique des Cantiques," Ire 23 (1950) 257–77. * J.C.M. Fruytier, "Het woord 'musterion' in de Catechesen van Cyrillus van Jerusalem," diss. (Nijmegen, 1950). * J. Quasten, "Mysterium tremendum: Eucharistische Frömmigkeitsauffassungen des vierten Jahrhunderts: Vom christlichen Mysterium," in *Festschrift O. Casel* (Düsseldorf, 1951) 66–75. * K. Baus, "Die eucharistiche Glaubensverkündigung der alten Kirche in ihren Grundzügen," in *Die Messe in der Glaubensverkündigung (Festschrift J.A. Jungmann)*, eds. F.X. Arnold and B. Fisher (Freiburg i. B., 1953) 55–70. * G. Fittkau, *Der Begriff des Mysteriums bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Bonn, 1953). * F.M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and Its Background* (London, 1983) 128–30. * K.J. Burreson, "The Anaphora of the Mystical Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 131–51.

OTHER TOPICS

A.A. Stephenson, "St. Cyril of Jerusalem and the Alexandrian Heritage," TS 15 (1954) 573–93. * A.A. Stephenson, "St. Cyril of Jerusalem and the Alexandrian

Christian Gnosis," SP 1 (1957) 142–46. * H.A. Wolfson, "The Theology of Cyril of Jerusalem," *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1957) 3–19. * B. Piasecki, "La struttura sacramentale della vita della comunita' cristiana: In San Cirillo di Gerusalemme," diss. (Rome, 1973). * G.J. Cuming, "Egyptian Elements in the Jerusalem Liturgy," JThSt, n.s., 25 (1974) 117–24. * K. Dedden, "Cyrile de Jérusalem et l'année liturgique," QLP 56 (1975) 41–46. * D. Dufrasne, "Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem," ComL 66 (1984) 63–71. * P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places: Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 1990). * O.F. Cummings, "Cyril of Jerusalem as a Postliberal Theologian," Wor 67 (1993) 155–64. * M.-T. Olszewski, "L'image et sa fonction dans la mosaïque byzantine des premières basiliques en Orient. L'iconographie chrétienne expliquée par Cyrille de Jérusalem (314–387)," CA 43 (1995) 9–34. * R.L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, New Testament in the Greek Fathers 7 (Atlanta, 1997). * E. Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London and New York, 2000).

82-A. Protocatechesis†

This is an introductory instruction given perhaps ca. 350 and highlighting the rule of secrecy. The mysteries of the faith are known only by those who have been fully initiated and by those immediately preparing for this initiation, which takes place during the Easter Vigil.

2090 1. O those to be enlightened, there is already in you a fragrance of happiness. [. . .] The inscription of your names and your call to service has already taken place. [. . .]

2091 6. [. . .] You were once called a catechumen, this word assailing you on every side from without. You heard about hope but did not experience it. You heard about the mysteries but did not understand them. You heard the Scriptures but did not recognize their depth. [. . .]

2092 7. We are not allowed to be baptized two or three times. Otherwise, one might say, "I have fallen once and I will fix it the second time." But if you fall once, it cannot be fixed, for "there is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism."[1] Only heretics are rebaptized because there was no previous baptism.

2093 9. May you hasten to the catecheses. Attentively receive the exorcisms; whether you are breathed upon or exorcised, this concerns your salvation. [. . .] Without the exorcisms your soul cannot be cleansed; they are from God, taken from the Holy Scriptures. [. . .]

2094 12. Once the catechesis has been given and if a catechumen asks you what the teachers said, say nothing to this outsider. What we give you is a mystery and hope of future life. Keep the mystery for him who will reward you. May no one ever say to you, "What harm can befall you if I also know it?" The sick request wine, but delirium results if given at the wrong time. And so there are two evils: the sick person dies, and the physician is

† Translated from *Cyrilli Hiersolymarum Archiepiscopi Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*, vol. 1, ed. W.K. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich, 1848) 3ff.

1. Eph 4:5.

blamed. The same is true when a catechumen hears about a mystery from a believer. The catechumen becomes delirious, not understanding what is heard, and disparaging and scoffing at what has been said; and so the believer is condemned as a traitor. You are already standing at the border. Take heed. Say nothing. It is not that what has been said is unworthy of repetition; it is only that the catechumen's ears are unworthy to receive. There was a time when you also were a catechumen, and at that time I did not tell you what you could expect in the future. When experience teaches you how exalted is our teachings, then you will understand that the catechumens are not worthy to hear them.

14. Once the exorcism has taken place and while awaiting the arrival of 2095
the others who have been exorcised, the men are to be with the men and the women with the women. Just consider Noah's ark where Noah was separated from his wife and his sons were separated from their wives. For although the ark was one and its door were closed, all things were suitably arranged. Although the church is closed and all of you are within, nonetheless, there is to be a separation, men with the men, women with the women, so that the help of salvation is not turned into an occasion of destruction. Even if it is deemed advisable that men and women sit together, all evil desires are to be absent. Men, while sitting, are to have a useful book in their hands; one man is to read, another to listen. If there is no book, one is to pray, another to speak something beneficial. As to the young women, they are to sit together in similar fashion, singing or reading silently so that others do not hear what their lips are saying: "I do not allow women to speak in church."[2] Married women are to pray, lips moving, but not heard by others. [. . .]

16. The baptism awaiting you is indeed wonderful. It is ransom to the 2096
captives; the remission of sins; the death of sin; rebirth of the soul, a garment of light; a holy and indelible seal; a chariot toward heaven; the delight of paradise; a pledge of the kingdom; the gift of adoption as children. [. . .]

To the reader

These instructions, designed for those soon to be illuminated, you may 2097
lend to be read by those coming forth for baptism and by the faithful who have already been baptized. You are not to give them to the catechumens or to others who are not Christians. If you do so, you will have to answer to the Lord. Should you make a copy of this, write it in the beginning as if the Lord were watching.

82-B. Lenten Catecheses

The eighteen Lenten instructions were addressed to the baptismal candidates—called "the enlightened" as distinct from the catechumens in

2. 1 Tim 2:12.

general—during Lent, probably ca. 350 and shortly before the Easter Vigil. The venue was the basilica Constantine built on Calvary. Catecheses six through eighteen are a commentary on the baptismal creed professed in Jerusalem.

82-B-1. LENTEN CATECHESIS I[†]

2098 4. You are receiving arms that are spiritual, not corruptible. You are being planted in an invisible paradise. You are accepting a name you did not previously have. You were formerly a catechumen; now you are one of the faithful. [. . .]

2099 5. [. . .] The present time is a time for doing penance. Confess all you have done, be it in word or deed, be it during the day or during the night. Confess "in an acceptable time"[1] and on the day of salvation receive the heavenly reward. Zealously take part in the exorcisms. Faithfully attend the catecheses. [. . .]

2100 6. Diligently attend the gatherings of the Church, not only now when the clergy require it but also after you receive baptism. If such a practice is worthwhile before you are baptized, is it not also worthwhile afterwards? [. . .]

82-B-2. LENTEN CATECHESIS III[††]

2101 4. Since we are composed of two parts, soul and body, there is a twofold purification, one cleansing being incorporeal for what is incorporeal, the other being corporeal for what is corporeal: water indeed washes the body; the Spirit seals the soul. [. . .]

2102 10. A nonbaptized person is not saved, the only exception being the martyrs who without bodily washing enter the kingdom. When the Savior was redeeming the world through the cross and when his side was pierced, blood and water flowed forth.[1] Thus those living during times of peace are baptized by means of water, those living during times of persecution are baptized in their own blood. It was customary for the Savior to refer to martyrdom as baptism: "Can you drink from the cup from which I drink or be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?"[2] [. . .]

82-B-3. LENTEN CATECHESIS VI[†††]

2103 29. [. . .] The mysteries being explained to you, now that you are about to leave the category of catechumens, are not ordinarily explained to the gentiles. We do not customarily explain to them the mysteries pertaining to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Nor do we speak openly

---

[†] Translated from Reischl and Rupp, vol. 1, 32–37.

1. 2 Cor 6:2.

[††] Translated from Reischl and Rupp, vol. 1, 68ff.

1. See John 19:34. 2. Mark 10:38.

[†††] Translated from Reischl and Rupp, vol. 1, 194–97.

about these mysteries to the catechumens. Yet we often discourse about them in a veiled manner so that believers who have knowledge may understand and so that those who lack such knowledge may not suffer harm.

82-B-4. LENTEN CATECHESIS XVIII†

20. [. . .] The stain of sin also remains in the body. After a wound has been deeply inflicted on the body, and even if healing has occurred, the scars remain. In like manner sin injures both body and soul, and its scars remain in both. They are removed only from those who have been washed. It is through baptism that God heals the past sins of soul and body. [. . .] 2104

32. My dear brothers and sisters, I have spoken in order to prepare you to receive the heavenly gifts. Concerning the holy and apostolic faith handed over to you to confess, through the Lord's grace we have instructed you during the past days of Lent. I did not say all that could have been said, omitting much which perhaps may be better explained by better teachers. But now that the holy day of the Pasch is at hand, you, my beloved in Christ, are to be enlightened by the bath of new birth. Once again, God willing, you will be taught what is appropriate: for example, the devotion you should have and the procedure to be followed when you will be called upon to enter; the purpose of each of the baptismal mysteries; the reverence and order when you go from baptism to God's holy altar in order to enjoy the spiritual and heavenly mysteries distributed there. [. . .] 2105

33. After the Pasch, a holy day of salvation, and beginning on Monday you are to come after the assembly into the Place of the Resurrection. There, God willing, you will be further instructed. You will be taught the reasons for all that has happened to you, with demonstrations coming from both the Old and New Testaments. You will first be instructed on what took place immediately before your baptism; then on how the Lord washed you of your sins through the water-bath and the word; next, on how like priests you became sharers in the name of Christ. Following that, you will learn how the seal of the communicating of the Holy Spirit was given to you. Finally, you will receive instruction concerning the mysteries that take place at the altar of the New Testament—mysteries that began in this place [Jerusalem]—and what the Holy Scriptures have told us about them, what is their force and power, how we are to approach them, when and how to receive them, and last of all how in the future you are to act in a manner worthy of this grace, doing so in words and actions, so that all of you will be able to enjoy eternal life. God willing, all these things we will explain to you. 2106

† Translated from Reischl and Rupp, vol. 1, 222ff.

82-C. Mystagogical Catecheses

Presented during the week following Easter, these instructions (*Mystagogical Catecheses*) given to the "newly enlightened" explain the significance of the initiation rites. The first two instructions treat baptism; the third concerns the anointing with oil; the fourth focuses on the Eucharist; and the fifth is on the liturgy of the Eucharist.

Some scholars believe that these sermons are really the work of John of Jerusalem (386–417), Cyril's successor at Jerusalem. Others suggest that John may have played the role of a reviser or editor. At any rate, for many the question of authorship still remains open.

82-C-1. MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESIS I†

2107 1. My true and dearly beloved children of the Church, long have I desired to address you concerning these spiritual and heavenly mysteries. But because I well know that the eye is better than the ear, I awaited the present occasion so as to find you, from your own experience, ever more open to my words so that I might take your hand and lead you into the brighter and more perfumed meadow of paradise. Moreover, now you are able to understand the more holy mysteries, those concerning divine and life-giving baptism. It remains for us to lay before you a table of more perfect instruction. And so allow us to give you exact instruction in order that you might know the meaning of what happened to you on the evening you were baptized.

2108 2. You began by entering the forecourt of the baptistery. Standing, facing the west, you listened and heard the command to extend your hand and, as if he were present, you renounced Satan. But you must understand that the symbolism here is found in the Old Testament. When, in fact, the Pharaoh, that harsh and cruel tyrant, was afflicting the free and noble Hebrew people, God sent Moses to deliver them from their dreadful slavery under the Egyptians. With the blood of a lamb they anointed their doorposts so that the destroyer would pass over the houses that carried the sign of blood.[1] Miraculously the Hebrews were set free. The Pharaoh pursued them after their deliverance. When the sea wonderfully opened up before them, he nonetheless pressed on and was immediately submerged and engulfed in the Red Sea.[2]

2109 3. Join us in passing from the old to the new, from figure to reality. Whereas at that time lived Moses, sent by God to Egypt, today we have Christ, sent forth from his Father into the world. Whereas Moses had the oppressed people leave Egypt, Christ rescues those who in the world are overcome by sin. Whereas the blood of the lamb turned away the destroyer, the blood of Jesus Christ, the spotless lamb,[3] is a refuge against

† Translated from *Catéchèses mystagogiques. Cyrille de Jérusalem*, trans. P. Paris, ed. A. Piédagnel, SChr 126 bis (Paris, 1988) 82–101. The reading is 1 Peter 5:8ff.

1. See Exod 12:7, 13, 22–23. 2. See Exod 14:22–30. 3. See 1 Pet 1:19.

the evil spirits. The tyrant pursues to the sea the ancient Jewish people; in your case the devil—shameless, foolhardy, the source of evil—follows you to the very waters of salvation. The tyrant of old was swallowed up by the sea whereas the present tyrant has disappeared in the waters of salvation.

4. Nonetheless, you were told to stretch out your hand and to say as 2110
to one present, "I renounce you, Satan." Why did you turn toward the west? I'll tell you. You need to know this. The west is the place of visible darkness. Since he of whom we are speaking is darkness, and since he exercises his power in the darkness, this is the symbolic reason why you faced the west when you renounced this prince of darkness and gloom. Why did each of you, while standing, say, "I renounce you, Satan, you evil and most evil tyrant. No longer do I fear your power"? For Christ has destroyed you by sharing with me his flesh and blood in order to abolish death by dying and so that I may no longer be subject to slavery.[4] I renounce you, you cunning and most crafty serpent. I renounce you, you plotter. Faking friendship, you carried out all evil and were the force behind the apostasy of our first parents. I renounce you, Satan, the author of and accomplice in all evil.

5. You were then taught a second phrase: "And all your works." Satan's 2111
works refer to all sins; it is necessary to renounce these just as someone who has escaped a tyrant must indeed escape his weapons. Every type of sin is thus included among the works of the devil. Just remember this: all that you say, especially at this most awesome hour, is written in God's invisible books. Should you do anything contrary to what you promised, you will be judged a transgressor.[5] And so you renounced the works of Satan, that is, all actions and thoughts contrary to what you promised.

6. You then said, "And all your pomp." The devil's pomp is love of the 2112
theater, of horse racing, hunting, and all such foolishness. From this the holy person prays to be delivered when saying to God, "Turn my eyes so they see no vanity."[6] Do not immerse yourselves in the folly of the theater where are found the obscene gestures of the actors accompanied by mockery and all kinds of indecencies. Also stay away from the raging dances of effeminate men. Avoid the madness of those who while hunting expose themselves to wild beasts in order to placate their unfortunate stomachs; to provide food for themselves they themselves become food for the bellies of the wild beasts. To be exact, for the sake of their own god, namely, their belly,[7] they throw away their own lives, risking these in combat. Also avoid horse races, for these are spectacles that destroy the soul. All this is, in fact, the pomp of the devil.

7. Also included among the devil's pomp are all that is suspended in 2113
the temples of the idols and on feasts—for example, meat, bread, and other such foods, all polluted by invoking the filthy demons. Likewise,

4. See Heb 2:14–15. 5. See Rom 2:25–27; Gal 2:18; Jas 2:9–11. 6. Ps 119:37.
7. See Phil 3:19.

just as the bread and wine of the Eucharist before the holy *epiclesis* ["calling down"] of the adorable Trinity are ordinary bread and wine but afterwards become Christ's Body and his holy Blood, so in like manner foods of this kind, constituting the pomp of the devil, in themselves are merely food and become profane by invoking the evil spirits.

2114 8. Then you say, "and all your worship." Worship of the devil is to pray in the temple of the idols. It is all that happens to honor the lifeless idols, whether to light lamps or to burn incense beside springs or rivers as do those who, misled by dreams or evil spirits, go to these waters expecting their bodily ailments to be cured. Do not act in this way. The watching of birds, divination, omens, amulets, writings found on leaves, magic, other types of evil, and all practices of this kind are the worship of the devil. Flee all this. If in fact you should fall after having renounced Satan and pledged your allegiance to Christ, you will experience a tyrant who is more cruel, who in the past treated you kindly and rendered less bitter your cruel slavery, but who has now been greatly incensed by you. And so deprived of Christ, you will experience the devil. [. . .]

2115 9. When you renounce Satan, you trample underfoot all pacts with him; you break all former agreements with hell;[8] Paradise, planted by God in the east[9] and from which our first father was ejected because of his disobedience,[10] is open to you. Symbolizing this, you turned from the west to the east, the region of light. Then you were told to say, "I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in one baptism of repentance." We spoke to you about all this at length in previous instructions, as God's grace permitted.

82-C-2. MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESIS II†

2116 1. Useful to all of us are these daily teachings on the mysteries. Also these new instructions which proclaim new realities, and all the more so since you have been renewed from an old life to a new life. This is why I must continue my mystagogical catechesis so that you might learn the symbolic meaning of the rites celebrated for you within the building.

2117 2. Immediately after entering, you removed your garment. This represented the putting off of the old self with its deeds.[1] Stripped naked, you were nude, in this also imitating Christ naked on the cross, who by his nudity stripped the principalities and the powers, who on the wood of the cross openly triumphed over them.[2] Since the hostile powers made their den in your members, you are no longer permitted to wear that former garment. In no way do I speak of a visible garment but of the old self which is corrupted by deceitful lust.[3] May the soul that has once put off the old self not put it on again, but may it say with Christ's spouse in the

8. See Isa 28:15. 9. See Gen 2:8. 10. See Gen 3:23.

† Translated from SChr 126 bis, 104–19. The reading is Romans 6:3–14.

1. See Col 3:9. 2. See Col 12:15. 3. See Eph 4:22.

Canticle of Canticles, "I have put off my garment; how shall I again put it on?"[4] How wonderful! You were naked in the sight of all, and ashamed you were not. Truly, in fact, you bore the image of Adam, the first man, who was naked in Paradise and yet bore no shame.[5]

3. Then, once stripped, you were anointed with the exorcised oil, from 2118
the hairs on the top of your head to your toes; you became sharers in the cultivated olive tree, Jesus Christ. Detached, in fact, from the wild olive tree, you were grafted upon a cultivated tree, and you shared in the abundance of the true olive tree.[6] The exorcised oil thus symbolized participation in the abundance of Christ, this being a refuge against all traces of the enemy's influence. Just as breathing upon the holy ones and invoking the name of God like a brightly burning flame chase away the evil spirits, so this exorcised oil—by invoking God's name and by prayer—receives such power that not only does the oil purify by burning away the traces of sin but also chases away the invisible power of the evil one.

4. You were subsequently taken by the hand to the holy pool of divine 2119
baptism just as Christ was taken from the cross to the tomb that is before you. Each of you was asked whether you believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. You made a confession, one that brings salvation. Then you descended into the water and emerged three times, this symbolizing the three days Christ spent in the tomb. Just as our Savior spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth,[7] so your first ascent [from the water] imitated Christ's first day in the tomb, and your descent imitated the night, for at night one can no longer see. On the other hand, during the day there is light. So during the night you see nothing; but upon emerging you find yourselves as during the day. And so at one and the same time you were born and you died. The saving water was both your tomb and your mother. What Solomon said about others can surely be applied to you: "There is a time to be born and a time to die."[8] But for you it was just the opposite; there was a time to die and a time to be born. At one and the same time there were two events: your birth coinciding with your death.

5. How strange and paradoxical! We were not really dead; we were not 2120
really buried; we were not really crucified; we did not really rise again. Yet whereas imitation is only an image, our salvation is a reality. Christ has really been crucified, really buried, really risen, and all this grace is given to us so that we, sharing in his sufferings by imitating them, will in reality obtain salvation. O limitless kindness! Christ received the nails in his pure hands and has suffered. As for us, without our suffering and without our pain, he allowed us to participate in the grace of salvation.

6. No one should believe that baptism obtains only the grace of the for- 2121
giveness of sins and of adoption as children, and that it is akin to John's

4. Cant 5:3. 5. See Gen 2:25. 6. See Rom 11:17–24. 7. See Matt 12:40. 8. Eccl 3:2.

baptism, which brought about only the forgiveness of sins. We well know that baptism removes our sins, gives us the gift of the Holy Spirit, and is also a sign of Christ's passion. It is for this reason that Paul just now said, "Do you not know that we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Indeed we were buried with Christ through baptism."[9] Paul said this to those who believed that baptism, although granting the forgiveness of sins and adoption as children, does not imply any participation, by imitation, in the sufferings of Christ.

2122 7. We should, therefore, learn this: whatever Christ endured, he endured for us and for our salvation. He did so in reality, not in appearance; and thus we participate in his sufferings. For this reason Paul cried out with all exactitude, "If we have been planted together with Christ in the likeness of his death, we will also be planted with him in the likeness of his resurrection."[10] How good is the expression "planted with"! Since "the true vine"[11] [the cross] has been planted here [in Jerusalem], we also, by participating in the baptism of his death, have become "planted with" him. Pay close attention to the words of the apostle. He did not say, "If we are 'planted with' him by death." No! What he said was, "in the likeness of death." Truly it was a real death, his soul being separated from his body and truly a burial, with his holy body being wrapped in a pure linen cloth.[12] All this really took place. For us it is the likeness of his death and suffering; as to salvation, there is no likeness but the reality.

82-C-3. MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESIS III†

2123 1. Baptized into Christ and having put on Christ,[1] you have become conformed to the Son of God. God, in fact, has "destined us to be his adopted children."[2] He has made us like the glorious body of Christ.[3] In that you "share in Christ,"[4] it is proper to call you the anointed ones, and it is about you that God said, "Do not touch my anointed ones."[5] For you have become "anointed ones," having received the sign of the Holy Spirit. All has been accomplished in you as an image because you are images of Christ.

2124 Christ bathed in the Jordan River and communicated his divinity to the waters; he came up from the waters, and the substance of the Holy Spirit came upon him—like, as it were, coming upon like. After coming up from the pool of the holy waters, you received the chrismation, the antitype of that with which Christ was anointed, namely, "the Holy Spirit," of whom the blessed Isaiah also prophesied, saying in the person of the Lord, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; this is why he anointed me; he sent me to bring glad tidings to the poor."[6]

---

9. Rom 6:3–4. 10. Rom 6:5. 11. John 15:1. 12. See Matt 27:59.

† Translated from SChr 126 bis, 120–33. The reading is 1 John 2:20–28.

1. See Gal 3:27. 2. Eph 1:5. 3. See Phil 3:21. · 4. Heb 3:14. 5. Ps 105:15. 6. Isa 61:1; Luke 4:18.

2. It was not a human being who anointed Christ. It was the Father 2125
who, before designating him beforehand to be the Savior of the world, anointed him with the Holy Spirit. As Peter said, "Jesus of Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit."[7] David the prophet wrote, "O God, your throne lasts forever; the scepter of righteousness is the scepter of your kingdom. You loved justice and hated iniquity; this is why God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness, beyond all your companions."[8]

Truly was Christ crucified, buried, and raised again. It was in a likeness, 2126
through baptism, that you were judged worthy to be crucified, buried, and raised with him. Likewise for the anointing. He was anointed with the spiritual oil of gladness, namely, the Holy Spirit, called the oil of gladness because the Spirit is the source of spiritual joy. And you, you have been anointed with myron, having become partakers and companions of Christ.

3. Take care not to believe that myron is an ordinary oil. Just as the eu- 2127
charistic bread after the *epiclesis* of the Holy Spirit is no longer ordinary bread but the Body of Christ, so this holy oil after the *epiclesis* is no longer a pure and simple liquid or, as some might say, common oil. It is a gift from Christ and by the presence of the Holy Spirit is capable of installing his divinity within us. This oil is symbolically applied to your forehead and other senses. Your body is anointed with the myron whereas your soul is sanctified by the holy and life-giving Spirit.

4. You were anointed first on your forehead in order to be freed from the 2128
shame that the first man, the transgressor, carried with him everywhere,[9] and so that with face uncovered you might reflect as in a mirror the glory of the Savior.[10] Then your ears were anointed so that you might receive the ears spoken of by Isaiah, "The Lord has given me ears so that I might hear."[11] There is also what the Lord said in the Gospel, "Let those with ears listen."[12] Then you were anointed on the nostrils so that you could say, "We are the aroma of Christ for God in those who are being saved."[13] Following this you were anointed on your chest so that "having put on the breastplate of righteousness, you might resist the snares of the devil."[14] Just as the Savior after his baptism and after the visitation of the Holy Spirit went out to fight the adversary,[15] so you also after your holy baptism and the mystical anointing are to put on the armor of the Holy Spirit.[16] Resist the power of the enemy. Struggle against him while saying, "I can do all things in Christ who gives me strength."[17]

5. Now that you have been deemed worthy of this holy chrismation, 2129
you are called Christians [the "anointed ones"], a title justified by your

7. Acts 10:38. 8. Ps 44:6–7. 9. See Gen 3:9–10. 10. See 2 Cor 3:18. 11. Isa 50:4, LXX. 12. Matt 11:15. 13. 2 Cor 2:15. 14. Eph 6:14, 11; see Isa 11:5; 59:17; 1 Thess 5:8. 15. See Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13. 16. See Eph 6:11. 17. Phil 4:13.

new birth. In fact, before you were judged worthy of baptism and of the grace of the Holy Spirit, you did not strictly merit this title although you were on the way toward becoming Christians.

2130 6. It is necessary for you to know that the sign of this chrismation is found in the ancient Scriptures. When Moses gave his brother God's command and made him a high priest, and after having washed Aaron with water, Moses anointed Aaron.[18] Consequently Aaron was called "the anointed one"[19] by virtue of this pre-figuring anointing. Likewise when the high priest elevated Solomon to kingship, he anointed him after washing him in Gihon.[20] Yet for all these this anointing was but a figure. For you, however, it is a reality, not a figure, because you were truly anointed by the Holy Spirit. Christ is the beginning of your salvation.[a] He is truly the first fruits, and you are the dough. If the first fruits are holy, obviously holiness passes over into the dough.

2131 7. Preserve this gift without stain. It will teach you all things provided it remains in you as you have just heard blessed John say to you[21] in his lengthy discourse on the anointing. This holy gift is the spiritual safeguard of your body and the salvation of your soul.

2132 Listen to what blessed Isaiah foretold so long ago, "On this mountain the Lord will work for all the people."[22] The word "mountain" designates the Church as it does elsewhere when he says, for example, "The mountain of the Lord will be visible during the last days,"[23]—and "they will drink wine, they will drink happiness, they will be anointed with oil."[24] And to invite you to understand fully this oil in a mystical sense, he says, "Give all this to the nations, for the Lord's plan concerns all nations."[25]

2133 And so those of you who have been anointed with the holy myron are to keep yourselves spotless and pure, progressing in good works, seeking to please the author of our salvation,[26] Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

82-C-4. MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESIS IV[†]

2134 1. The teaching of blessed Paul is itself sufficient to give you complete assurance regarding the divine mysteries; you were judged worthy of these and thus became one Body and one Blood with Jesus Christ. Paul, in fact, just proclaimed to you, "On the night he was betrayed, our Lord Jesus Christ took bread and, having given thanks, broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my Body.' In the same way he took the cup, and having given thanks he said, 'Take, drink, this is my

---

a. The text here seems corrupt.

18. See Lev 8:1–12. 19. See Lev 4:5. 20. See 1 Kgs 1:38–39, 45. 21. See 1 John 2:27. 22. Isa 25:6, LXX. 23. Isa 2:2, LXX. 24. Isa 25:6, LXX. 25. Isa 25:7, LXX. 26. See 2 Cor 5:9; Heb 2:10.

† Translated from SChr 126 bis, 134–45. The reading is 1 Corinthians 11:23ff.

Blood.'"[1] Since Christ himself declared and said, "This is my Body," can anyone doubt any longer? And since he himself affirmed and said, "This is my Blood," who will hesitate to say that it is not his Blood?

2. Previous to this Christ by his own power changed water into wine at 2135
Cana.[2] Thus should we not believe him when he says that he is changing wine into his blood? Invited to a human wedding, he performed such a wonderful miracle. Accordingly should we not be much more willing to acknowledge that he gives to his wedding guests[3] the joy of receiving his Body and Blood?

3. And so, completely assured, may we receive Christ's Body and Blood. 2136
Under the figure of bread we receive his Body. Under the figure of wine we receive his Blood. In this way, by sharing in Christ's Body and Blood, we become one Body and one Blood with Christ. In this way we become "bearers of Christ," his Body and his Blood spreading throughout the members of our bodies. And so, according to blessed Peter, we become "sharers in the divine nature."[4]

4. Christ once told the Jews, "Unless you eat my flesh and drink my 2137
blood, you will not have life in you."[5] Failing to understand his words spiritually, they were scandalized and left him, believing that the Savior was extending them an invitation to eat in a physical manner.[6]

5. In the Old Testament there were the "Shewbread."[7] But these loaves, 2138
being of the Old Testament, exist no longer. In the New Testament we have heavenly bread and the cup of salvation,[8] sanctifying soul and body. Just as bread is made the Body, so the Word well agrees with the soul.

6. Do not regard the bread and wine as merely bread and wine, for they 2139
are, according to the declaration of the Master, Christ's Body and Blood. Even though your senses suggest otherwise, let your faith reassure you. In such a matter do not judge on the basis of taste, but may your faith fully assure you, now that you have been deemed worthy of Christ's Body and Blood.

7. Blessed David explains to you the power of this mystery when he 2140
says, "You prepared a table for me, in the sight of my foes."[9] His meaning is this: "Lord, before your coming the evil spirits prepared for humankind a table that was dirty, defiled, and full of the devil's power. But after your coming, O Master, you laid before me a table." When someone says to God, "You have laid before me a table," what do they wish to signify unless it is the mystical and spiritual table prepared for us by God against the enemy, a table that resists the evil spirits? Yes, indeed! The previous table calls for communion with the evil spirits. This table, on the contrary, calls for communion with God.

---

1. 1 Cor 11:23–25. 2. See John 2:1–11. 3. See Matt 9:15; Mark 2:19; Luke 5:34. 4. 2 Pet 1:4. 5. John 6:53. 6. See John 6:61, 63, 66. 7. See Lev 24:5–9; 1 Chr 9:32. 8. See Ps 116:13. 9. Ps 23:5.

2141 "You anointed my head with oil."[10] With oil he has anointed your forehead because of the seal you obtain from God—so that you become what is engraved on this seal, "the holiness of God."[11] "And your cup cheers me like the best [wine]."[12] Here you see the cup that Jesus took into his hands and over which he gave thanks, saying, "This is my Blood shed for many unto the forgiveness of sins."[13]

2142 8. This is why Solomon, alluding to this gift, says in Ecclesiastes, "Come, eat your bread in joy," spiritual bread. "Come." His call designates salvation and brings joy. "Drink your wine with a happy heart." Spiritual wine. "And spread oil upon your head." Do you see him alluding to the mystical anointing? And "may your garments always be white since the Lord is pleased with your works."[14] Yes, the Lord is now pleased with your works. Before you came to grace [the grace of baptism], your works were "vanity of vanities."[15] But now that you have put off your former garments and clothed yourselves in spiritual whiteness, you must always be garbed in white. By this we surely do not mean that you should always wear white garments, but that it is necessary for you to be clothed with garments that are truly white, spiritually shining so that you might say with blessed Isaiah, "My soul rejoices in the Lord, for he has clothed me with the garment of salvation, he has placed a robe of joy around me."[16]

2143 9. Now you have been instructed. Now you are fully convinced. You know that what seems to be bread when tasted, is not bread but the Body of Christ. What seems to be wine when drunk, is not wine but the Blood of Christ. And you also know that it was in this regard that David sang, "Bread strengthens the human heart; oil has the human face shine gloriously."[17] Strengthened in heart, receive this bread as spiritual bread. Gladden the face of your soul. May you unveil it with a pure conscience, reflecting as if in a mirror the glory of our Lord.[18] May you journey on from glory to glory in Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

82-C-5. MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHESIS V†

2144 1. In our previous gatherings and by the goodness of God you heard us sufficiently instruct you regarding baptism, the chrismation, and participation in Christ's Body and Blood. Now we must pass on to what happens next, namely, we must place a crown on the spiritual edifice that has been of such great benefit to you.

2145 2. You saw the deacon presenting the water for the washing of the hands to the priest and to the elders who surround God's altar. The

---

10. Ibid. 11. See Exod 28:36; Sir 45:12. 12. Ps 22:5, LXX. 13. Matt 26:28. 14. See Eccl 9:8, 7. 15. Eccl 1:2. 16. Isa 61:10, LXX. 17. Ps 103:15, LXX. 18. See 2 Cor 3:18.

† Translated from SChr 126 bis, 146–61, 168–75. The reading is 1 Peter 2:1ff.

deacon did this not because of bodily uncleanness. Not at all. Our bodies were not dirty when we entered the church at the beginning. Washing the hands is a sign that we must be purified of all our sins and failings. Just as the hands are a symbol of the altar, it is clear that by washing them we indicate the purity and innocence of our actions. Have you not heard blessed David reveal this very mystery, saying, "I will wash my hands among the innocent, and I will go around your altar, O Lord"?[1] And so washing the hands is a sign of incompatibility with sin.

3. Then the deacon cries out, "Greet one another, kiss one another." 2146
Do not think that such a kiss is like that given in public among ordinary friends. There is no comparison. This kiss shows a union of souls, and it solicits for them the absence of all resentment. It is a sign that souls are united and that all resentment has been banished. This is why Christ said, "If you bring your gift to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift at the altar, go, and first be reconciled with your brother. Then come and present your offering."[2] And so this kiss is one of reconciliation. This is why it is holy; blessed Paul somewhere says, "Greet one another with a holy kiss."[3] Also Peter, "Greet one another with a loving kiss."[4]

4. Then the priest cries out, "Lift up your hearts." Truly at this most 2147
awesome moment we should lift up our hearts to God and not toward the earth and earthly affairs. So the priest now enjoins us to lay aside all cares and domestic worries; we are to raise our hearts toward the all-loving God in heaven.

You reply, "We lift them up to the Lord." Here you give your assent. 2148
May no one stand there and say with the mouth, "We lift them up to the Lord," while being concerned with the things of this world. To be sure, we should always be thinking about God. Yet if human weakness makes this impossible, it is especially at this moment that we should be thinking about him.

5. The priest says, "Give thanks to the Lord." Indeed we are to give 2149
thanks since God has called us, unworthy as we are, to so great a grace. He reconciled us when we were his enemies, because he judged us worthy of the spirit of adoption.[5] You then say, "It is right and fitting." To give thanks is, in fact, an action that is right and fitting. It is an action that is not merely fitting but more than fitting since God has done good things for us and has judged us worthy of such great gifts.

6. Next we mention heaven, the earth, the sea; also the sun and the 2150
moon, the stars, and all creation both rational and irrational, both visible and invisible. Also the angels, the archangels, the Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones, the Cherubims with many faces.[6] With energy we repeat the words of David, "Magnify the Lord with me."[7] We

1. Ps 26:6. 2. Matt 5:23–24. 3. Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20. 4. 1 Pet 5:14. 5. See Rom 5:10; 8:15. 6. See Ezek 10:21. 7. Ps 34:3.

also mention the Seraphim whom Isaiah in the Holy Spirit envisioned as surrounding the throne of God, with two wings covering their faces, with another two hiding their feet, and with still another two hovering above, while they cry out, "Holy, holy, holy Lord of hosts."[8] The reason we pray this doxology, which has been handed down to us by the Seraphim, is that we desire to be associated with these heavenly hosts by sharing in this hymn.

2151 7. Once made holy by such spiritual songs, we beseech the all-kind God to send the Holy Spirit upon the gifts placed here so that the bread may become the Body of Christ, that the wine may become his Blood, for everything touched by the Holy Spirit becomes holy and is transformed.

2152 8. Then once the spiritual and unbloody sacrifice has been completed, we invoke God over this propitiatory victim for general peace among the churches, for harmony in the world, for emperors, for soldiers and allies, for the sick, for the afflicted, and, in a word, for all who need help. It is for these that all of us pray and offer this sacrifice.

2153 9. Next we mention those who have fallen asleep [in the Lord]. We pray first for the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, so that—thanks to their prayers and intercessions—God might welcome our supplications. We then pray for the holy fathers, the deceased bishops, and in general for all the departed. We believe that souls will greatly profit if we pray for them during the offering of the holy and most awesome sacrifice.

2154 10. Allow me to persuade you by means of an illustration, for I know that many of you are saying, "What advantage is there for a soul that has departed this world, whether with or without sins, to be mentioned during the eucharistic sacrifice?" Let us see. If a king were to exile those who had offended him, and if some of the exiles' friends, having woven a crown, were to present it to the king on behalf of those exiled, would not the king hold off the punishment? It is exactly the same when we present our supplications to God on behalf of the dead, even if they were sinners. We do not weave a crown but we offer Christ, who was sacrificed for our sins, propitiating the all-kind God for them and for ourselves.

2155 11. After this you say the prayer given by Christ to his own disciples. [. . .]

2156 18. [. . .] Once the prayer has been completed you say, "Amen," which means "So be it," thus attesting your assent to the contents of the prayer taught us by God.

2157 19. The priest then says, "Holy things to the holy ones." Holy are the gifts placed here, for the Holy Spirit has descended upon them. You also are holy, for you have been judged worthy of the Holy Spirit. And so, "Holy things to the holy ones." They go together. But you say, "There is only one Holy One, only one Lord Jesus Christ." To be sure, only one is

8. See Isa 6:3.

holy, holy by nature, for if we also are holy, we are holy not by our nature but by participation, by practice, and by prayer.

20. Then you hear the cantor. By means of a divine melody he invites 2158
you to participate in the Holy Mysteries as he sings, "Taste and see that the Lord is good."[9] Do not trust your judgment to your bodily palate but to unwavering faith. When tasting, you taste neither bread nor wine but Christ's Body and Blood which they signify.

21. When you approach, do not come forward with hands extended 2159
or with fingers apart. Rather, with your left hand make a throne for your right hand since you are to receive the King. In the hollow of your hand receive the Body of Christ and say, "Amen." Then carefully sanctify your eyes by touching them with the holy Body, which you then receive, being careful not to lose any of it, for whatever you lose is as if you were deprived of one of your own bodily members. Tell me. Suppose you were given some grains of gold-dust, would you not retain them with the utmost care, taking care not to lose any of them and thus suffering harm? And so would you not all the more take care not to drop what is more valuable than gold and precious stones?

22. After receiving the Body of Christ, you receive his Blood from the 2160
cup. Do not stretch out your hands but, making a bow as a sign of adoration and veneration, you say, "Amen." By receiving the Blood of Christ you sanctify yourself. While your lips are still moist, touch them and then sanctify your ears, forehead, and other senses. While awaiting the prayer, give thanks to God who has judged you worthy of such great mysteries.

23. Retain and do not change these traditions. Keep yourselves from 2161
stumbling. Do not separate yourselves from communion. Do not by the stain of sin deprive yourselves of his sacred and spiritual mysteries.

"May the God of peace make you completely holy. May your body, 2162
soul, and spirit be kept sound for the coming of our Lord Jesus,"[10] to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

83. EGERIA. *PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY PLACES*†

In 1884 G.F. Gamurrini came across an eleventh-century manuscript in the library of the Fraternità S. Maria in Arezzo, located in central Italy. The document, once the property of the monastery of Monte Cassino and mutilated at its beginning and end as well as having several lacunae, is a type of diary or letter describing the author's journeys in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in the East.

9. Ps 34:8. 10. 1 Thess 5:23.

† Translated from *Journal de voyage: itinéraire Egérie*, trans. M.C. Diaz y Diaz, ed. P. Maraval, SChr 296 (Paris, 1982), from which many of the headings are taken. Excellent notes and commentaries are found in G.E. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage,* Ancient Christian Writers 38 (New York, 1970). Also in J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Warminster, 1999).

Although the manuscript itself does not bear the name of the journal's author, the more prevalent name given to this person is that of Egeria (also known as Aetheria, Eucheria, etc.), thought to be a member of a religious community, perhaps even an abbess, and originating either from southern Gaul or from Galicia in northwestern Spain. The travels (actually four journeys) she describes to her "sisters back home" took place, as most believe, between 381 and 384. Her Latin, reflecting the more popular speech of the time, is unique for its transliteration of various Greek terms.

Of special interest are the chapters in which Egeria describes the liturgical celebrations in Jerusalem. She begins by treating the daily liturgy (XXIV:1–7), then the Sunday schedule of observances (XXIV:8–XXV:5). A lacuna then appears in the manuscript; perhaps the lost text details the weekly Wednesday and Friday liturgies. Finally she discusses the various feasts and seasons of the liturgical year (XXV:6–IL:3).

CPL no. 2325 * Altaner (1961) 261–62 * Altaner (1966) 245 * Bardenhewer (1908) 424–25 * Bardenhewer (1910) 368–69 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:416–21 * Bardy (1930) 115 * Labriolle (1947) 2:560–66 * Labriolle (1968) 376–80 * Quasten 4:558–62 * Steidle 257 * Tixeront 246 * CATH 1:174 * CHECL 283 * DACL 5.1:552–84 * DPAC 1:1108 * DHGE 15:1–5 * DictSp 4.2:1448–52 * EC 5:133–36 * EEC 1:263–64 * EEChr 1:362–63 * LTK 3:464 * NCE 11:119 * NCES 5:104–6 * ODCC 534 * RACh 19:15–17

G. Morin, "Le carême à Jérusalem, à la fin du IVe siècle," LMF 6 (1889) 102–9. * F. Cabrol, *Etude sur la Peregrinatio Silviae: les églises de Jérusalem, la discipline et la liturgie au IVe siècle* (Paris and Poitiers, 1895). * A. Baumstark, "Das Alter der *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*," OC, n.s., 1 (1911) 32–76. * J.B. Thibaut, "Solemnnité du dimanche des palmes," EO 24 (1921) 68–78, 155–67. * A. Bludau, "Der Katechumenat in Jerusalem im 4. Jahrhundert," ThGl 16 (1924) 225–42. * J.B. Thibaut, *Ordre des offices de la semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IVe au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1926). * A. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise des Aetheria*, StGKA 15 (1927). * C. Lambot, "Un Ieiunium Quinquagesimae en Afrique au IVe siècle et date de quelques sermons de s. Augustin," RB 47 (1935) 114–24. * D. Baldi, *La liturgia della chiesa di Gerusalemme dal IV al IX secolo* (Jerusalem, 1939). * F.J. Dölger, "Zu den Zeremonien der Messliturgie: *Ite missa est* in kultur- und sprachgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung," AC 6 (1940) 81–132. * E. Dekkers, "De Datum der Peregrinato Egeriae en het Feest van Ons Heer Hemelvaart," SE 1 (1948) 181–205. * J.G. Davies, "The *Peregrinatio Egeriae* and the Ascension," VC 8 (1954) 93–100. * A.A. Stephenson, "The Lenten Catechetical Syllabus in Fourth-Century Jerusalem," TS 15 (1954) 103–16. * G. Kretschmar, "Himmelfart and Pfingsten," ZKG 66 (1954–55) 209ff. * A. Pagliaro, "Da *Missa est* a *Missa* Messa," *Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche et filologiche dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 8, 10 (1955) 104–35. * A. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus: Typen frühchristlicher Vigilienfeier und ihr Fortleben vor allem im römischen und monastischen Ritus*, LQF 32 (Münster, 1957). * A. Coppo, "Una nuova ipotesi sull'orgine di Missa," EphL 71 (1957) 225–67. * J. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra: essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes*, OCA 156 (Rome, 1959). * J. Mateos, "La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie," OCP 27 (1961) 281–312. * J.-G. Préaux, "Panis qui delibari non potest," VC 15 (1961) 105–15. * A.A.R. Bastiaensen, *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Egérie*, Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva 17 (Nijmegen, 1962). * P. Devos, "Egérie à Bethléem. Le 40e jour après Pâques à

Jérusalem, en 383," AB 86 (1968) 87–108. * R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedral-offizium Jerusalems*, LQF 48 (Münster, 1968). * J. Crehan, "The Assumption and the Jerusalem Liturgy," TS 30 (1969) 312–25. * J. Wilkinson, "Jewish Influences on the Early Christian Rite of Jerusalem," Mus 92 (1979) 347–59. * M.E. Johnson, "Reconciling Cyril and Egeria on the Catechetical Process in Fourth-Century Jerusalem," in *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 8 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1988) 18–30. * M. Augé, "Une liturgia del peregrinaje," EOr 2:2 (1985) 113–25. * R.J. Oróz, "Del latín cristiano al latín litúrgico: algunas observaciones en torno al 'Itinerarium Egeriae,'" Latomus 48 (1989) 401–15. * M. Augé, "La assamblea litúrgica en el 'Itinerarium Egeriae,'" EOr 7 (1990) 43–60. * E.J. Yarnold, "Egeria's Pilgrimage," in StLit, 95–96. * E. Bermejo Cabrera, *La proclamacion de la escritura en la liturgia de Jerusalem: estudio terminologico del "Itinerarium Egeriae,"* Collectio Maior: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 37 (Jerusalem, 1993).

THE LITURGY OF JERUSALEM

XXIV.1. So that Your Affection might know which offices take place each day in the holy places, I will instruct you since I know that you are eager to learn about these things. 2163

DAILY OFFICES

Morning vigil and office

Each day before cockcrow all the doors of the Anastasis[a] are opened, and all the *monazontes* and *parthene* [monks and virgins],[b] as they call them here, go down; not only these but also the laity, both men and women, who desire to rise early. From that hour till dawn they sing[c] hymns; they respond to the psalms and even to the antiphons;[d] a prayer follows each 2164

a. In Egeria's day what we call the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was a complex of buildings, consisting of two halves separated by a courtyard or atrium. The Anastasis (from the Greek for "resurrection"), a distinct building, was located on the western end of the complex. This was a domed building, constructed under the patronage of Constantine and his mother sometime between 335 and 340, containing in its very center the rock or cave in which according to tradition Christ was buried. The daily offices were celebrated in this basilica. On the eastern end of the complex was the major church, called the Martyrion.

b. Egeria here uses the transliterated Greek words *monazontes* and *parthene*, presumably local terms designating male and female religious connected with the prayer life of the Jerusalem church. Our translation simply uses the words "monks" and "virgins."

c. The Latin *dicuntur, dicitur*, etc., used by Egeria are translated by "sung," although "singing" at the time of Egeria may well have been quite different from what is customarily considered "singing" today.

d. It is difficult to make technical distinctions as to Egeria's use of the words *psalmus* and *antiphona*. Furthermore, she says that the participants at the vigil "respond" to the psalms and even to the antiphons. Does this refer to antiphonal psalmody as we know it? Does the word *antiphona* refer to singing by two choirs in alternation? We just don't know.

hymn. On successive days two or three presbyters as well as deacons come with the monks and say prayers after each hymn or antiphon. 2. Once it becomes light, they begin singing the morning hymns. Behold the bishop and the clergy arrive; he immediately goes into the grotto and inside the railings he first says a prayer for all; then he mentions the names of those he wishes to commemorate, and he blesses the catechumens. Afterwards the bishop says a prayer and blesses the faithful. Next, when he has come out from behind the railings, all approach to kiss his hand;[e] exiting, he blesses them one by one, and so the dismissal[f] takes place; by now it is already day.

Sixth and ninth hours

2165 XXIV.3. At the sixth hour all return to the Anastasis. Psalms and antiphons are sung while the bishop is being summoned. He also returns but does not sit. Immediately he goes inside the railings in the Anastasis, namely, into the grotto he entered in the morning. As earlier, he says a prayer and then blesses the faithful. Once he comes out from behind the railings, the faithful likewise approach to kiss his hand. At the ninth hour all takes place as at the sixth hour.

Lucernarium

2166 XXIV.4. At the tenth hour, which is here called the *licinico*—we say *lucernarium*[g]—all the people again assemble at the Anastasis. The lamps and candles are lighted; consequently there is an abundance of light. The light is not brought in from the outside but it is taken from within the grotto, namely, from within the railings where day and night a lamp is always burning. The evening psalms are sung as well as the antiphons, and this lasts for quite some time. And so someone summons the bishop. He enters and is seated on an elevated chair; the presbyters also sit in their assigned places. Hymns and antiphons are sung. 5. When these are completed according to custom, the bishop rises and stands in front of the railings, namely, in front of the grotto. As customary, one of the deacons commemorates each. When the deacon mentions a particular name, the large number of children who are standing there, respond over and over again *Kyrie eleison*—we say "Lord, have mercy"—and their voices are innumerable.

---

e. The Latin here and elsewhere simply reads, *omnes ei ad manum acceditur.*

f. The Latin *missa* has two meanings in Egeria: the liturgical dismissal at the end of a religious service; the religious service itself, which may or may not be eucharistic.

g. The *lucernarium* ("candlelight") appears to have had its origin in the Jewish and then monastic custom of blessing the lamps at the beginning of evening. Since the time of Benedict (WEC 4:155) this evening service came to be known in the West as Vespers and was celebrated, depending on the season of the year, between the fifteenth and seventeenth hours. It was a popular observance, one of the whole community, not only of the religious and the ordained.

6. Once the deacon has finished all that he has to say, the bishop says a prayer, praying for everyone; then all pray, both the faithful and the catechumens. Next the deacon raises his voice so that all the catechumens, wherever they are standing, may bow their heads. Then the bishop, standing, blesses the catechumens. A prayer is said, and the deacon again raises his voice and asks that all members of the faithful, wherever they are standing, bow their heads. The bishop then blesses the faithful, gives the dismissal at the Anastasis, and all approach to kiss his hand. 7. After this the bishop is led out of the Anastasis to the Cross.[h] Hymns are sung as the people accompany him. Arriving there, he says a prayer and then blesses the catechumens; he says another prayer and blesses the faithful. Afterwards the bishop with all the people goes behind the Cross and there repeats what was done in front of the Cross. The people approach to kiss the bishop's hand behind the Cross as they did in the Anastasis before the Cross. A goodly number of very large glass lamps are hung throughout, and there are just as many candles before the Anastasis as there are before and behind the Cross. All this concludes at twilight. These offices take place daily on weekdays at the Cross and at the Anastasis.

THE SUNDAY LITURGY

Arriving early

XXIV.8. On the seventh day, Sunday, before cockcrow, all the people 2167
gather outside—as many as can assemble in this place as at Easter—in the courtyard, which is next to the Anastasis but outside where lamps are hanging for this purpose. The people, fearing they will arrive late for the cockcrow, arrive early and are sitting there. Hymns as well as antiphons are sung, and each hymn or antiphon has a prayer. Due to the crowd that gathers, presbyters and deacons are always present, ready to conduct the service. It is customary not to open the holy places before cockcrow.

Vigil

XXIV.9. As soon as the first cock has crowed, the bishop arrives at the 2168
church and enters the grotto at the Anastasis. All the doors are now opened, and the whole multitude enters the Anastasis where already a large number of lamps are burning. Once the people have come in, a

h. Between the Anastasis and the Martyrion was an open-air courtyard, with porticoes or porches on three sides. In the southeast corner of this atrium was the rock or hill of Golgotha ("place of the skull"), where a cross was located, the whole shrine enclosed behind a railing. Egeria designates this area as being "at the Cross" (*ad Crucem*); it was here that the people were dismissed from the evening service each evening. She generally employs the term "before the Cross" (*ante Crucem*) to designate either the whole courtyard or to contrast the area in front of the Cross with that behind it. Somewhere behind the shrine (*post Crucem* according to Egeria) was located a small chapel with an altar. It was here that the eucharistic liturgy was celebrated on Thursday of Holy Week and the cross was venerated on Good Friday.

presbyter sings a psalm and all respond; a prayer follows. Then one of the deacons sings a psalm, and there is another prayer. A third psalm is sung by a cleric; again there is a prayer and a commemoration of all.

2169 XXIV.10. After these three psalms and three prayers, censers are brought into the grotto of the Anastasis so that the whole basilica is filled with a sweet odor. Then the bishop, standing within the railings, takes the gospel book, goes to the entrance, and himself reads the account of the Lord's resurrection. When he begins to do so, there is such crying and lamentation on the part of all who are present that even the hardest of heart are moved to tears by what the Lord has endured for us. 11. After the gospel has been read, the bishop leaves, escorted to the Cross with the singing of hymns, and all the people accompany him. Again there is a psalm and a prayer. Then he blesses and dismisses the faithful. As the bishop is leaving, all the people approach to kiss his hand. 12. The bishop then returns home. From this moment on all the monks return to the Anastasis where they sing psalms and antiphons till dawn, each psalm or antiphon being followed by a prayer. The presbyters and deacons alternate in keeping vigil at the Anastasis with the people. As to the laity, namely, the men and the women, those who desire to do so remain there till dawn; those not wishing to do so return home in order to retire and sleep.

Morning office

2170 XXV.1. Since it is Sunday, all gather at dawn for worship in the major church constructed by Constantine and located on Golgotha behind the Cross;[i] what is customarily done all over on Sunday is done there. The custom here is that all the presbyters present, as many as so desire, preach and after them the bishop does likewise. This preaching takes place on all Sundays so that the people may continually be instructed in the Scriptures and in love of God. The length of time required by these sermons greatly delays the dismissal from the church, and so this occurs not before the fourth or even the fifth hour. 2. Once the dismissal from the church takes place in the manner observed everywhere, the monks accompany the bishop from the church to the Anastasis, doing so with the singing of hymns. Once the bishop begins to approach with the singing of hymns, all the doors of the basilica of the Anastasis are opened. The people enter, that is, the faithful but not the catechumens. 3. When the people have gone in, the bishop enters and immediately goes behind the railings of the grotto of the Martyrion. First, thanks is given to God;[j] then a prayer is offered for all. After this a deacon loudly declares that all, wherever they are standing, should bow their heads. And so the bishop, standing behind the

i. The church here is that of the Martyrion ("witness"), a five-aisled building located at the eastern end of Constantine's complex; it was built over the place where Helena was said to have discovered the relics of the true cross.

j. Presumably this refers to the Eucharist.

railings, blesses them and leaves. 4. While he is departing, all approach to kiss his hand. And so the dismissal is deferred to the fifth or sixth hour.

At the *lucernarium* everything proceeds according to the custom of each 2171
day. This practice is observed on all the days of the year except on feasts. Later on we will indicate how these days are celebrated.

xxv.5. What is most noteworthy is that appropriate psalms and anti- 2172
phons are always sung. Whether these occur at night, in the morning, or during the day, whether at the sixth hour, the ninth hour, or at the *lucernarium*, they are always fitting and well-chosen so that they agree with what is being celebrated. 6. Although throughout the year the people always gather on Sunday behind the Cross in the major church built at Golgotha by Constantine, yet on one Sunday of the Fifty Days [after Easter], namely, on Pentecost, the people gather at Sion,[k] as you will find indicated below. But so that they may go to Sion before the third hour, the dismissal is first given in the major church.

[*A folio is missing at this point in the manuscript.*]

THE EPIPHANY

Night office at Bethlehem

[. . .] "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,"[1] etc. Since it 2173
is necessary to move very slowly because of the monks who come on foot, the people reach Jerusalem at the hour when they can begin to recognize one another, namely, when dawn is just beginning. 7. Once they arrive there, the bishop and all with him immediately enter the Anastasis where the lights are already shining very brightly. A psalm is said, followed by a prayer. The bishop first blesses the catechumens, then the faithful. He leaves, and each person goes home to gain some rest. The monks, however, remain there till dawn singing hymns.

Offices during the day

xxv.8. When the people have rested and at the beginning of the second 2174
hour all gather in the major church which is at Golgotha. We need not describe how beautiful the church is on this day, whether the Anastasis or that of the Cross or that at Bethlehem. Nothing other than gold, precious stones, and silk are seen there, together with silk hangings and tapestries embossed with gold. All the various liturgical objects used on this day are

k. This mount was situated within Jerusalem and was the location of a small oratory built about 130. The building was enlarged sometime between 335 and 347. It is the traditional site of the upper room where the Eucharist was instituted and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles. At Egeria's time the assembly gathered here on Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, as well as on the night before Good Friday, on Easter after the evening service, and for the main observance on Pentecost.

1. Ps 118:26; Matt 21:9.

of gold or are inlaid with precious gems. How can we begin to estimate or describe the number and weight of the candles, the candelabra, the lamps, and the various sacred vessels? 9. What can I say about the splendor of the buildings themselves which Constantine and his mother, employing all the resources of his empire, have endowed with gold, mosaics, precious marble, the major church as well as the Anastasis, the Cross, and the other holy places in Jerusalem? 10. But to return to my subject. The service on the first day is celebrated in the major church on Golgotha. Whatever the sermons, whatever the various readings, whatever the hymns—all are appropriate to the day. Then after the dismissal from the church all, singing hymns, go to the Anastasis according to custom; after this the dismissal takes place about the sixth hour. 11. Also on this day Vespers is celebrated according to each day's custom.

Octave of the Epiphany

2175 On the following day all assemble in the church at Golgotha; they do so again on the third day. And so for three days this solemnity is celebrated up to the sixth hour in the church built by Constantine. On the fourth day it is at the Eleona,[l] namely, the church, a very beautiful one, located on the Mount of Olives where everything is celebrated in the same manner. On the fifth day it is at the Lazarium,[m] which is about fifteen-hundred paces from Jerusalem; on the sixth day it is at Sion; the seventh day at the Anastasis; and the eighth day at the Cross. And so this solemnity is celebrated throughout eight days with great pomp in all the holy places that I have just named.

2176 XXV.12. At Bethlehem[n] on every day throughout the whole octave this solemnity is celebrated by the presbyters, all the clergy of the place, and the monks who are attached there. From the hour when all with the bishop return at night from Jerusalem, the monks of this place, whoever they are, keep vigil till dawn in the church at Bethlehem, singing hymns and antiphons; the bishop is always to celebrate these feasts in Jerusalem. Because of the joyful solemnities on this day innumerable crowds gather in Jerusalem from all over, not only monks but also the laity, both men and women.

---

l. Eleona ("olive yard" or "olive grove"): a church located on the Mount of Olives, which is situated to the east of Jerusalem and rises to some twenty-six hundred feet; one of the four churches built by Constantine. According to tradition it was here that Christ spoke to his disciples about the last things as recounted in Mark 13.

m. The Lazarium: the tomb of Lazarus located at Bethany about two miles east of Jerusalem on the southeast slopes of the Mount of Olives. Here the community assembled on the Saturday before Holy Week. It is disputed whether a church existed at this location at the time of Egeria.

n. Bethlehem: situated five miles south of Jerusalem and the location of the Church of the Holy Nativity, constructed by Constantine in 350.

The fortieth day after the Epiphany

xxvi. To be sure, the fortieth day after the Epiphany is here celebrated 2177
with great ceremony.[o] On this day the people gather in the Anastasis. All assemble and celebrate everything in the usual way, doing so with the greatest solemnity as on Easter. All the presbyters and then the bishop always preach on the passage from the Gospel according to which on the fortieth day Joseph and Mary brought the Savior to the temple where he was seen by Simeon and the prophetess Anna, the daughter of Phanuel; they also preach on what they said when they saw the Lord and on the offering made by the Lord's parents.[2] After this when all has been performed in the usual manner, the mysteries [*sacramenta*] are celebrated, and the dismissal takes place.

THE PASCHAL FEASTS

Lent

xxvii.1. When the paschal season approaches, all is celebrated as fol- 2178
lows. Whereas among us there is an observance of forty days before Easter, here they observe eight weeks. The reason for the eight weeks is that people do not fast on Sundays and Saturdays, except for the Saturday that is the vigil of the Easter, this vigil being one on which the people are obliged to fast; except for this day there is no fasting here on any Saturday during the year. And so if Saturdays and Sundays are removed from the six weeks, and since people are required to fast on one Saturday only, as I said above, there remain forty-one fast days. Here these are called the *eortae*[p] [the feasts], namely, Lent.

Sunday offices

xxvii.2. This is what is done each day of the week. On Sunday at the 2179
first cockcrow the bishop at the Anastasis reads the gospel passage on the Lord's resurrection as is done on all Sundays throughout the year; likewise up to daybreak one does at the Anastasis what is customary on all Sundays of the year. 3. Afterwards, during the morning as always happens on Sundays, all gather in the major church called the Martyrion, which is on Golgotha behind the Cross, and they do what is ordinarily done on Sunday. Likewise when the dismissal is given, all go singing

o. This is the first witness of a feast that the East came to call the *Hypapante*, namely, the meeting between Simeon and the Lord. In the West it was called the feast of the Presentation or the Purification. It has been suggested that the observance at Egeria's time had no proper name in the East and was unknown in the West ("is . . . here celebrated").

p. Here Egeria uses the Greek for "festivals" or "feasts," thus showing the inner unity between Lent and the Easter celebrations. The mystery of Christ's suffering and victory is indivisible.

2. See Luke 2:22–38.

hymns to the Anastasis, as always happens on Sunday. By the time these ceremonies are finished it is the fifth hour. The evening office also occurs at its accustomed hour, as always at the Anastasis and at the Cross, as it does in all the other holy places. On Sunday there is an office at the ninth hour.[q]

Monday and Tuesday offices

2180 XXVII.4. Likewise on Monday at cockcrow all go to the Anastasis as they do during the rest of the year, and all is done as is customary till morning. At the third hour all go to the Anastasis and do there what is usually done throughout the year at the sixth hour; during Lent all go there also at the third hour. At the sixth hour, at the ninth, and at Vespers one does what is customarily done throughout the year in these holy places.

2181 XXVII.5. On Tuesday all takes place as on Monday.

Wednesday and Thursday offices

2182 On Wednesday all go by night to the Anastasis and do what always happens there till morning; the same is true for the third and sixth hours. At the ninth hour they gather at Sion as is the custom during the whole year on Wednesday and Friday—for in these places except on the feasts of the martyrs all, even the catechumens, always fast on Wednesday and Friday. Should it happen that the feast of a martyr occurs on a Wednesday or Friday of Lent, all go to Sion at the ninth hour.[r] 6. During Lent, as I mentioned above, on Wednesday all gather at Sion at the ninth hour, as is customary throughout the year; except for the offering, one does there all that is usually done at the ninth hour. So that the people be constantly instructed regarding the law, the bishop and a presbyter preach assiduously. After the dismissal the people, singing hymns, lead the bishop from Sion to the Anastasis so that it is already time for Vespers when he enters the Anastasis. Hymns and antiphons are sung; prayers are said; then the service of Vespers takes place at the Anastasis and the Cross. 7. During Lent Vespers is always celebrated later than on other days of the year.

2183 On Thursday all takes place as on Monday and Tuesday.

Friday office

2184 On Friday all occurs as on Wednesday; the people go to Sion at the ninth hour, and from there, singing hymns, they accompany the bishop to the Anastasis where on Friday a vigil is kept. It begins as soon as the people have returned from Sion with the singing of hymns and lasts till morning, that is, from the hour of Vespers till the beginning of morning on the next day, that is, Saturday.

---

q. Some emend the Latin to read: "On Sunday there is no office at the ninth hour."

r. The text here might also read, "they do not go to Sion . . ." See Gingras, *Egeria*, 99 and note 328.

Saturday office

The offering takes place very early at the Anastasis so that the people 2185
may be dismissed before sunrise. 8. During the whole night there are in turn responsorial psalms, antiphons, various readings, all lasting till morning. The Saturday office, namely, the offering, occurs before sunrise so that the dismissal from the Anastasis may be given before sunrise. In this way each week of Lent is celebrated.

Rules for fasting

XXVII.9. I have said that on Saturday the people are dismissed earlier, 2186
before sunrise. This is to more quickly release from fasting those who are here called *hebdomadarii,*[s] namely, those who fast throughout the whole week and eat on Sunday after the dismissal has taken place at the fifth hour. Once they have eaten on Sunday morning, they take nothing more till the following Saturday morning immediately after they have received Communion at the Anastasis. It is on their account, to release them earlier from the fast, that the dismissal at the Anastasis on Saturday morning takes place before sunrise. As I said, it is for their sake that the dismissal takes place early; yet they are not the only ones who receive Communion; all who wish to do so receive on this day at the Anastasis.

XXVIII.1. This is how the fast is customarily observed during Lent. Some 2187
eat on Sunday after the dismissal at the fifth or sixth hours and take nothing more during the week till the following Saturday after the dismissal at the Anastasis. It is these who keep the full weeks of fast. 2. On Saturday, once they have eaten in the morning, they take nothing in the evening, but on the next day, Sunday, they eat after the dismissal from the church at the fifth hour or later; and then they eat nothing more till the following Saturday, as I have already said. 3. It is the custom here that those who are, as they are called, *aputactitae,*[t] both men and women, eat only once a day when they do eat, not only during Lent but throughout the whole year. If some of them are unable to fast for the whole week—we spoke of these above—during Lent they take food in the middle of the week, on Thursday. Those unable to do this, fast for two complete days during Lent. Those who cannot do even this take a meal each evening. 4. No one, meanwhile, imposes what others should do; all do what they are capable of doing. Whoever does more is not praised; whoever does less is not blamed. Such is the custom here. During Lent their nourishment is as follows: they take neither bread—even bread is forbidden them[u]—nor oil,

s. *Hebdomadarii*: a local word designating those who fasted throughout the whole week, from the meal on Sunday till after the Eucharist on Saturday.

t. *Aputactitae*: a local term designating men and women who perhaps were leading a more austere form of life.

u. The Latin is corrupt here. The bread that is forbidden might also be that made with honey or some other added ingredients.

nor anything that comes from trees, but only water and a little flour soup. As we said, this is how Lent is observed.'

2188 XXIX.1. At the end of the week there is a vigil at the Anastasis. Beginning with Vespers on Friday, to which all come from Sion with the singing of psalms, the service lasts till Saturday morning when the offering is made in the Anastasis. What occurs during the first week of Lent also occurs during the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth weeks.

The Seventh Week

2189 XXIX.2. When the seventh week arrives, namely, when there are only two weeks including the present one remaining before Easter, each day everything is done as during the preceding weeks, except that the Friday vigils observed during the previous six weeks at the Anastasis are on Friday of the seventh week observed at Sion, but with the same customs as followed at the Anastasis during the previous six weeks. Throughout the vigil psalms and antiphons appropriate to the place and day are sung.

Saturday: Station at Bethany

2190 XXIX.3. When morning arrives, at the first light on Saturday, the bishop offers the sacrifice and makes the offering,[v] doing so in the morning. At the dismissal of the people the archdeacon says aloud, "All are to be present today at the seventh hour in the Lazarium." And so at the seventh hour all go to the Lazarium. The Lazarium, namely, Bethany, is about the second milestone from the city. 4. In going from Jerusalem to the Lazarium, perhaps five hundred paces from the latter, there is a church on the road, at the place where Mary, the sister of Lazarus, met the Lord. When the bishop arrives, all the monks come out to meet him and the people enter the church. A hymn and an antiphon are sung; then the gospel passage where Lazarus' sister meets the Lord is read.[3] Then there is a prayer; the people are blessed; and all sing hymns as they proceed to the Lazarium. 5. Upon entering, the crowd becomes so large that it fills not only the place itself but also the surrounding fields. Hymns and antiphons appropriate to the day and place are sung; there are also readings that are fitting to the day. Notice of Easter is given before the dismissal: a presbyter ascends to a more elevated place and reads the gospel passage, "When Jesus came to Bethany six days before the Passover,"[4] etc. Once this text has been read and Easter has been announced, the people are dismissed. 6. All this takes place on this day because, as is written in the Gospel, these things occurred at Bethany six days before the Passover. There are six days from Saturday to Thursday or, to the night after the Last Supper when the Lord was arrested. Then all return to the city, directly to the Anastasis where Vespers occurs in the usual way.

---

v. The text is redundant: . . . *offeret episcopus et facit oblationem* . . .

3. John 11:29. 4. John 12:1.

THE GREAT WEEK

Sunday

xxx.1. The next day, that is, Sunday, begins the paschal week which is 2191
here called the "Great Week." In the morning, once they have done what is ordinarily done at the Anastasis or at the Cross from cockcrow till morning, all gather as customary in the major church which is called the Martyrion. It is located at Golgotha behind the Cross, where the Savior suffered, and so it is named the Martyrion. 2. After the usual ceremonies have taken place in the major church and before the dismissal, the archdeacon raises his voice and first says to all: "Throughout this entire week, beginning tomorrow, all of us will gather at the ninth hour in the Martyrion, namely, in the major church." Then he again says aloud, "Today let us assemble at the Eleona at the seventh hour." 3. When the dismissal has been given in the major church, the Martyrion, the bishop is conducted with the singing of hymns to the Anastasis, and there occurs what is customarily done in this place on Sunday after the dismissal from the Martyrion. Everyone hastens home to eat so that at the beginning of the seventh hour all may be present in the church which is on the Eleona, on the Mount of Olives, where is located the cave in which the Lord used to teach.

Procession with the branches

xxxi.1. At the seventh hour all the people ascend the Mount of Olives, 2192
that is, to the Eleona where they enter the church. The bishop is seated; the people sing hymns and antiphons appropriate to the day and place; the readings are likewise appropriate. At the ninth hour the people, singing hymns, go up to the Imbomon,[w] namely, to the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven; all are seated. When the bishop is present, the people are always told to sit; only the deacons remain standing. Hymns and antiphons appropriate to the place and day are sung; interspersed are readings and prayers. 2. At the eleventh hour there is a reading of the passage from the Gospel where the children with palms and branches go out to meet the Lord[5] while saying, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."[6] Immediately afterwards the bishop as well as the people stand, and then all walk down from the top of the Mount of Olives. The people precede the bishop and continue to respond to the hymns and antiphons with "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."[7] 3. All the children of the area, even those carried on their parents' shoulders because they are too young to walk on their own, bear branches, whether of palm trees or olive trees. And thus the bishop is escorted in the same way as the Lord was once escorted. 4. From the top of the mountain to the city, then

---

w. The Imbomon, meaning "at the summit" or "upon the height," was the traditional site of the Lord's ascension. Before 378 a church was built there by a matron named Paemenia.

5. See Matt 21:8; John 12:13. 6. Matt 21:9; Ps 118:26. 7. Ibid.

throughout the whole city to the Anastasis, all accompany the bishop on foot, even the women, even the notables, while singing the responses; thus they move slowly, very slowly, so that the people do not become fatigued. It is already late by the time they arrive at the Anastasis. When they do so, even though it is late, they celebrate Vespers; a prayer is said at the Cross; and the people are dismissed.

Monday

2193 XXXII.1. On the next day, Monday, all the usual things are done at the Anastasis, from cockcrow till morning; at the third and sixth hours they do what is usually done during Lent. At the ninth hour all gather in the major church or Martyrion, and hymns and antiphons are continually sung till the first hour of the night; lessons fitting to the day and place are read, always interspersed with prayers. 2. Vespers also is celebrated at its usual time. Consequently it is already night when the dismissal occurs at the Martyrion. Afterwards a hymn is sung; there is a prayer; the catechumens and the faithful are blessed; then all are dismissed.

Tuesday

2194 XXXIII.1. On Tuesday all is done as on Monday. The only addition is that late at night, once the dismissal has been given in the Martyrion and after going to the Anastasis where another dismissal takes place, all proceed at that hour of the night to the church located on Mount Eleona. 2. Once they have arrived there, the bishop enters the grotto where the Lord customarily instructed his disciples; he takes the gospel book and while standing he himself reads the Lord's words that are written in the Gospel according to Matthew where it says "Take care that no one seduce you."[8] The bishop reads this entire discourse. When he has finished, a prayer is said; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; there is the dismissal; and each person returns home. It is very late, already night.

Wednesday

2195 XXXIV. On Wednesday, throughout the whole day from the first cockcrow, all is done as on Monday and Tuesday. But after the dismissal at night in the Martyrion and after he has been led to the Anastasis with the singing of hymns, the bishop immediately enters the grotto which is within the Anastasis and stands within its railings. A presbyter standing outside the railings holds the gospel book and reads the passage where Judas Iscariot sets off to find the Jews and determine the price that they should pay him for handing over the Lord.[9] While this passage is being read, the cries and moaning of the people are such that no one at that hour can resist being moved to tears. A prayer follows; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; the dismissal follows.

8. Matt 24:4. 9. See Matt 26:14–15.

Thursday: Station at the Anastasis

xxxv.1. On Thursday at the Anastasis one does what is customary from 2196
the first cockcrow till morning; also what is ordinarily done at the third and sixth hours. At the eighth hour, as is customary, the people assemble in the Martyrion, only earlier, however, than on other days since the dismissal is to be given sooner. Once the people have gathered, the prescribed ceremonies are carried out; on this day the offering takes place in the Martyrion, with the dismissal taking place about the tenth hour. Before the dismissal, the archdeacon says aloud, "At the first hour of the night let us gather at the church which is on the Eleona, for great is the labor that awaits us today, in this night." 2. After the dismissal from the Martyrion all go behind the Cross; only one hymn is sung; there is a prayer; the bishop offers the sacrifice, and all receive Communion. With the exception of this day, the sacrifice is never offered behind the Cross. It happens only on the present day. After the dismissal all go to the Anastasis where there is a prayer; as customary the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; and all are dismissed. All hurry home in order to eat.

Stations on the Mount of Olives

As soon as the people have eaten, all go to the Eleona, to the church 2197
containing the grotto within which on this very day the Lord gathered with the apostles. 3. There, till about the fifth hour of the night, hymns and antiphons appropriate to the occasion are sung; there are also readings with prayers interspersed. The readings are passages chosen from the Gospel where the Lord on this same day spoke to his disciples while sitting in the very grotto which is in this church. 4. Then, toward the sixth hour of the night, all sing hymns as they go up to the Imbomon, the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven. There in the same manner are readings, hymns, and antiphons appropriate to the day; likewise, whatever prayers the bishop says are always fitting for the place and day.

Friday

Station at Gethsemane

xxxvi.1. At first cockcrow all come down from the Imbomon with the 2198
singing of hymns and go to the very place where the Lord prayed, as is written in the Gospel, "And after withdrawing about a stone's throw from them, he prayed,"[10] etc. In this place there is an excellent church. The bishop and all the people enter; a prayer appropriate to the day and place is said; there is also a fitting hymn followed by the reading of a passage from the Gospel where Jesus tells his disciples, "Watch so that you do not enter into temptation."[11] This whole section is read; it is followed by a prayer. 2. Then from there all, including the youngest infants, sing hymns as they descend on foot to Gethsemani with the bishop, doing so

10. Luke 22:41. 11. Matt 26:41.

very slowly due to the great number of people who are fatigued by the vigils and weakened by the daily fasts, and who have to descend from a rather high hill. The lamps of the church, more than two hundred of them, have been prepared so as to provide light for the people. 3. When all have arrived at Gethsemani, there is an appropriate prayer and then a hymn; the passage from the Gospel concerning the Lord's arrest is read.[12] During its reading there are such cries, such moaning on the part of the weeping people that their lamentations are heard as far away as the city, or almost so. From that hour all go on foot to the city as they sing hymns, and they arrive at the gate at the hour when people begin to recognize each other. Then they go through the city; all are present down to the very last person, the oldest and the youngest, rich as well as poor. On this day especially no one leaves the vigil before morning. Thus the bishop is accompanied to the gate and from there through the whole city to the Cross.

Station before the Cross

2199 XXXVI.4. When they arrive before the Cross, it is already almost full daylight. There that passage from the Gospel is read where the Lord is taken to Pilate;[13] and what Scripture records Pilate saying to the Lord and to the Jews is read in full. 5. After this the bishop speaks to the people, encouraging them, because they have toiled the whole night and they still have to toil during the present day, admonishing them not to tire but to place their hope in God, who will reward them for their efforts. Encouraging them as best he can, he says: "Now may each one of you return home, rest a little, and at the second hour of the day return here so that from that hour to the sixth hour you might see the holy wood of the cross which, as each of us knows, will profit our salvation. From the sixth hour on we will again gather here before the Cross so that we might devote ourselves to readings and prayers till nightfall."

Station at Sion

2200 XXXVII.1. After the dismissal at the Cross and before the rising of the sun, all fervently go to pray at Sion; they do so in front of the column at which the Lord was scourged. Then, returning home, they rest a little; soon all are ready.

Veneration behind the Cross

2201 A chair for the bishop [*cathedra*] is then set up in Golgotha, behind the Cross which now stands there. Here the bishop is seated while a table covered with a linen cloth is prepared before him. The deacons, standing, encircle the table. Brought in is a small silver gilded box containing the holy wood of the cross; it is opened, and the wood of the cross and the inscription are placed on the table. 2. When this has been done, the bishop,

12. See Matt 26:47–56. 13. See Matt 27:1–26.

seated, firmly holds the edges of the sacred wood while the deacons, still standing about, closely look on. As to why the deacons do this, it is customary that the people, both the faithful and the catechumens, approach one after another, bow to the table, kiss the holy wood, and then move on. But it is said that someone, I know not when, bit off and stole a fragment of the holy wood. This is why the deacons, standing around, now keep watch so that none of those approaching dare do likewise. 3. One by one the people pass by. Each bows, touches the cross and the inscription, first with the forehead, then with the eyes; each kisses the cross and moves on, but no one touches it with the hand. When all have kissed the cross and moved on, a deacon standing there holds out the ring of Solomon and the phial used for the anointing of the kings. The phial is kissed; the ring is venerated [. . .] until the sixth hour all the people pass through, entering by one door, leaving by another door. This occurs at the place where on the previous day, Thursday, the offering was made.

Station before the Cross

XXXVII.4. At the sixth hour all go before the Cross, whether it is raining 2202
or very hot; this place is out in the open; it is a kind of very large and very beautiful courtyard between the Cross and the Anastasis. All the people crowd in so that the doors can no longer be opened. 5. A chair is placed for the bishop before the Cross and, from the sixth to the ninth hour, nothing else is done other than reading the lessons in the following manner. First from the Book of Psalms are read the passages that speak about the passion; then from the writings of the apostles, whether the letters or the Acts, all the passages that speak of the Lord's passion. Also read are the gospel passages where he undergoes his passion; then the passages from the prophets that speak of the Lord suffering his passion. Finally the gospel selections where he speaks of his passion. 6. And so from the sixth to the ninth hours there is a continual reading of lessons and a singing of hymns in order to show the people that what the prophets foretold regarding the Lord's passion was realized, as is shown by both the Gospels and the writings of the apostles. During these three hours all the people are made to understand that nothing has occurred which was not prophesied and that nothing was prophesied that has not been completely realized. Continually interspersed are prayers appropriate for this day. 7. At every reading and prayer the emotion and groaning on the part of the people is just amazing. There is no one, from the oldest to the youngest, who during the three hours on this day does not lament to such an unbelievable extent over the fact that the Savior has suffered all this for us. Afterwards, once the ninth hour begins, there is a reading from the Gospel according to John where Christ gave up the spirit.[14] This is followed by a prayer and the dismissal.

14. See John 19:30.

Evening offices

2203 XXXVII.8. When the dismissal has taken place before the Cross, all immediately gather in the major church, in the Martyrion, and from the ninth hour till evening they do what is customarily done during this week. After the dismissal the people go from the Martyrion to the Anastasis. When all have arrived, that passage of the Gospel is read where Joseph asks Pilate for the Lord's body[15] and then places it in a new tomb.[16] After this lesson there is a prayer; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; the dismissal follows. 9. On this day there is no announcement that there is a vigil at the Anastasis since, as all know, the people are weary; yet it is customary to observe a vigil there. Those of the people who so wish, or at least who are able, keep watch there; those unable to do this do not keep watch; joining them are the clerics who are strong or young enough to do so. Throughout the whole night they sing hymns and antiphons, doing this till morning. A large crowd keeps watch, some from evening, others from midnight, each doing what one is able.

Saturday: the vigil

2204 XXXVIII.1. On the following day, Saturday, the third hour is observed as customary. The same is true for the sixth hour. There is no service at the ninth hour, but a paschal vigil is prepared in the major church, the Martyrion. This vigil takes place as it does among us. The only addition is that the neophytes, once they have been baptized and clothed and once they leave the baptismal font, are first led to the Anastasis with the bishop accompanying them. 2. He goes within the railings of the Anastasis; a hymn is sung; and the bishop prays for them. He then goes with them to the major church where, according to traditional practice, all the people are keeping vigil. What we customarily do back home is done there, and all are dismissed after the offering. Immediately after the office of the vigil in the major church, all go to the Anastasis singing hymns. There is a reading of the gospel passage concerning the Resurrection; there is a prayer; and then the bishop again offers the sacrifice. For the sake of the people all this takes place rapidly so that they not be delayed for too long a time; then they are dismissed. The dismissal from the vigil on this day takes place at the same hour as among us.

AFTER THE GREAT WEEK

Easter week

2205 XXXIX.1. The feasts of Easter are celebrated for eight days, as is true among us, with the offices taking place in the usual manner as they are celebrated everywhere during these eight paschal days, from Easter to its octave. The splendor and the arrangement [of the services] are here the same during the Easter octave as they are for the Epiphany, in the major

15. See John 19:38. 16. See John 19:41–42.

church, in the Anastasis, at the Cross, in Eleona, as well as in Bethlehem, in the Lazarium and all over because these are the days of Easter. 2. On the first day, that is, on Easter Sunday, all gather at the major church, namely, at the Martyrion; the same is true on Monday and Tuesday. Yet after the dismissal the people always go from the Martyrion to the Anastasis, singing hymns while doing so. On Wednesday all assemble at the Eleona, on Thursday at the Anastasis, on Friday at Sion, on Saturday before the Cross, on the octave Sunday again at the major church, namely, at the Martyrion. 3. During the Easter octave on each day after lunch the bishop with all the clergy and all the neophytes, namely, those who have been baptized, with all the *aputactitae,* both men and women, and with all the people who so desire, go up to the Eleona. Hymns are sung and prayers are said, both in the church which is on the Eleona, the church containing the grotto in which the Lord instructed the disciples, and at the Imbomon, the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven. 4. Afterwards there are psalms and a prayer. Then all come down to the Anastasis, doing so while singing hymns, at the hour for Vespers. This is done throughout the whole octave.

Station at Sion

On Easter Sunday, after the dismissal from Vespers at the Anastasis, 2206
all the people accompany the bishop to Sion, singing hymns on the way. Upon arrival all sing hymns appropriate to the day and the place; a prayer is said; there is a reading from the Gospel where on this very day, in the very place where the church is today found on Sion, the Lord passed through closed doors to be present with his apostles. Thomas,[17] one of the apostles, was absent; when he returned and the other apostles told him that they had seen the Lord, he said, "I will not believe unless I have seen."[18] After this reading all again pray; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; each returns home; it is late, about the second hour of the night.

Sunday after Easter

XL.1. On Sunday, the octave of Easter, immediately after the sixth hour 2207
the people and the bishop go up to the Eleona. First, the people sit for a moment in the church found there; hymns are sung; also antiphons appropriate to the day and place; there are prayers that are likewise proper for the occasion. Then, with the singing of hymns, all leave and go up to the Imbomon above; what was done in the Eleona is repeated there. When the hour comes, all the people and all the *aputactitae* escort the bishop to the Anastasis, singing hymns as they do so. They reach the Anastasis at the hour when Vespers is customarily celebrated. 2. Vespers is celebrated both at the Anastasis and at the Cross; then all the people without exception,

17. See John 20:24. 18. See John 20:25.

and with the singing of hymns, escort the bishop to Sion. Arriving there, they likewise sing hymns fitting to the place and day; the gospel passage is read where eight days after Easter the Lord entered the room where his disciples were and reproached Thomas for his incredulity.[19] This is the lesson that is read. Then there is a prayer. After the catechumens and the faithful have been blessed according to custom, all return home as on Easter Sunday at the second hour of the night.

Season after Easter

2208 XLI. From Easter to the fortieth day, namely, to Pentecost, absolutely no one fasts here, not even the *aputactitae*. During this season what is customarily done throughout the whole year from the first cockcrow at the Anastasis is likewise done at the sixth hour and at Vespers. But on Sundays it is always in the Martyrion, in the major church, that all gather as usual. Then singing hymns they go to the Anastasis. On Wednesday and Friday, days on which there is no fast, all gather at Sion, but in the morning. There the office is celebrated in the usual manner.

The Fortieth Day: The Ascension

2209 XLII. As to the fortieth day after Easter, which is a Thursday, all go to Bethlehem after the sixth hour of the preceding day, Wednesday, to celebrate the vigil. This is observed in the church that contains the grotto in which the Lord was born. On the following day, that is, on Thursday, the fortieth day, the office is celebrated in the usual manner: the presbyters and the bishop preach in a fashion befitting the day and the place. Afterwards, in the evening, all return to Jerusalem.

Pentecost

2210 XLIII.1. On the fiftieth day after Easter—it is a Sunday and a day that has much for the people to do—all is celebrated as is customary from the first cockcrow onwards; the vigil is held at the Anastasis so that the bishop may read the passage from the Gospel that is always read on Sunday, namely, the account of the Lord's resurrection. Then what is ordinarily done throughout the year occurs at the Anastasis. 2. When it is morning, all the people gather in the major church, namely, in the Martyrion, and all takes place as usual: the presbyters and then the bishop preach; the things that are required are done, namely, the sacrifice is offered as it customarily is on Sunday. But on this day the dismissal in the Martyrion is held earlier so that it may precede the third hour.

Station at Sion

2211 In fact, after the dismissal in the Martyrion, all the faithful without exception lead the bishop to Sion, with the singing of hymns, but so that the people are at Sion exactly at the third hour. 3. When all have arrived

19. See John 20:26–29.

there, a passage from the Acts of the Apostles is read in which the Spirit descends so that people of all languages might understand what is being said.[20] Then the service is celebrated as usual. The presbyters now read a passage from the Acts of the Apostles because, according to this reading, it was at this place, at Sion—where presently there is another church[x]—that the crowd after the Lord's passion once gathered with the apostles and where what we mentioned earlier took place. Afterwards the office is celebrated as usual; the sacrifice is also offered; before the dismissal of the people the deacon raises his voice and says, "Today, immediately after the sixth hour, we will gather on the Eleona, in the Imbomon."

Station on the Mount of Olives

XLIII.4. All the people then return home in order to rest. Immediately 2212
after lunch they go up the Mount of Olives to the Eleona, each as best he or she can, so that no Christian remains in the city since all are present there. 5. When the people have ascended to the Eleona, they first go to the Imbomon, the place from which the Lord went up into heaven. The bishop, the presbyters, and all the people are seated there. There are readings interspersed with hymns. Antiphons appropriate to the day and place are sung. The interspersed prayers are also such that they also agree with the occasion. There is a reading of the gospel passage that relates the Lord's ascension[21] as well as the passage from the Acts of the Apostles that also speaks of the Lord's ascension into heaven after his resurrection.[22] 6. When this has been done, the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed. Thereupon all come down and, it already being the ninth hour, they go from there, singing hymns, to the church which is also on the Eleona, the church containing the grotto where the Lord sat when teaching his apostles. By the time the people arrive there, it is already the tenth hour. Vespers is celebrated; a prayer is said; the catechumens and the faithful are blessed. Then all descend while singing hymns, all the people without exception accompanying the bishop, all singing hymns and antiphons appropriate to this day. 7. When they arrive at the gate of the city, it is already night; torches are brought from the church, at least two hundred of them, to assist the people. Since the gate is rather distant from the major church, the Martyrion, the people arrive there only toward the second hour of the night, for they travel very slowly so that the procession may not weary them. The large doors on the market side are opened, and all the people, singing hymns, enter the Martyrion with the bishop. Once all are within, hymns are sung; a prayer is said; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed. With the singing of hymns all then proceed to the Anastasis. 8. Arriving there, hymns and antiphons are likewise sung; a

x. Perhaps referring to a church constructed at the site of the Upper Room mentioned in Acts 1:13.

20. See Acts 2:1–12. 21. See Luke 24:50–51. 22. See Acts 1:9–11.

prayer is said; the catechumens and then the faithful are blessed; finally all are dismissed. After the dismissal all approach the bishop to kiss his hand; then each returns home about midnight. And so on this day the people endure much fatigue since the vigil at the Anastasis begins with the first cockcrow and since throughout the whole day there is no relief; the celebration is so prolonged that it is at midnight, after the dismissal at Sion, that all return home.

Ordinary Time

2213 XLIV.1. Starting from the day after Pentecost all fast according to their abilities as is customary throughout the year except on Saturday and Sunday when no one fasts in this area. Then, on the following days, all takes place as during the year, namely, starting with the first cockcrow a vigil is observed at the Anastasis. 2. But if it is a Sunday, at the first cockcrow the bishop reads the gospel passage inside the Anastasis, this being the custom; it is the section on the Lord's resurrection which is always read on Sunday. There follows the singing of hymns and antiphons at the Anastasis till dawn. If it is not Sunday, only hymns and antiphons are sung, from the first cockcrow till dawn, in the Anastasis. 3. All the *aputactitae* come; also those people who wish to do so. Each day the clergy take turns going there at cockcrow; but the bishop is always present at dawn to conduct the morning service with all the clergy, except on Sunday when he goes there at cockcrow to read the gospel in the Anastasis. Then whatever is customary is done at the sixth hour at the Anastasis; likewise at the ninth hour; at Vespers one does what is customary throughout the year. On Wednesday and Friday the ninth hour is observed at Sion according to custom.

BAPTISMAL CATECHESIS

Inscription of names

2214 XLV.1. I have to write you about something else: how the people to be baptized at Easter are instructed. Those who give their names do so on the day before Lent; a presbyter inscribes all these names on the day before the eight weeks when, as I said, Lent is observed here. 2. After the presbyters have written down the names of all the candidates, then on the next day, the first day of Lent, a chair is placed for the bishop in the middle of the major church, namely, in the Martyrion. On both sides the presbyters are sitting on stools; standing are the clergy. The candidates are then led forward one by one, the men with their godfathers, the women with their godmothers. 3. The bishop questions the neighbors of the one who has come forward, saying: "Does this person lead a good life? Does this person respect his or her parents? Is this person a drunkard or a liar?" He inquires about the person's other sins, at least those that are more serious. 4. If the candidate proves to be irreproachable in all the things concerning which the bishop has made inquiries, the bishop writes down with his own hand that individual's name. But should there be an accusation, he

requests that the person depart, saying: "May you amend your ways and after doing so you may then come forward to be baptized." The same inquiry takes place for both men and women. Strangers do not easily come forth for baptism unless there are witnesses who know them.

Catechesis before baptism

XLVI.1. Ladies, my sisters, I must write something so that you do not 2215
think that baptism can be conferred without an explanation [of the mysteries]. The custom here is that the candidates for baptism fast throughout the forty days that are to be observed as fast days. Early in the morning they are exorcised by clerics after being dismissed from the morning service in the Anastasis. Immediately afterwards a chair is placed for the bishop in the Martyrion, the major church, and all the candidates for baptism, both men and women, sit in a circle close to the bishop. Their godfathers and godmothers are also present; and all the people who wish to listen, provided they are members of the faithful, may enter and be seated. 2. Catechumens do not enter when the bishop is instructing the candidates on the law. He does so as follows: during these forty days the bishop goes through all the Scriptures, beginning with Genesis, first explaining their literal meaning, then explaining their spiritual sense. Throughout this time they are instructed not only on everything that concerns the Resurrection but also on all that pertains to the faith. This is called catechesis.

"Handing over" the creed

XLVI.3. When five weeks of instruction are completed, they receive the 2216
creed. He then explains it as he did the Scriptures, interpreting each article first literally and then spiritually; in this way the creed is taught. Because of this all the faithful in this region can follow the Scriptures when they are read in the church, for all have been instructed in them throughout these forty days, from the first to the third hour, with a catechesis lasting three hours. 4. And God knows, my ladies, that the voices of the faithful who enter in order to listen to the catechesis are louder in approving what the bishop says and explains than they are when he sits and preaches in church. Right after the catechesis, at the third hour, the bishop is escorted with the singing of hymns to the Anastasis where the office of the third hour takes place. And so catechesis is given for three hours each day over a period of seven weeks. During the eighth week of Lent—here it is called the "Great Week"—the bishop does not have time to instruct them since the ceremonies we spoke of above have to take place.

Recitation of the creed

XLVI.5. Once seven weeks have passed and only paschal week re- 2217
mains—here it is called the "Great Week"—the bishop comes in the morning to the major church, namely, to the Martyrion. At the rear, in the apse behind the altar, is placed a chair for the bishop; and they go there one after another, men with their godfathers and women with their

godmothers, to recite the creed to the bishop. 6. When they have done so, the bishop addresses all, saying: "During the past seven weeks you have been instructed on the whole law contained in the Scriptures; you have also heard about the faith and about the resurrection of the body. As to a thorough explanation of the creed, you have heard only what you as catechumens are allowed to understand. Being only catechumens, you cannot know what pertains to the still deeper mystery, namely, to baptism. So that you do not think that anything is done without a good reason, once you have been baptized in the name of God, during the eight days of Easter you will be given an explanation in the Anastasis after the dismissal from the church. But since you are still catechumens we cannot speak to you about the most secret mysteries."

Catechesis after baptism

2218 XLVII.1. When Easter week has arrived and during the eight days between Easter and its octave day, as soon as the people have been dismissed from the church and when all, singing hymns, have gone to the Anastasis, a prayer is immediately said; the faithful are blessed; the bishop stands. Leaning against the interior railing within the Anastasis, he explains all that happened during the baptism. 2. At this hour no catechumen is to go into the Anastasis; only the neophytes and the faithful who wish to hear about the mysteries may enter. The doors are closed so that no catechumen may have access. When the bishop is teaching and explaining each point, the cries of approval are such that they can be heard even outside the church. In truth the bishop reveals all the mysteries in such a way that no one can fail to be moved by what is heard. 3. And because in this province some people know both Greek and Syriac, and others know only Greek, and still others know only Syriac, and since the bishop even though knowing Syriac speaks only in Greek and never in Syriac, there is always a presbyter who translates into Syriac what the bishop has said in Greek. In this way all understand what is being explained. 4. Likewise, since the lessons read in church are to be in Greek, someone is always present who translates them into Syriac; in this way the people are always receiving instruction. As to the Latins who are here, namely, those who understand neither Syriac nor Greek, so that they not be disappointed they are also given explanations, for there are some brothers and sisters who, knowing both Greek and Latin, can explain things in Latin. 5. But what is most agreeable and truly admirable here is that the hymns and the antiphons, the readings as well as the prayers said by the bishop, are always fitting and apt for the feast being celebrated and the place where the celebration takes place.

Feast of Dedications

2219 XLVIII.1. The Feast of Dedications is the name given to the day on which the holy church located on Golgotha, the church called the Martyrion,

was consecrated to God. Furthermore, the holy church which is at the Anastasis, namely, the place where the Savior rose after his passion, was also consecrated to God on the same day. The dedication of these churches is celebrated with the greatest solemnity because the Lord's cross was discovered on this same day. 2. And so it was determined that when the aforementioned holy churches were to be consecrated, the consecrations would be on the very day when the Lord's cross was discovered. In this way both events would be celebrated with great solemnity on the same day. The holy Scriptures also relate that this Feast of Dedications occurs on the very day when Solomon, during the consecration of the house of God that he built, stood and prayed before God's altar, as is written in the book of Paralipomenon.[23]

IL.1. When the Feast of Dedications arrives, it is celebrated for eight 2220
days. Much earlier crowds of monks and *aputactitae* begin to gather from all places, coming not only from provinces such as Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and the Thebaid where monks are numerous, but also from other places and provinces. Not one among them fails to travel to Jerusalem on this day for such a solemn and illustrious feast. Also during these days the laity, both men and women from all the provinces, gather in Jerusalem with a spirit of faith. 2. Though less numerous, there are more than forty or fifty bishops in Jerusalem, and with them come a large number of their clerics. What can I add? Those failing to be present for such a great solemnity—unless some necessity keeps them from fulfilling their desire to be present—believe that they have committed a very great sin. 3. During the Feast of Dedications the splendor of the churches resembles that of the various holy places on Easter and the Epiphany. On the first and second days all gather at the major church, called the Martyrion; on the third day it is at the Eleona, the church located on the mountain from which the Lord ascended into heaven after his passion. In this church there is a grotto where the Lord instructed the apostles on the Mount of Olives. On the fourth day [. . .]

EGYPT

84. PETER OF ALEXANDRIA

Once director of the catechetical school in Alexandria, Peter was ordained bishop of that city in 300. Persecution, however, caused him to go into hiding. During this time Melitius, the bishop of Lycopolis and a member of the rigorist camp vis-à-vis reconciling those who had lapsed, claimed jurisdiction over Alexandria as well as a few other dioceses lacking the active presence of a bishop. Peter returned to his see ca. 310/311 and had Melitius deposed, thus the beginning of the Melitian schism, which lasted

23. See 2 Chr 7:8.

several centuries. Shortly after his return to Alexandria Peter was martyred. Little of Peter's writing remains.

CPG 1: nos. 1635ff. * Altaner (1961) 239–40 * Altaner (1966) 212–13 * Bardenhewer (1908) 159–60 * Bardenhewer (1910) 139–40 * Bardenhewer (1913) 2:203–11 * Bautz 7:326–28 * Cross 173–74 * Goodspeed 157–58 * Jurgens 1:259–60 * Quasten 2:113–18 * Steidle 50–51 * Tixeront 99 * CATH 11:350 * CE 11:771–72 * DCB 4:331–34 * DictSp 12.2:1495–1502 * DPAC 2:2778 * DTC 10.1:531–36; 12.2:1802–4 * EC 9:1398 * EEC 2:677–78 * EEChr 2:907 * LTK 8:103–4 * NCE 11:209 * NCES 11:195–96 * ODCC 1263–64 * PEA (1894) 19.2:1282–86 * PEA (1991) 9:677

84-A. Canonical Letter. On Penance[†]

This series of fourteen canons was redacted in 306 from Peter's letter on *The Paschal Fast* in order to explain how those who lapsed due to persecution but now doing penance or about to do so were to be readmitted to the Church. A fifteenth canon, on days of fast, is added in many Greek manuscripts.

[Those who yielded after suffering great torments]

2221 Canon 1. The fourth Pasch during the persecution [of Diocletian] is at hand. There are those who have been arrested and imprisoned, sustaining unbearable torments, intolerable beatings, and many other terrible afflictions. Thus they were betrayed by bodily weakness. Even though they were not initially received due to their serious fall, nonetheless they struggled bravely and resisted at length. Their yielding did not happen of their own volition. Rather, they were betrayed by weakness of the flesh, their bodies showing forth the marks of Jesus.[1] Some, and already for the third year, are lamenting their sins. As to these, from the time of their return they should observe a period of forty days, in this way remembering that our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ fasted for forty days. After he was baptized, he was tempted by the devil. During these forty days they are to fast continually; they are to be vigilant in prayer, meditating upon what the Lord said to the one who was tempting him to fall down and worship him: "Get behind me, Satan; for it is written, 'You shall adore your Lord; him only shall you serve.'"[2]

[Those who lapsed without undergoing great torture and then repented]

2222 Canon 2. There are those who were taken into custody and thrown into prison where in a dungeon they suffered afflictions and breathed in foul odors. Afterwards, without torments being applied, they were made captives, broken by a great lack of strength and a certain blindness. For these a year added to the previous time suffices since they gave themselves

[†] Translated from PG 18:467–508.

1. See Gal 6:17. 2. Matt 4:10.

over to be afflicted for the sake of Christ even though in prison they were greatly consoled by their brethren [who were not in custody]. This they shall repay many times over as they desire to be freed from the most bitter captivity of the devil. They shall especially remember him who said: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He has sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to free those who are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord and a day of recompense unto our God."[3]

[Those who lapsed but were neither imprisoned nor tortured and then repented]

Canon 3. There are those who suffered none of these things, showing no 2223
fruit of faith but of their own accord deserting to wickedness, betrayed by fear and cowardice. Now, however, they come to repentance. Here it is necessary and fitting to recall the parable of the unfruitful fig tree. The Lord says: "A certain man had a fig tree planted in his orchard; and he came and sought the fruit of this tree but found none. He then said to the gardener, 'Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit from this fig tree but I can find none. So cut the tree down. Is there any reason why it should use up the soil?' And the gardener then replied, 'Lord, let it alone this year also. Meanwhile I will cultivate and fertilize it. If the tree bears fruit, well enough. But if it does not, then you may proceed to cut it down.'"[4] If they keep this before their eyes and show forth fruit worthy of repentance, then after such a long period of time, they will be assisted even more [i.e., they will be reconciled].

[Those who lapsed but have not repented]

Canon 4. To those who are completely sinful and unrepentant, to those 2224
who have the Ethiopian's unchanging skin and the leopard's spots,[5] it shall be said what was said to another fig tree, "'May no fruit evermore grow on you,' and immediately the tree withered away."[6] These words fulfilled what was said by Ecclesiastes, "What is crooked cannot be made straight; and what is wanting cannot be supplied."[7] Unless what is crooked is first made straight, it is impossible for it to be adorned; and unless what is wanting shall first be provided for, it cannot be numbered. Therefore what Isaiah the prophet said will befall them, "They shall look upon the corpses of those who rebelled against me; their worm shall not die nor shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be abhorrent to all people."[8] The same prophet has also said, "The wicked are like the raging sea, which cannot rest, the sea whose waters cast up mire and dirt. 'There is no peace,' says my God, 'for the wicked.'"[9]

---

3. Isa 61:1–2; Luke 4:18–19. 4. Luke 13:6–9. 5. See Jer 13:23. 6. Matt 21:19. 7. Eccl 1:15. 8. Isa 66:24. 9. Isa 57:20.

[Those who escaped persecution by means of fraud or sent non-Christians to take their place]

2225 Canon 5. There are those who had recourse to fraud as did David, who feigned madness,[10] in order to avoid death. There are also those who have not openly and in writing denied the faith. Like smart and shrewd boys among foolish children, they, in tribulation, have mocked the snares of their enemies by avoiding the altars, by giving a writing, or by sending a pagan friend to offer sacrifice rather than doing so themselves. I have heard that some of these have been pardoned by those who have confessed since they have most carefully avoided touching the fire with their own hands and offering incense to the impure demons. Although in this way they escaped detection by their persecutors, a penalty of six months' penance is to be imposed. By such means they will be greatly assisted, meditating upon the prophet's words and saying, "For a child is born to us, a Son is given us; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called the Messenger of my mighty counsel."[11] As you know, even before this child's birth there was another child—conceived six months earlier—who preached the forgiveness of sins.[12] Both preached not only repentance but also the kingdom of heaven, which, as we have learned, "is among us,"[13] for this word is within our mouths and hearts. Remembering this, they will learn to confess with their mouths that Jesus is the Christ; "believing in our hearts that God has raised him from the dead," and being like those who hear that "with the heart a person believes unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."[14]

[Slaves sent by their masters to offer sacrifice]

2226 Canon 6. There are also those who have sent their Christian slaves to act as their substitutes. Such slaves were subject to and under the control of their masters. They were threatened. Those who lapsed out of fear shall during one year perform works of penance and so, as slaves of Christ, learn to do Christ's will, and fear him. They shall especially remember that "whatever good we do, the same shall we receive from the Lord, whether we be slaves or free."[15]

[Those who sent slaves to sacrifice in their place]

2227 Canon 7. Those who are free shall be tested by penance for three years, both for their fraud and for having compelled their fellow servants to offer sacrifice. They have not obeyed the apostle, who would have masters do what servants are to do. The apostle says that our Master and their Master, not being partial,[16] is in heaven where he is no respecter of persons. Now, if all of us share the same Master who shows no partiality[17]—Christ being

10. See 1 Sam 21:14. 11. Isa 9:5. 12. Luke 1:77. 13. See Luke 17:21. 14. Rom 10:10. 15. Eph 6:8. 16. See Eph 6:9. 17. Rom 2:11.

all and in all, whether "barbarians, Scythians, those who are free or in chains"[18]—then they should consider what they have done when they desired to save their own lives. They have drawn to idolatry their fellow servants who would have been able to escape had they been given what is just and equal, as the apostle also says.

[Those who were arrested, then lapsed, and then repented and were tortured]

Canon 8. There are those who have been handed over and have lapsed; willingly they entered the struggle, confessing that they were Christians. They were tormented and cast into prison. It is right that we with exultation of heart strengthen them and share with them in all things, both in prayer and in participating in the Body and Blood of Christ; also with encouraging words so that struggling with more determination they may be counted worthy of "the prize of their high calling."[19] "Seven times the righteous fall and rise up again."[20] Now if all the lapsed would have done this, then they would have demonstrated a most perfect penitence, one penetrating the whole heart. 2228

[Those who provoked the magistrates to persecute them]

Canon 9. There are those who rise up, as it were, from a deep sleep to engage in a struggle that is arduous and protracted. They bring upon themselves trials that resemble large waves on a stormy sea. They kindle for others the coals of sinners. We must also be in communion with these insofar as they acted in the name of Christ, even though they failed to hear Christ's words when he taught us "to pray that we not enter into temptation."[21] Also, when praying he said to his Father, "[A]nd lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."[22] Perhaps those who provoked did not know that the Master of the House, our Great Teacher, often went apart from—and at times did not walk openly among—those who desired to ensnare him. Even when the time of his passion was approaching, he did not hand himself over to them but waited till they came to him with "swords and staves." And so he said to them, "Have you come out with swords and staves as against a thief in order to seize me?"[23] They "delivered him" to Pilate.[24] What happened to Christ happens to those who follow him. They recall the divine words in which, strengthening us, he speaks of persecution, "Beware, for they will deliver you up to the courts, and they will scourge you in their synagogues."[25] He says, "they will deliver you up," not "you shall deliver up yourselves." Also "you shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake,"[26] not "you shall bring yourselves," for he would have us move from one place to another when faced with those who would persecute us for his name's sake. We also hear him 2229

18. Col 3:11. 19. Phil 3:14. 20. Prov 24:16. 21. Matt 26:41. 22. Matt 6:13. 23. Matt 26:55. 24. Matt 26:2. 25. Matt 10:17. 26. Matt 10:18.

saying, "When they persecute you in this town, flee into another."[27] Christ would not have us hand ourselves over to the devil's ministers and partisans lest we cause them to suffer a manifold death, lest we force them to act more harshly and to carry out deadly deeds. Rather, he would have us wait and tend to ourselves, watching and praying so that we do not enter into temptation.[28] And so Stephen, following in Christ's footsteps, was martyred after having been apprehended in Jerusalem by the transgressors, after being brought to the court, after being stoned. Glorified for the name of Christ, he prayed, "Lord, do not hold this sin against them."[29] Then there is James, whom Herod apprehended and had beheaded with the sword. Also Peter, the first of the apostles who was often taken into custody, was thrown into prison, treated with ignominy, and finally was crucified in Rome. Likewise the renowned Paul, often handed over and placed in danger of death. Enduring many evils, he boasted of numerous persecutions and afflictions.[30] It was also in Rome that Paul was beheaded, his life ending with what he glorified. In Damascus he was lowered during the night in a basket by the wall, and escaped the hands of those who sought to seize him.[31] His primary task was to evangelize, to teach God's word in order to strengthen the brethren so that they might persevere in the faith. They also said that "we must endure many tribulations in order to enter the kingdom of God."[32] [Paul and Barnabas] sought not what would profit them but what would profit the many, so that the many might be saved, might be enabled to act in accord with God's word "lest," as the apostle says, "the time should fail me in speaking."[33]

[Clergy who brought about their own persecution, then succumbed, and then recanted their error]

2230 Canon 10. It is not right that clerics who of their own accord have deserted, lapsed, and then taken up the struggle anew, should continue on in their holy office, for they have abandoned the Lord's flock and brought blame upon themselves, something no apostle ever did. When the blessed apostle Paul had endured many persecutions and had revealed the numerous prizes of his struggle—though he knew it was far better to "depart and to be with Christ"—he anticipated this and said, "Nevertheless, to continue living in the flesh is more necessary for you."[34] Considering not his own personal advantage but that of others, namely, their salvation, he believed that to remain with and to care for the brethren was more important than his own comfort. As a teacher of doctrine[35] he was to be an example to the faithful. Therefore totally wanting in understanding are those who, contending in prison, have abandoned their ministry and then desire to take up the struggle anew. How is it that they seek what they have left when at present they can be useful to their brethren? Pardon might be

27. Matt 10:23. 28. Matt 26:41. 29. Acts 7:60. 30. See 2 Cor 6:4–5. 31. See Acts 9:25. 32. Acts 14:22. 33. Heb 11:32. 34. Phil 1:23–24. 35. See Titus 2:7.

granted them had they remained firm and stable, had their actions not been irrational. But since they lapsed due to their own arrogance,[36] bringing reproach upon themselves, they are no longer to discharge their sacred office. They are to spend their lives in humility, no longer being arrogant. Communion [with the faithful?] is sufficient for them, provided this is granted with diligent caution and care.

If we fail to do this, then we afflict them with sorrow, sentencing them, as it were, to depart this world with violence; also that we not cause others who have lapsed—namely, those who may wish to return to what is right—to be negligent in this regard. They, if not converted, will reap more shame and ignominy than all others since they have laid the foundation and yet were unable to finish the building. "All who pass by," he says, "will begin to mock him, saying, 'This man laid the foundation, yet he was not able to finish it.'"[37] 2231

[Those who lapsed during an imprisonment or while being punished for their sympathy for the martyrs]

Canon 11. There are those who, when persecution was at its highest, eagerly came forward, stood at the judgment seat, and looked upon the martyrs who were hastening to the "prize of their high calling."[38] Roused by an honorable envy and with great freedom they submitted themselves to martyrdom, especially when seeing some who were taken away and who then lapsed. Being inwardly inflamed, they—as if moved by some internal voice—undertook to subdue the enemy who was rejoicing. This they did so that the enemy might not appear "to be wise in his own estimation,"[39] his craftiness making it appear that they were inferior to him. Nevertheless, the enemy failed to notice that he was overcome by those who bravely endured the torments of the lash and scourge, the sharp edge of the sword, the burning fire, the immersion in water. It is right that we give our consent to those who request that the faithful offer prayers and supplications for those who have been punished by imprisonment, or have suffered hunger and thirst, or—although not in prison—have been whipped and scourged and then have succumbed to the weakness of the body. In no way can it be harmful to sympathize with those who sorrow and mourn for individuals who in the struggle were overcome by the great strength of the wicked devil, whether these be parents, children, or other relatives. We know that through the faith of some, others have been blessed by God, whether this concerns the forgiveness of sins, the health of the body, or the resurrection from the dead. Therefore, being mindful of the many labors and distresses that they have suffered for the name of Christ, let us pray for them since they themselves have also repented and have shown sorrow for what they did as a result of being betrayed by bodily weakness and vulnerability. Furthermore, they testify that during 2232

36. See 1 Cor 13:4. 37. Luke 14:29–30. 38. Phil 3:14. 39. Rom 12:16.

their lives they have, as it were, been aliens from their city. Let us pray together for them and request their reconciliation together with other things that are fitting. May we do so through him who is "our Advocate with the Father and makes propitiation for our sins." "And if any sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the propitiation for our sins."[40]

[Those who purchased their freedom with money]

2233 Canon 12. No accusation can be made against those who have given money that they might be entirely undisturbed by evil. They have undergone the loss and privation of their material possessions to protect their souls from injury or destruction; others for the sake of material gain did not do this. Yet the Lord says, "What does it profit them to gain the whole world and yet lose their soul?"[41] Also, "You cannot serve both God and mammon."[42] In this way, then, they have shown themselves to be God's servants, for they have hated, disdained, and despised money, thereby fulfilling what is written, "One's riches are the ransom of one's life."[43] Also, according to the Acts of the Apostles the leaders of the people, although they would have preferred sending Paul and Silàs, sent others, who were dismissed with a fine, to the magistrates in Thessalonica. Those who were sent had for the Lord's name been a burden to the leaders and to the magistrates, causing them trouble. "The magistrates took a surety payment from Jason and the others and then released them. And during the night the brethren immediately sent Paul and Silas away to Beroea."[44]

[Those who gave up everything in order to save their lives and fled even if others were detained because of them]

2234 Canon 13. It is not lawful to accuse those who have left everything and have fled in order to save their own lives even if others were detained because of their actions. At Ephesus, Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's travel companions, were seized rather than Paul and rushed into the theater.[45] Paul wanted to go into the crowd. A tumult arose because he succeeded in persuading the people, drawing away a great many to worship the true God. "The disciples, however, would not allow him to do so. Even some of the Asian leaders, being his friends, sent word to him, telling him not to enter the theater." But if any continue to contend with them, let these sincerely heed him who says, "Flee for your life; do not look back."[46] Let them also remember how Peter, the head of the apostles, "was thrown into prison and was guarded by four squads of four soldiers each."[47] Once Peter had escaped during the night and had been saved from Jewish hands by the command of the Lord's angel, we are told that "at daybreak there was no small stir among the soldiers as to what had

40. 1 John 2:1. 41. Matt 16:26. 42. Matt 6:24. 43. Prov 13:8. 44. Acts 17:9–10. 45. See Acts 19:26–30. 46. Gen 19:17. 47. Acts 12:4.

happened to Peter. Herod, seeking Peter but finding him not, questioned the jailers and ordered that they be executed;[48] for this Peter receives no blame. When they saw what happened they could have escaped just as all the infants in Bethlehem and vicinity[49] could have done likewise if their parents had known what was going to happen. These infants were put to death by the murderer Herod in order to obtain the death of the one infant whom Herod sought, the very infant who also escaped at the command of God's angel, the infant who now quickly began to receive spoils and to speedily plunder according to the name whereby he was called, for it is written, "Call him *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* ['the spoil speeds, the prey hastens'] for before the child knows how to call out its father's and mother's names, the riches of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria shall be carried away by the king of Assyria."[50] Therefore the Magi, as [if] already having been speedily robbed and plundered, humbly and as suppliants adore the child. They open their treasure chests and present him with the most fitting and magnificent gifts—gold, frankincense, myrrh—as to a king, to God, and to a man, and so they were no longer willing to return to the Assyrian king, for God had forbidden them to do so. "Being warned by God in a dream not to return to Herod, they departed for their own country in another way."[51] And so when the bloodthirsty "Herod realized that he had been deceived by the wise men, he was exceedingly angry. He ordered the slaying of all the male children who were in Bethlehem and its vicinity, two years old and under, this being the age he learned from the wise men."[52] In addition, he sought to kill a child who was born earlier. Not being able to find him, he murdered the child's father, Zachariah, between the temple and the altar.[53] The child meanwhile had escaped with his mother Elizabeth.[a] And so those who have fled are in no way to be blamed.

[Those who lapsed only after severe torture and no longer have the ability to speak or make any movement]

Canon 14. There are those who have been subjected to violence and have 2235
been forced to receive by means of hooks and pieces of iron [meat offered to the idols]. Because of their love for the faith and even though they were unwilling, bravely did they endure having their hands filled with hot coals as they were led to the pagan sacrifice. The most blessed martyrs have written me concerning those in Libya. On the basis of the testimony given by their fellow ministers, such clergy can be numbered among the

a. According to a pious legend—one included in the *Gospel of James*, an apocryphal work dating from the second century—Elizabeth went up into the mountains with John during the time of the soldiers' search; Zachariah, on the other hand, was murdered in the temple for refusing to disclose the whereabouts of his son.

48. Acts 12:18–19. 49. See Matt 2:13–16. 50. Isa 8:3–4. 51. Matt 2:12. 52. Matt 2:16. 53. See Matt 23:35.

confessors in carrying out their holy ministry. Also those who have been greatly subjected to torture and are no longer able to utter sounds, to speak, or to move so that they might resist those who in vain inflicted violence upon them. These did not consent to evil deeds. As I have also heard from their fellow ministers, they are numbered among the confessors. The same is true in regard to those who, following Timothy's example, lived their lives in obedience to him who says, "Pursue righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith. Lay hold of the eternal life to which you were called when you made a good confession before many witnesses."[54]

[Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday]

2236 Canon 15. No one should blame us for observing the fourth and sixth days of the week, days on which it is rightfully enjoined that, according to tradition, we fast. We do so on the fourth day because on this day the Jews began to take counsel that the Lord be handed over to them; on the sixth day because on this day the Lord suffered for us. As to the Lord's Day, it is celebrated as a day of joy because he rose on this day; it is a day on which we customarily do not kneel.

85. *CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS*[†]

Based on the *Apostolic Tradition* (WEC 1:**31-A**), which some attribute to Hippolytus of Rome, this collection of canons probably originated in upper Egypt. The final date of the work, which apparently underwent a number of redactions and which reflects the various local traditions of its unknown editors, has been given as late as the fifth or sixth century and as early as 336.

Originally written in Greek, the canons today exist only in Coptic and Arabic.

CPG 1: no. 1742 * Altaner (1961) 60–61 * Altaner (1966) 257 * Cross 94–96 * Quasten 2:186 * Hamell 84 * Tixeront 215 * CATH 1:477–78 * CE 3:279–81 * CHECL 149 * DCA 1:110–19 * DDC 5:1154–59 * EEC 1:62 * EEChr 1:212–13 * ODCC 774

TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

D. Haneberg, *Canones Hippolyti* (Munich, 1870) [with a Latin translation]. * H. Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts: Die Canones Hippolyti*, TU 6, 4 (Leipzig, 1891). * W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900) 193–230 [German]. * R.-G. Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, Patrologia Orientalis 31.2 (Paris, 1966) [French]. * P. Bradshaw, *The Canons of Hippolytus*, Liturgical Study 2 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1987) [English].

54. 1 Tim 6:11–12.

[†] Translated from *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, trans. and ed. R.-G. Coquin (Paris, 1966). For an excellent introduction to this document as well as informative notes, see P. Bradshaw, *The Canons of Hippolytus*, as listed in the introductory bibliography.

STUDIES

F.C. Burkitt, "On the Baptismal Rite in the Canons of Hippolytus," JThSt 1 (1899–1900) 279. * G. Morin, "L'origine des Canons d'Hippolyte: note lue au Congrès archéologique de Rome, le 23 avril 1900," RB 17 (1900) 241–46. * P. Batiffol, "Les canons d'Hippolyte d'après des travaux récents," RBibl 10 (1901) 252–59. * J.P. Arendzen, "The XXXII Canon of Hippolytus," JThSt 4 (1902–3) 282–85. * C.J. Oehlander, *Canones Hippolyti och besläkta de skrifter* (Lund, 1911). * J.V. Bartlet, "The Ordination Prayers in the Ancient Church Order," JThSt 17 (1915–16) 248–56. * R.H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Cambridge, 1916) 50–134.* A. de Alès, "Aux origines du droit canon," RSR 8 (1918) 132–38. * A. Maloy, "L'onction des malades dans les canons d'Hippolyte et les documents apparentés," RSR 9 (1919) 222–29. * K. Müller, "Hippolyts Αποστολικὴ παράδοσις und die Canones Hippolyti," ZNW 23 (1924) 214–47. * G. Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome* (London, 1937) lxxvi–lxxxi. * G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1944) 602–5. * G.V. Jourdan, "Agape or Lord's Supper: A Study of Certain Passages in the Canons of Hippolytus," *Hermathena* 64 (1944) 32–43. * B. Botte, "L'origine des canons d'Hippolyte," in *Mélanges en l'honneur de monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg, 1956) 53–63. * J.M. Hanssens, "L'édition critique des canons d'Hippolyte," OCP 32 (1966) 536–44.

Canon 1. The holy faith 2237

Above all else we speak of the holy and true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God. This we have faithfully set down, and we most confidently adhere to it; indeed we say that the Trinity, equal and perfect in honor, is equal in glory, having neither beginning nor end. That Word, the Son of God, has also created every creature, all that is visible and invisible.[1] This we have set down, and we indeed adhere to it. As to those who dared to say what they should not have said about the Word of God, according to what our Lord Jesus Christ said about them, we have gathered, we who are the great majority, in the power of God; we have separated ourselves from them because they are not in accord with the holy Scriptures, with the word of God, nor with us who are the followers of the Scriptures. This is why we have separated them from the Church and have handed their case over to God, who judges every creature with righteousness.[2]

Those who do not know them, we teach them such things without envy 2238 so that they may not fall into an evil death, as do certain heretics, but may be worthy of eternal life and may instruct their children and those succeeding them in this holy faith.

Canon 2. Bishops[a] 2239

The bishop is to be chosen by all the people; as the apostle wrote,[3] he is to be without reproach. On the Saturday of his ordination all the clergy and the people say, "We have chosen him." All the flock, having given

a. See ApT 2 (WEC 1:617–18).

1. See Col 1:16. 2. See Ps 9:8; 96:13; etc. 3. See 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:6–7.

their approval, observes silence and then prays for him as they say, "O God, this is he whom you have prepared for us." They are to select one of the bishops and presbyters; the bishop places his hand on the head of the one elected and prays, saying,

2240 Canon 3. Prayer over him who becomes a bishop—the order of the liturgy[b]

"O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation,[4] you dwell on high and look down upon the lowly;[5] you know all things before they come to be; you have established the laws of the Church; you have decreed that from Adam there should exist a righteous race—this bishop being the intermediary—namely, the race of the great Abraham; you have instituted authorities and powers. Look upon N. with your great power and mighty Spirit,[6] which you gave to the holy apostles through our Lord Jesus Christ, your only Son—the apostles who established everywhere the Church, for the honor and glory of your holy name. Since you know the hearts of all,[7] make him the sinless shepherd of your people so that he might merit to shepherd your great and holy flock;[8] make his life more excellent than that of all his people, a life without strife; make him envied by all because of his virtue; receive the prayers and the offerings he will give you day and night; may these be a sweet-smelling savor for you.[9] Give him, Lord, the episcopate, a merciful spirit, and the power to remit sins; grant him the power to loosen every bond of demonic oppression, to heal the sick, and to immediately crush Satan under his feet. We ask this through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to you, with him and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

All the people say, "Amen."

2241 All turn toward him and give him the kiss of peace because he is worthy of this.

2242 Then the deacon brings the offerings, and the newly-ordained bishop lays his hand on the offerings with the presbyters, saying, "The Lord be with all."

The people reply, "And with your spirit."

He says, "Lift up your hearts."

They reply, "We have lifted them to the Lord."

He says, "Let us give thanks to the Lord."

They reply, "It is fitting and right," namely, "it is fitting."

After this he says the prayer and continues the liturgy.

2243 If there is oil, he prays over it in this manner, not with the same wording but with the same meaning. Should there be any first fruits, anything that is edible, whatever someone has brought, he prays over these and in his prayer blesses the fruit that was brought to him.

---

b. See ApT 3–6 (WEC 1:619–28).

4. See 2 Cor 1:3. 5. See Ps 112:6, LXX. 6. See Ps 50:12, LXX. 7. See Acts 1:24. 8. Allusion to Luke 19:17 (?). 9. See Gen 8:21.

The conclusion of the prayer said over each is "Glory to you, Father, 2244
Son, and Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

Canon 4. Ordination of presbyters[c]

When a presbyter is ordained, everything is done as for the ordination 2245
of a bishop except sitting in the chair. The prayer used for ordaining a bishop is prayed over him, but the name of the bishop is omitted.

The presbyter is equal to the bishop in everything except using the epis- 2246
copal chair and performing ordinations because the power to ordain is not given to the presbyter.

Canon 5. Ordination of deacons[d]

When a deacon is ordained, the same rules are followed; this prayer is 2247
said over him.

He is not appointed for the presbyterate but for the diaconate. As a ser- 2248
vant of God, he assists the bishop and the presbyters in everything. He serves not only during the liturgy but also ministers to those who are sick, to those having no one. He acquaints the bishop with those whom he, the bishop, should pray over; he provides for the needy as well as for those whose poverty is not apparent but who are nonetheless poor. Deacons are also to assist those in charge of episcopal almsgiving; and they are to give to widows, to orphans, and to the poor. The deacon is to carry out all services of this kind. In such a way he is indeed the deacon concerning whom Christ said, "My Father will honor whoever serves me."[10]

The bishop, laying his hand on the deacon, prays over him, saying: 2249

"O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we ask you to pour out your 2250
Holy Spirit upon N.; number him among those who serve you by following your will as did Stephen and his companions; fill him with strength and wisdom[11] as you did Stephen; may he triumph over all the powers of the Evil One by the sign of your cross with which you sign him; grant him a sinless life in the sight of all; may he be an example for many so that without scandal he may save a multitude in the holy Church; accept all his service. Through our Lord Jesus Christ through whom glory be to you, with him and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

Canon 6. Those punished because of the holy faith[e]

When someone has been worthy to appear before a tribunal because of 2251
the faith, has suffered punishment because of Christ, and has then been freed by the help of grace, this man has in such a way been deemed by God worthy of the presbyteral rank. Accordingly, he is not to be ordained

c. See ApT 7 (WEC 1:629).
d. See ApT 8 (WEC 1:630–33).
e. See ApT 9 (WEC 1:634).
10. John 12:26. 11. See Acts 6:8.

by the bishop because he was ordained by his confession. But if he is to be made a bishop, he is to be ordained.

2252 When someone has confessed the faith but has not endured punishment, he has become worthy of the presbyterate, and yet he is to be ordained by the bishop.

2253 If anyone's slave has endured punishment because of Christ, that slave is thus a presbyter of the flock. Even though he has not received the mark of the priesthood, he has received the spirit of the priesthood.

2254 The bishop is not to pray by reciting, but by the Holy Spirit.

Canon 7. The choice of the reader and of the subdeacon[f]

2255 When a reader is selected, he is to have the virtues of a deacon. The hand is not to be laid on him beforehand, but the bishop is to give him the gospel [book].

2256 The subdeacon is to be appointed according to this arrangement: he is not to be ordained if he is still single and unmarried unless his neighbors bear witness on his behalf and testify that he has always refrained from women throughout his whole life as an adult.

2257 The hand is not to be imposed on an unmarried man till he has attained or is about to attain adulthood unless he is deemed worthy and unless witness is presented on his behalf.

2258 The subdeacon and the reader, when they pray alone, are to remain behind; the subdeacon serves behind the deacon.

Canon 8. Gifts of healing[g]

2259 If someone requests ordination by saying, "I have received the gift of healing," he is to be ordained only when the healing is evident and only if the healing done by him comes from God.

2260 A presbyter is not to be removed from the ministry when his wife has given birth.

Canon 9. A presbyter who dwells in a foreign place and the function of widows[h]

2261 If a presbyter goes to live in a foreign place where its clergy accept him, the bishop of his see is to be questioned to determine whether this presbyter is taking flight for some reason. If his town is distant, there should first be an examination as to whether he has been instructed—this being a sign of a presbyter—and afterwards he is to be accepted and given a double honor.[12]

2262 Next, widows are not ordained but appointed. They have, in fact, the precepts of the Apostle.[13] They are not to be ordained, but one prays over

f. See ApT 11, 13 (WEC 1:637, 639).
g. See ApT 14 (WEC 1:640).
h. See ApT 10 (WEC 1:636).
12. See 1 Tim 5:17. 13. See 1 Tim 5:3–15.

them since only men are ordained. The function of widows is important because of their responsibilities, their frequent prayer, their ministering to those who are sick, as well as the frequency of their fasting.

Canon 10. Those who become Christians[i]

Those who come to the Church for the purpose of becoming Chris- 2263
tians are to be very carefully examined—why did they give up their old religion?—so that they not enter motivated by a desire to engage in mockery. Those who come with true faith are to be joyfully received, questioned about their occupations, and taught by the deacon. In such a way they are to be instructed in the Scriptures so that they may renounce Satan and all his pomp. Once they begin to be catechized, they are numbered among the faithful.

Not to be baptized are those slaves with pagan masters who forbid that 2264
their slaves be baptized, but it suffices that such [slaves] be Christians; even those who die without having received the gift [of baptism] are not excluded from the flock.

Canon 11. Makers of idols and images, whether these be sculptors or painters[j]

Every artisan is to be taught not to fashion any image or idol, whether 2265
this person be a sculptor, silversmith, painter, or any other. If after baptism they have made anything of such sort except what is needed by the people, they are to be excluded till they have repented.

Canon 12. Prohibition of several occupations—those involved in them are to be received only after doing penance[k]

As to someone who is the director of a theater, or a wrestler, or a run- 2266
ner, a music teacher, or plays before funeral processions, or teaches the art of the gladiator, or is a hunter, or a hairdresser, or battles savage animals, or is a pagan priest—to none of these is the holy word to be revealed till they have first been purified from these impure occupations. Then, during forty days, they are to hear the word, and if judged worthy, they are to be baptized. The Church's teacher is the judge in this matter.

A schoolmaster who teaches little children may continue to educate 2267
provided he has no other means of livelihood, provided he admits to his students that what the Gentiles call gods[14] are demons, and provided he daily tells them that there is no divinity except the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. If he can teach his pupils the excellent word of the poets, and better still if he can teach them the faith of the word of truth, then he will be rewarded.

---

i. See ApT 15 (WEC 1:641).

j. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:646).

k. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:644–50).

14. See Ps 96:5.

Canon 13. The magistrate and the soldier—not to kill even if ordered to do so—not to wear wreaths—whoever possesses authority and does not comply with the righteousness of the Gospel is to be excluded and is not to pray with the bishop[l]

2268 Whoever has authority to kill or is a soldier is never to kill, even if ordered to do so. They are not to say a bad word. Those who have received any honors are not to wear wreaths on their heads. Whoever has been elevated to the position of prefect or magistrate and does not comply with the works of the righteousness[15] of the Gospel is to be excluded from the flock; the bishop is not to pray with him.

Canon 14. A Christian not to become a soldier[m]

2269 A Christian must not become a soldier unless compelled by a chief carrying a sword. He is not to saddle himself with the sin of blood. But if he has shed blood, he is not to share in the mysteries till he has been made pure by punishment, tears, and lamentation. He is not to exercise authority with deceit but with fear of God.

Canon 15. Several forbidden occupations[n]

2270 A fornicator or one who lives off the proceeds of fornication, or an effeminate person and especially one who speaks of what is shameful, or an idler, or a rake, or a magician, or an astrologer, or a soothsayer, or an interpreter of dreams, or a snake charmer, or an agitator who stirs up the people, or one who makes phylacteries, or a usurer, or an oppressor, or someone who loves the world, or someone who loves swearing, that is, oaths, or a person who criticizes people, or a hypocrite, or a slanderer of people, or someone who decides whether the hours and the days are favorable—these and others like them are not to be catechized and baptized till they have renounced all such occupations and till three witnesses have testified on their behalf[16] that they really have rejected all these sins, the reason being that people often remain in their passions until old age, unless enabled to escape them by a great power.

2271 If after baptism they continue to commit such sins, they are to be excluded from the Church till they do penance with tears, fasting, and almsgiving.

Canon 16. The Christian who has a concubine and is married to another[o]

2272 If a Christian who has a concubine—especially if she has had a child by him—marries another, he is guilty of homicide unless he catches her in fornication.

---

l. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:652–53).

m. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:654).

n. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:655–57).

o. See ApT 16 (WEC 1:658).

15. See Job 29:14; Ps 132:9; Isa 59:17; Eph 6:14. 16. See Deut 19:15; Matt 18:16; 2 Cor 13:1.

Canon 17. What a free woman is to do

A free woman is not to wear jewelry in church[17] even if ordered to do 2273
so by her husband. She is not to leave her hair loose, that is, flowing, in God's house. She is not to wear fringes on the head when she desires to share in the holy mysteries. She is not to hand over to nurses the children she has given birth to, but she is to raise them herself according to the law of marriage. She is not to neglect her housework. She is not to answer back her husband in anything even if she knows more than he, but she is to remember God at all times; if she knows more than men, she is not to reveal this to anyone but is to serve her husband as if he were her master. She is to be attentive to the poor who are her neighbors; she is to concern herself with the first offerings rather than with vain attire because no woman adorned with precious stones is as beautiful as the woman whose beauty is found in her nature and excellence alone. May such women take care to be pure, not loving pleasure; they are not to laugh in church; they are not to talk when they are in church since God's house is not a place for conversation but a place for prayer and awe. Whoever talks in church is to be expelled and forbidden to participate in the mysteries.

Time should not be a hindrance for those catechumens who are wor- 2274
thy of the light [baptism] because their conduct is a proof: the Church's teacher judges in this matter.[p]

Canon 18. Midwives and the separation of women from men during prayer—girls are to wear a veil—women who give birth[q]

After the teacher has concluded the daily instruction, the catechumens 2275
are to pray apart from the Christians.

Midwives are not to partake of the mysteries till they have been purified. 2276
Their purification shall be thus: if the child they have delivered is a male, twenty days; if a female, forty days. They are not to neglect those confined but are to pray to God for such women. If she [a midwife] goes to God's house before being purified, she is to pray with the catechumens who are yet to be received and have not yet been deemed worthy of acceptance.

Women are to be placed apart. They are not to give the kiss of peace to 2277
any man.

The teacher is to impose his hand on the catechumens before he dis- 2278
misses them. Girls, once they approach maidenhood, are to cover their heads in a manner similar to the adult women, namely, with a scarf and not with a thin veil.

A woman who has given birth stays outside the holy place for a period 2279
of forty days if her baby is male; if female, eighty days.[18] Should she enter the church, she is to pray with the catechumens.

---

p. See ApT 17 (WEC 1:660).

q. See ApT 18–19 (WEC 1:661, 662).

17. See 1 Tim 2:9; 1 Pet 3:3. 18. Lev 12:1–5.

2280 There should be a number of midwives so that they may not be outside [the church] for their complete lives.

Canon 19. Catechumens who are killed because of their witness before baptism are to be buried with the martyrs—conditions they are to carry out during their baptism and exorcism—the order of the baptismal liturgy and of the consecration of the Body and Blood[r]

2281 Catechumens arrested because of their witness and killed before having been baptized are to be buried with all the martyrs because they have been baptized in their own blood.

Chapter of the catechumens

2282 Catechumens, when they are baptized, and those who present them are to attest that they have zealously observed the commandments during the time of their catechumenate, that they have visited the sick or given to the needy, that they have kept themselves free from every evil and unseemly word, that they have hated vainglory, despised pride, and chosen humility for themselves. Then they are to confess to the bishop—it is the bishop alone who has this duty—so that he may satisfy himself about them and consider them worthy to receive the mysteries, for they have truly become pure. The Gospel is then read over them, and several times they are asked, "Do you have doubts, or are you being pressured by human respect or by any other such thing? No one is to mock the kingdom of heaven, which it is given to those who love it with all their hearts."

2283 Those to be baptized are to bathe in water on the fifth day of the week and take food. On Friday they are to fast. In the case of a woman having her menstrual period, she is not to be baptized at this time but should wait till she has been purified.

2284 On Saturday the bishop assembles the candidates for baptism. He has them bow toward the east, extends his hand over them, and prays, expelling all evil spirits by his exorcism; these will henceforth never return because of what has been done. Once he has finished exorcising them, he breathes on the face of each candidate and signs the breast, the forehead, the ears, and the mouth.

2285 They are to pass the night listening to the sacred word and praying. At cockcrow they are to be placed near the water, water from a river, flowing and pure, prepared and sanctified.

2286 Those who respond for the little children are to remove each infant's clothing; those capable of answering for themselves remove their own clothing; finally, the women are to divest themselves of their garments, removing their jewelry, whether of gold or something else, and loosening their hair so that nothing of the foreign spirits should go down with them into the water of regeneration.

---

r. See ApT 19–21, 33 (WEC 1:663–89, 711).

The bishop blesses the oil of exorcism and hands it to a presbyter; he 2287
then blesses the oil of anointing, namely, the oil of thanksgiving; he gives this to another presbyter. Whoever holds the oil of exorcism stands on the bishop's left, whoever holds the oil of anointing stands on his right.

Those to be baptized turn toward the west and say, "I renounce you, 2288
Satan, and all your pomp." When they have said this, the presbyter anoints each candidate with the oil of exorcism which has been blessed so that every evil spirit may depart from them. A deacon then hands them over to a presbyter standing near the water. The presbyter holds each person's right hand and has the person turn toward the east, near the water. Before descending into the water, facing the east, and standing near the water, each person says the following after having received the oil of exorcism: "I believe and I submit myself to you and to all your pomp, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

And so they descend into the water; the presbyter places his hand 2289
on each person's head and asks, "Do you believe in God the Father Almighty?" The candidate replies: "I believe." Then the presbyter immerses the candidate into the water once, his hand on the person's head. The presbyter again asks, "Do you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom the Virgin Mary bore by the Holy Spirit, who came to save the human race, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, who died and on the third day was raised from the dead, who ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead?" The candidate replies, "I believe." Then the presbyter immerses this person into the water a second time. The presbyter again asks, "Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete who flows from the Father and the Son?" When the candidate replies," I believe," the presbyter immerses the person a third time into the water. Each time the presbyter does so, he says, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, equal Trinity."

When the newly-baptized comes up out of the water, the presbyter 2290
takes the oil of thanksgiving and signs the person's forehead, mouth, and breast, and anoints the whole body, the head and the face, saying, "I anoint you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The presbyter wipes the newly-baptized with the towel that he has for this person, who is now dressed and taken back into the church.

The bishop, laying his hand on all the baptized, prays as follows: 2291

"We bless you, Lord God almighty, because you have made these worthy to be born again. We ask that you pour out upon them your holy Spirit so that they now be one in the body of the Church, never to be separated by alien works; but, just as you have granted them forgiveness of their sins, grant them also the pledge of your kingdom,[19] through our Lord

19. See 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14.

Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to you, with him and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

2292 Next he signs each person's forehead with the oil of anointing and gives them the kiss, saying, "The Lord be with you." The newly-baptized respond, "And with your spirit." He does this to each of the baptized. After that they pray with all the faithful, exchange the kiss, and cheerfully rejoice with them.

2293 The deacon begins the liturgy, and the bishop celebrates the Eucharist of the Lord's Body and Blood. When finished, the bishop gives Communion to the people as he stands near the table of the Lord's Body and Blood; the presbyters hold the cups containing Christ's Blood and the other cups containing the milk and honey so that those who partake may know that they are born again like infants because infants partake of milk and honey. If there are no presbyters to hold these cups, the deacons do so. And so the bishop gives the newly-baptized the Body of Christ as he says, "This is the Body of Christ." They reply, "Amen." The person distributing from the cup says, "This is the Blood of Christ." They reply, "Amen." Then they receive the milk and honey, doing so to recall the future age and the sweetness of its gifts, which will not revert to bitterness and will not grow old.

2294 In this way they have become full Christians and have been fed with Christ's Body. They will vie with one another in wisdom so that their lives may shine with virtue, not only before each other but also before the Gentiles so that these may envy them, become Christians, and observe that the progress of those who have been illuminated [baptized] is great and better than the way ordinary people conduct themselves.

2295 Those who have been baptized as well as those who have joined them in fasting are not to taste anything before they receive the Body of Christ because doing this will not be attributed to them as a fast but as a sin. Whoever takes anything before receiving Christ's Body disobeys and despises God. But once the liturgy is concluded, all can eat whatever they desire.

2296 All the catechumens are to gather as a group; one teacher suffices for them, someone who will give them adequate instruction. They are to pray, kneel, and not take anything before those who have been baptized have received the Body and the Blood.

Canon 20. The fast on Wednesday, Friday—the forty days

2297 The fast days that have been appointed are Wednesday, Friday, and the forty days.[s] Whoever adds to this will be rewarded; whoever lessens it—other than for illness, constraint, or necessity—breaks the rule and disobeys God who fasted for our sake.

2298 The bishop is to send to the catechumens bread that has been purified by prayer so that they may share in the communion of the Church.

s. Not a prepaschal Lent but a period of forty fast days after the Epiphany.

Canon 21. The daily assembly of all the presbyters and people in the church[t]

Each day at cockcrow all the presbyters are to gather in the church, 2299
doing so with the deacons, the subdeacons, the readers, and all the people. There is to be prayer, psalmody, the reading of Scripture, and [final] prayers as enjoined by the apostle who said, "Attend to the reading until I come."[20] Whoever lags behind the clergy, except for reasons of illness, and does not hurry is to be excluded.

The sick, unless they are seriously ill and approaching death, go to the 2300
church in order to be cured, to receive the water of prayer and the oil of prayer; each day the clergy visit those who know them.

Canon 22. The week of the Jewish Passover during which joy is set aside—what is eaten—a person in another country who forgets about the Pasch[u]

During the week of the Jewish Passover all the people are to take the 2301
greatest care to fast from every desire. One's speech should not be that of joy but of sadness, knowing that the Lord of all, the impassible Lord, suffered for us during this time so that by doing so we might escape the suffering we deserve because of our sins. May we also share in the suffering he accepted for our sake so that we might have a share with him in his kingdom.[21]

During the Pasch in addition to water one is to take only bread and salt. 2302

If a person is ill or is in a region where there are no Christians and the 2303
Pasch ends without this person even knowing its date, then he or she is to fast after Pentecost and to observe the Pasch with discipline. May their intention be clear: they are not to delay observing the fast through any lack of reverence; they are not to fast with the intention of observing their own Pasch, as if to build a foundation other than the one that has been laid.[22] [. . .]

Canon 24. The bishop visiting the sick—a sick person who has prayed in a church is to go home if he or she has a home

A deacon is to accompany the bishop at all times to make him aware 2304
of each case. He is to inform the bishop about each sick person because it is important for the sick that the chief priest should visit them. The sick, unless the end of life be near, are cured of their sickness when the bishop goes to call upon them, especially when he prays over them because Peter's shadow healed the sick.[23]

Unless they are poor, the sick are not to sleep in a dormitory. This is 2305
why the sick person who has a home is taken to God's house only for the purpose of praying; afterwards, he or she is to return home.

---

t. See ApT 39 (WEC 1:717).

u. See ApT 33 (WEC 1:711).

20. 1 Tim 4:13. 21. See Rom 8:17; Phil 3:10–12; 2 Tim 2:12; 1 Pet 4:13. 22. See 1 Cor 3:11. 23. See Acts 5:15.

Canon 25. The appointment of the steward of the sick by the bishop—times of prayer

2306 The steward is that person whose task it is to look out for the sick, the sick whom the bishop is to support. He is to provide the steward with the clay vessel necessary for them.

2307 Each person in the order of Christians is to pray upon arising from sleep, in the morning—they are to wash their hands when they desire to pray—before doing anything.[v] They are to pray again at the third hour, for this is when Jesus the Savior was voluntarily crucified for our salvation in order to set us free. Again at the sixth hour they are to pray because at this time all creation shook due to the evil deed done by the Jews to Jesus. Also at the ninth hour they are to pray because this is when Christ prayed and delivered his spirit into the hands of his Father. Again, when the sun sets they are to pray because this is the end of the day. Furthermore, when the lamps are lighted in the evening they are to pray because David said, "During the night I meditate."[24] Also, they are to pray at midnight because at this time David prayed;[25] Paul and Silas, the servants of Christ, also prayed at midnight, giving praise to God.[26]

Canon 26. Hearing the word of God—praying in the church[w]

2308 At the time when people gather in church to hear the word of God, all are to hurry and assemble there. They are to understand that hearing the word of God is better for them than all the glory of the present world. They should deem it a great loss when some necessity prevents them from listening to God's word. On the other hand, all should be zealous in frequently gathering in church; in this way they can drive away the hatred of the enemy, especially if a person can read since it is more profitable to hear what one does not know. For the Lord, in that place where his majesty is praised, has the Spirit descend upon those who gather, bestowing his grace upon all. As to those among them who are hesitant, be reassured regarding them because you know that they share in the Spirit. Those who are busy about household chores are not to forget what they have learned in church. For this reason each should take care to attend church on all days when there are prayers.

Canon 27. Those who do not attend church are to read the Scriptures each day—whenever you pray, wash your hands—the exhortation to pray at midnight and when the cock crows[x]

2309 On days when there is no prayer in church, take a Bible and read from it. Each dawn let the sun see the Bible on your knees. Christians are to

---

v. See ApT 41 (WEC 1:719).

w. See ApT 41 (WEC 1:721).

x. See ApT 41 (WEC 1:722, 726).

24. Ps 77:7. 25. See Ps 119:62. 26. See Acts 16:25.

wash their hands each time they pray. The man bound by marriage, even if he rises from beside his wife, is to pray since marriage is not impure, and a bath is not necessary after one's second birth except for the washing of the hands since the Holy Spirit signs the body of the believer and completely purifies this person.

Each person should take care to pray with great diligence at midnight 2310
because, according to our forebears, at this hour all creation attentively gives glory to God, all the ranks of angels and the souls of the righteous bless God. The Lord testifies as to this, saying, "In the middle of the night there will be a cry: Lo, the bridegroom has come out to meet him."[27] Cockcrow is also a time for prayer in the churches since the Lord says, "Watch, for you do not know when the master comes, in the evening, at midnight, at cockcrow, or in the morning,"[28] namely, we must remember God at each hour. And when we are lying in bed, we must pray to God in our hearts.

Let us do this and instruct one another, including the catechumens, as 2311
to how we are to serve God; the demons will be unable to sadden us if we remember Christ at each hour.

Canon 28. No member of the faithful should taste anything till after he or she partakes in the mysteries, especially on days of fasting[y]

No member of the faithful should taste anything till after partaking in 2312
the mysteries, especially on days of fasting.

The clergy are to watch that only members of the faithful partake of the 2313
mysteries.

Canon 29. Vigilance over the altar so that nothing falls into the cup; so that nothing falls into it due to a fault of the priest or the faithful lest an evil spirit have power over it—nothing is to be spoken behind the veil except prayer—when they have finished giving Communion to the people, all who enter the holy place are to recite the psalms, which take the place of Aaron's bells—the sign of the cross, and throwing the dust of the sanctuary into a stream[z]

The clergy are to stand attentively at the altar after it has been prepared. 2314
They are to watch over it so that no insect climbs up on it, so that nothing falls into the cup; this would constitute a deadly sin for the presbyters. For this reason everyone is to stand watching over the holy place: he who gives the mysteries and those who receive are to take great care that nothing falls to the ground lest an evil spirit should have power over it.

There is to be no speaking within the veil except for prayer and what is 2315
necessary for the service. Nothing else is to be done here. Once they have distributed Communion to the people, they enter, singing hymns each

y. See ApT 36–37 (WEC 1:714–15).
z. See ApT 38, 42 (WEC 1:716, 730).
27. Matt 25:6. 28. Mark 13:35.

time because of the powers of this holy place. The psalms are to replace the bells that were on Aaron's garment.[29] No one is to sit down here where only praying, genuflecting, and prostrating before the altar are to occur.

2316 The dust that is swept up from the holy place is to be thrown into the water of a flowing stream; this is to be done immediately so that the people do not trample upon it.

2317 At all times be pure and mark your foreheads with the sign of the cross, which stands for victory over Satan and the glory of your faith. This is what Moses did with the blood of the lamb, the blood he smeared on the lintels and on the two doorposts,[30] and it healed all who lived there. Should not Christ's blood purify more and protect more those who believe in him and show forth the sign of the whole world's salvation, the world that has been healed by the blood of Christ, the perfect lamb?

2318 It is only Christians who hear about all the mysteries concerning life [baptism], the resurrection, and the sacrifice. They can participate in these because they have received the seal of baptism.

Canon 30. Catechumens [aa]

2319 Catechumens are to hear the word concerning faith and doctrine only. This is what John decided, "No one knows it except those who receive it."[31]

2320 On Sunday during the liturgy the bishop, if he is able, is to distribute Communion to all the people from his own hand.

2321 Should a presbyter be sick, a deacon brings the mysteries to him; the presbyter is to take them himself.

Canon 31. The bishop and the presbyter—when they order the deacon to give Communion to the people, he is to do so

2322 The deacon is to give Communion to the people when the bishop or the presbyter permits him to do so.

Canon 32. Virgins and widows fasting for the Church—the clergy fasting as they so wish—the bishop not required to fast except with the clergy—a meal or supper arranged for the poor [bb]

2323 Virgins and widows are to fast frequently and pray for the Church. The clergy are to fast as they so desire and as they are able. The bishop is not required to fast unless the clergy join him in doing so.

2324 If someone desires to offer something and no presbyter is present in the church, the deacon is to replace the presbyter in every respect except for offering the great sacrifice and for prayer.

2325 If someone presents a gift that is to be used as an alms, it is to be distributed before sunset to the poor. But if more is needed, then something

---

aa. See ApT 22 (WEC 1:690).

bb. See ApT 23–25 (WEC 1:691–98).

29. See Exod 28:35. 30. See Exod 12:7. 31. Rev 2:17.

should be given on the next day; if anything remains, then on the third day. Nothing is to be credited to the person who distributes but only to the initial donor. The distributor receives no credit since the bread for the poor remained in that person's house due to negligence.

Should someone provide a meal or a supper for the poor—it is a supper 2326
of the Lord[32]—the bishop should be present when the lamp is lighted. The deacon is to do this, and the bishop is to pray over those present and over the person who invited them. For the poor there is to be a thanksgiving at the beginning of the liturgy. They are to be dismissed so that they can leave before dark, some psalms being prayed before they do so.

Canon 33. The "analempsis"[cc] performed for the deceased not occurring on a Sunday [dd]

If there is an "analempsis" on behalf of the deceased, the people are first 2327
to receive the mysteries before sitting down. This is not to take place on a Sunday. After the [eucharistic?] offering they are given the bread of exorcism before they are seated. No catechumen is to join them in sitting down for the supper of the Lord. They should eat and drink as required, not to the point of drunkenness, but peacefully, giving glory to God.

Canon 34. No one is to be garrulous or loud-voiced—the entry of the holy ones into the dwellings of the faithful [ee]

Do not be garrulous and loud-voiced lest someone laugh at you, lest 2328
you scandalize the people, and lest your host be insulted because of your unruly conduct. But may your host as well as your host's household be allowed to participate. May they notice and see our restraint and receive a great favor by reason of the example they see in us. May they desire that the holy ones enter their homes because our Savior said, "You are the salt of the earth."[33]

When the bishop, being seated, speaks, the holy ones as well as their 2329
host are to benefit from this. If the bishop is not present and the presbyter is, those present should listen to the presbyter because in God's eyes he is higher than they are. They are to honor him with the honor due to a bishop and should not dare oppose him. The presbyter is to give them the bread of exorcism before they sit down so that God may preserve their meal from the disorder of the enemy and so they may rise up from the meal in good health and in peace.

Canon 35. A deacon present at a meal when a presbyter is absent—the deacon replacing the presbyter for the prayer and the breaking of the

---

cc. The "analempsis" appears to have been some type of religious rite honoring the dead.

dd. See ApT 26–28 (WEC 1:699–702).

ee. See ApT 28 (WEC 1:702).

32. See 1 Cor 11:20. 33. Matt 5:13.

bread, for the blessing and not for the body—the dismissal of the widows before evening [ff]

2330 A deacon present at a meal when a presbyter is absent is to take the presbyter's place for the prayer over the bread, which he is to break and distribute to the guests. As to the laity, they are not to sign [bless?] the bread but only break it if no cleric is present.

2331 Having given thanks in the name of the Lord, each is to eat whatever he or she brings so that the Gentiles may see what you are about and thus envy you.

2332 Whoever wishes to feed the widows is to do so, sending them home before sunset. If their number is many, they are to be given enough to eat and drink lest they become upset and be unable to leave before evening; they are to depart before nightfall.

Canon 36. The first fruits of the earth, the first of their threshing floors and their presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the rest of what is brought to the bishop for his blessing [gg]

2333 Those having the first fruits of the earth are to bring them to the church, the first of their threshing floors and the first of their presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the first of their handwork, all this they are to bring to the bishop, as well as the first of their trees. The presbyter receiving the first fruits is to thank God for them, with the person who brought them standing outside the veil. The priest says,

2334 "We give thanks to you, Lord, almighty God, because you have made us worthy to see the fruits that the earth has produced this year. Lord, bless the crown of the year of your bounty,[34] and may these gifts satisfy the poor among your people. Bless your servant N., who in awe of you has brought these things which are yours. Bless him and his household from your holy heaven. Pour your holy mercy upon him so that he may know your will in all things, and have him inherit the things of heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."

2335 Every vegetable, all the fruits of the trees, and all the fruits of the cucumber fields are to be blessed; also those who bring them.

Canon 37. The fact that every time the bishop offers the mysteries, he is to be joined by the deacons and the presbyters, who are clothed in white garments, more magnificent than the garments of all the people—likewise the readers

2336 Each time the bishop offers the mysteries, he is to be joined by the deacons and the presbyters, who are clothed in white garments, more

---

ff. See ApT 28–30 (WEC 1:702–7).

gg. See ApT 31–32 (WEC 1:708–10).

34. See Ps 65:11.

magnificent than the garments of all the people; they are to be made more radiant by their good deeds rather than by their clothing.

The readers also are to be magnificent like these. They are to stand at 2337
the ambo [the place for the readings] and are to follow one another [in singing the psalms] till all the people have assembled; then the bishop is to pray and celebrate the liturgy.

Canon 38. The night when our Lord was raised—no one is to sleep during this night nor is anyone to bathe beforehand—those who sin after baptism and its explanation—the prohibition of what should not be done—the practice of what should be done

As for the night of the Lord's resurrection, great care is to be taken 2338
that absolutely no one sleeps till morning. They are to wash their bodies with water before celebrating the Pasch, and all the people are to be illuminated because at this hour the Savior freed all creation and subdued heaven and earth and all that is in them; for he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of God, and will come in the glory of his Father and of his angels; he will reward each according to one's deed;[35] those who have done good will receive the resurrection of life, whereas those who have done evil will receive the resurrection of condemnation,[36] as is written. For this reason we must be watchful at all times and not allow our eyes to sleep nor our eyelids to slumber till we find a place for the Lord.[37] [hh]

86. PACHOMIUS

Born of a pagan family in southern Egypt ca. 290, Pachomius served as a military conscript. After his discharge he converted to Christianity at the age of twenty-two. Soon thereafter (ca. 320) at Tabennisi in the Thebaid on the right bank of the Nile he established a monastery whose monks observed a common life of poverty, prayer, and asceticism. Such a way of life, which came to be called "coenobitism," was distinguished from the solitary and isolated life lived by hermits or anchorites. During his life Pachomius established eight other monasteries for men as well as two for women. He ruled over all these as a type of abbot-general till his death in 346.

CPG 2: nos. 2353ff. * Altaner (1961) 302–3 * Altaner (1966) 262–63 * Bardenhewer (1908) 265–66 * Bardenhewer (1910) 219–21 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:83–85 * Bautz 6:1413–19 * Hamell 99 * Quasten 3:154–59 * Steidle 97 * Tixeront 166 * CATH 10:374–75 * CE 11:381–82 * DCB 4:170–71 * DictSp 12.1:7–16 * DPAC 2:2561–62 * DTC 112:1723–25 * EC 9:511–14 * EEC 2:628 * EEChr 2:845–46 * LTK 7:1254–55 * NCE 10:853–54 * NCES 10:742–43 * ODCC 1207 * PEA (1894) 18.2:2070–71 * PEA (1991) 9:127

hh. The document then concludes with a treatise on the Christian life.

35. See Matt 16:27. 36. See John 5:29. 37. See Ps 132:4–5.

A. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus: Typen frühchristlicher Vigilenfeier und ihr Fortleben vor allem in römischen und monastischen Ritus*, LQF 32 (Münster, 1957) 105–23. * P. Rouillard, "Temps et rythmes de la prière dans le monachisme ancien," LMD, no. 64 (1960) 32–52. * C. Gindele, "La lecture de l'Ecriture dans le monastère de s. Pachôme," BVC 67 (1966) 43–52. * A. Veilleux, *La liturgie dans la cénobitism pachômien* (Rome, 1968). * A. de Vogüé, "Sur la terminologie de la pénitence dans la Règle de s. Pachôme," SM 17 (1975) 7–12. * A. Verheul, "La prière monastique chorale avant Benoît: son influence sur le culte en Occident: la prière des heures avant la Règle et dans la Règle de s. Benoît," QL 62 (1981) 227–42.

86-A. Rule of Saint Pachomius. Precepts[†]

This collection of precepts for the monastic community appears to have developed over a period of time, rising out of practical solutions to problems encountered in living a community life. In time and in both East and West this Rule influenced the formation of similar documents, for example, Rules by Basil (WEC 2:**67-B**), John Cassian (WEC 3:**118-A** and **118-B**), Benedict (WEC 4:**155-A**), and Caesarius (WEC 4:**168-A**).

2339 8. These are the precepts of life handed down to us by the elders. If it happens that during the psalmody or the prayer or in the midst of a reading anyone speaks or laughs, he shall unfasten his belt immediately and with neck bowed down and hands hanging down he shall stand before the altar and be rebuked by the superior of the monastery. [. . .]

2340 15. On Sunday or at the time of the Eucharist, none of the weekly servers shall be absent from his seat on the *embrimium* and [thus] not responding to the psalmist. They are all [to be] from the same house that does the greater weekly service performed in the individual houses by a smaller number. If a greater number is necessary, others from the same tribe shall be called by the housemaster doing the weekly service. Without his order no one shall come from another house of the same tribe to sing psalms. Likewise, it shall not be permitted anyone at all to serve in the weekly service of a house other than his own, unless it be [a house] of the same tribe. They call a tribe a group of three or four houses—according to the population of the monastery—which we could designate as families or peoples of a single race.

2341 16. On Sunday and in the *synaxis*[a] in which the Eucharist is to be offered, let no one be allowed to sing psalms apart from the housemaster and the clerics of the monastery, who are of some reputation.

2342 17. If anyone is missing when one of the elders is chanting, that is, reading the psalter, he shall at once undergo the order of penance and rebuke before the altar.

[†] Translation from *Pachomian Chronicles and Rules*, vol. 2 of *Pachomian Koinonia*, trans. A. Veilleux, Cisterican Studies Series 46 (Kalamazoo, 1981) 146ff.

a. *Synaxis*: namely, a "gathering" or "assembly."

18. Anyone who, without an order from the superior, leaves the *synaxis* 2343
in which the Eucharist is offered shall be rebuked at once.

51. When people come to the door of the monastery, they shall be re- 2344
ceived with greater honor if they are clerics or monks. [. . .] If they wish to join the assembly of the brothers at the time or prayer and *synaxis*, and they are of the same faith, the porter or the guestmaster shall inform the father of the monastery and they shall be brought to pray.

121. Those who arrive late for one of the Six Prayers at evening or does 2345
not recite or laughs or talks shall do penance in his house during the Six Prayers.

127. When one of the brethren dies, all the brothers shall accompany his 2346
body to the mountain. No one shall remain behind unordered, nor shall anyone sing psalms without being ordered.

128. Proceeding to the mountain, they shall not sing psalms two by two. 2347
[. . .] They shall not neglect to respond but shall maintain unison.

140. There shall be no one whatever dwelling in the monastery who has 2348
failed in learning to read and who does not memorize certain portions of the Scriptures. [A member of the monastery should learn by heart] at least the New Testament and the psalter.

141. No one shall find pretexts for himself for not going to the *synaxis*, 2349
the psalmody, and the prayer.

87. PAPHNUTIUS

Paphnutius was a common name in Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries. The author of the following two treatises is, according to modern scholarship, probably Paphnutius Cephalas, a venerable monk who lived in a desert community at Scetis toward the end of the fourth century.

CE 11:457 * DCB 4:185 * DPAC 2:2567 * EC 9:552–53 * EEC 2:646 * LTK 7:1325 * NCE 10:979 * NCES 10:860 * ODCC 1216

L. Regnault, *La vie quotienne des pères du desert en Egypte au IVe siècle* (Paris, 1992).

87-A. History of the Monks of the Egyptian Desert†

This document, existing only in one Coptic manuscript (now in the British Library) and whose beginning has been lost, is a collection of stories, the result of the author's journey among the monks of Upper Egypt during the later years of the fourth century. We are presented not only with historical tales but also with accounts of miracles and other spiritual experiences.

† Translation from *Paphnutius: Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and the Life of Onnophrius*, rev. ed., trans. and ed. T. Vivian, Cistercian Studies Series 140 (Kalamazoo, 2000) 78ff. Headings are those supplied by Vivian.

Story of Anianus and Paul

2350 12. And they said, "We are citizens of Aswan where we have lived since we were born. Moreover, we were friends: we would go to church together every day, morning and evening, and we would listen to the holy Scriptures being read and the reading from the Gospel." [. . .]

Abba[a] Aaron tells Isaac the story of Abba Macedonius

2351 29. Now Macedonius said, "[When] I became governor and took over the rule [of Aswan?], I came south and passed through the towns of this district and entered Philae. Because it was the Sabbath day, I looked for a place where I could participate in the Eucharist, because I am an orthodox Christian and the people there worshiped idols. [. . .] Therefore, I asked a man who was a Christian where I could find a church for the celebration of the Eucharist. And he said, 'Ah, my lord governor, we who live in this town are badly mistreated by those who worship idols. In spite of this, certain clergy who live in the town of Aswan regularly come here and celebrate the Eucharist for us on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day.'"

Macedonius tells the story of Mark and Isaiah

2352 41. [. . .] They [Mark and Isaiah] came down the mountain together and went to the place where the holy bishop resided, and the three of them lived together.

2353 42. The bishop [said], "I will not eat with them because they have not been baptized." So he rose and filled a basin with water, as was his custom. He prayed over them according to the canons and said to them, "What are your names?" The elder replied, "It is hard to say them in front of you because the names by which we are called are the names of gods," and they told them to the bishop. He said, "You shall no longer be called by these names." And he gave a name to the elder one when he baptized him; he called him Mark. And the younger one he called Isaiah.

2354 43. When he had baptized them, he gave the Eucharist to them. [. . .]

Abba Macedonius and the temple priest

2355 49. Now it happened that when the priest saw his elder son, Mark, he went up to greet him, but Mark would not permit him, and said, "You are not yet worthy of holy baptism." When his father heard this he was amazed and said to him, "Are you not [my] son?" And Mark said to him, "[Indeed] I am no son of yours. This very day I have a good father." His father said, "Tell me how I should live." His son Mark said to him, "Father, look, it is the bishop who will tell you how to live." And the

---

a. Abba: From the Aramaic for "Father"; Abba was used in the East as a title of respect applied to monks, especially those who were considered more venerable by reason of lifestyle and sanctity.

bishop began to speak to him from the holy Scripture and instructed him in the ordinance of baptism and the orthodox faith. [. . .]

50. [. . .] Now when the bishop had been instructing them a long time 2356
in the catechism, they said, "Do not [delay]. Perform the rite of baptism." He consented, and added, "Bring [me] oil, and Mark brought it. The bishop took [it] and prayed over [the water] and the oil according to the canons of the holy fathers and the apostles, and he said to Mark the priest, "Proclaim in the church, 'Whoever wishes the Lord, let him come to me.'" And they came to him as a body with joy and gladness and he baptized them. He did the priest first. He baptized him and called his name "Jacob."

51. Afterwards, he baptized the entire population of the city, men and 2357
women and little children. There was not a single person present who was not baptized that day. [. . .]

52. [. . .] And when he had sat down, a multitude gathered around 2358
him. He instructed them in the faith by means of the words of God [and taught] them about the ordinance of holy baptism and to love one another in the love that knows no hypocrisy. [He saw Isaiah and called to] him. He told him to hide himself so that he would not be pursued on account of the priest. He ordained him deacon and then said to them, "Where are your eucharistic vessels?" They said to him, "They are hidden away." And he ordered that they bring them quickly, and they rose and went immediately and quickly returned with them on their shoulders. And the bishop ordered them to set down the vessels in their midst. He said to Mark the priest, "Strike the boards together to gather the multitude to the church," and he did as he was told, and the entire multitude gathered together. The bishop said to Jacob, "See that good wine and bread are provided so I can celebrate the Eucharist for [the multitude]."

Mark returns south as bishop

72. [. . .] When the people heard about the bishop, they all flocked out 2359
and with psalms and hymns they sang before him until they brought him into the church and seated him upon the throne. [. . .]

Abba Pseleusias goes to Alexandria
The miracle of the baptismal font

83. Now it happened that after these things Abba Timothy went to his 2360
rest and Abba Theophilus sat on the episcopal throne. And all the bishops went to Alexandria to pay their respects to him. Now the holy man Abba Pseleusias also went. And when they arrived in the city they found the archbishop in the church with all the clergy and people gathered together around him. It was the seventh day of the week, the day on which they were accustomed to doing baptisms. Now when the font had been filled with water, the archbishop came in with the other bishops and prayed over "the Jordan." But Abba Pseleusias stood off by the door of the

baptistery, at a little distance away. He did not go inside because he considered himself unworthy.

2361 84. Now the archbishop was informed about him by the Spirit. He ordered him to be brought in, and he said to him, "Why did you not come [into the baptistery] and pray with us?" [And he] said to the archbishop, "Forgive me, my holy father, I am a humble man," and he stretched out his hands and prayed together with them. Immediately the font began to boil like a bronze cauldron and became red-hot. When the archbishop and all the other bishops saw the miracle which had taken place, they glorified God and the holy bishop Abba Pseleusias because of his purity. And when the archbishop had finished the baptisms, he administered Communion to them and dismissed them. [. . .]

Abba Aaron and the miracle of the fish

[. . .]

2362 121. And they said to him, "We swear by your salvation, our holy father, it is because of our poverty that we have not had the leisure to go to church on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day." He said to them, "Have I said to you, 'You haven't been going to God's church'? If you ask him, he will have mercy on you, and he will not let you be in need of anything, for it is the duty of all Christians to go to the house of God first thing in the morning and pray to him to make ready the work of their hands."

87-B. Life of Onnophrius[†]

Onnophrius (Onuphrius) was a fourth-century Egyptian hermit. Venerated both within and outside Egypt, his life became the source of many legends.

Paphnutius learns of the ascetic life of the four

2363 32. I said to them [the four monks encountered by Paphnutius], "Where do you gather for the Eucharist?" They said to me, "We assemble right here for that purpose, and every Sabbath an angel of God comes and gives us Communion on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day." I stayed with them and greatly rejoiced. [They said to me], "On the seventh day of the week an angel of the Lord will give Communion to us and to you together, and the person who receives Communion from the hand of that angel will be washed clean from all sin, and the adversary will in no way have power over him."

2364 33. Now while we were talking together, I smelled a powerful fragrance whose like I have never smelled. As soon as the fragrance washed over us, we got up and stood and praised God. Afterwards the angel came and gave us Communion together by means of the Body and Blood of the

[†] Translation from *Paphnutius: Histories of the Monks*, 164. Heading is that supplied by Vivian.

Lord. [. . .] And we spent the whole night of the Lord's Day standing and praying until morning.

88. SERAPION OF THMUIS

Formerly a monk and a disciple of Anthony of Egypt, Serapion became bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta ca. 339. He was a friend of Athanasius (WEC 2:90), from whom he received several letters on doctrinal matters. Serapion was one of Athanasius's defenders at the Council of Sardica (343), during which several bishops tried to have Athanasius deposed. Removed from office by the Arians in 359, Serapion died after 360.

Although his literary activity appears to have been great, only a few letters, a treatise on Manichaeism, and a collection of prayers have come down to us.

CPG 2: nos. 2485ff. * Altaner (1961) 323–24 * Altaner (1966) 280 * Bardenhewer (1908) 269–70 * Bardenhewer (1910) 224–25 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:98–102 * Bardy (1929) 100 * Bautz 9:1404–5 * Jurgens 2:131–34 * Quasten 3:80–85 * Steidle 97–98 * Tixeront 164–65 * CATH 13:1126–27 * CE 13:726 * DACL 11:606–11 * DCB 4:613 * DictSp 14:643–52 * DPAC 2:3150 * DTC 14.2:1908–12 * EC 11:376–77 * EEC 2:768 * EEChr 2:1050–51 * LTK 9:478–79 * NCE 13:105–6 * NCES 13:7 * ODCC 1485 * PEA (1991) 11:444–45

TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS OF *PRAYERBOOK*

J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Serapion's Prayer-book: An Egyptian Sacramentary dated probably about A.D. 350–356, translated from the edition of G. Wobbermin* (London, 1892); 2nd rev. ed., 1923. * A. Dimitrijewsky, *Ein Euchologium aus dem 4. Jahrhundert, verfasst von Serapion, Bischof von Thmuis* (Kiev, 1894). * G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens nebst einem dogmatischen Brief des Bischofs Serapion von Thmuis*, TU 18, 3b (Leipzig, 1898). * F.E. Brightman, "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," JThSt 1 (1900) 88–113, 247–77. * F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 2 (Paderborn, 1905) 158–95 [with Latin translation].* R. Storf, BKV² 5 (1912) 135–57 [German]. * J. Quasten, *Monumenta Eucharistica et Liturgica Vetustissima*, Florilegium Patristicum 7 (Bonn, 1935) 48–67 [eucharistic prayer]. * R.J.S. Barrett-Lennard, *The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis: A Text for Students with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Liturgical Study 25 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1993).

STUDIES: *PRAYERBOOK* IN GENERAL

P. Drews, "Ueber Wobbermins 'Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens,'" ZKG 20 (1900) 291–328, 415–41. * M.E. Johnson, "A Fresh Look at the Prayers of Serapion of Thmuis," StudLit 22 (1992) 163–83. * E.J. Yarnold, "The Euchologium of Serapion," in StLit, 91. * M.E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Serapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Rome, 1995).

STUDIES: EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

A. Baumstark, "Die Anaphora von Thmuis und ihre Ueberarbeitung durch den hl. Serapion," RQ 18 (1904) 123–42. * T. Schermann, *Aegyptische Abendmahlsliturgie in ihrer Ueberlieferung dargestellt*, StGKA 6, 1–2 (Paderborn, 1912) 100–114. * H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926) 186–97. * B. Capelle, "L'Anaphore de

Sérapion. Essai d'exégèse," Mus 59 (1946) 425–43, repr. in his *Travaux Liturgiques* 2 (1962) 344–58; also repr. in QL 80 (1999) 235–49. * Dix 162–72. * MRR-1, 33–35. * MRR-2, 22–24. * B. Botte, "L'Euchologe de Sérapion est-il authentique?" OC 48 (1964) 50–56. * K. Gamber, "Die Serapion-Anaphora ihrem ältesten Bestand nach untersucht," OstkSt 16 (1967) 33–42. * L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame, 1968) 203–9. * G.J. Cuming, "Thmuis Revisited: Another Look at the Prayers of Bishop Serapion," TS 41 (1980) 568–75. * D. Dufrasne, "La présence du corps dans l'Euchologe dit de Sérapion," ComL 63:6 (1981) 475–83. * E. Mazza, "L'Anafora di Serapione: una ipotesi di interpretazione," EphL 95 (1981) 510–28. * A. Verheul, "La prière eucharistique dans l'Euchologe de Sérapion," QL 62 (1981) 43–51; repr. QL 80 (1999) 374–83. * Jasper 74–79. * M.E. Johnson, "The Archaic Nature of the Sanctus, Institution Narrative, and Epiclesis of the Logos in the Anaphora Ascribed to Serapion of Thmuis," in *The Christian East*, ed. R. Taft, OCA 251 (Rome, 1996) 671–702; repr. in *Essays on the Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 73–108. * B. Spinks, "The Integrity of the Anaphora of Serapion of Thmuis and Liturgical Methodology," JThSt 49 (1998) 136–44.

OTHER TOPICS

P. Rodopoulos, "Doctrinal Teaching in the 'Sacramentary' of Serapion of Thmuis," GOTR 9 (1963–64) 201–14. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * B.D. Spinks, "Serapion of Thmuis and Baptismal Practice in Early Christian Egypt: The Need for a Judicious Reassessment," Wor 72:3 (May 1998) 255–70. * K. Fitschen, "Serapion von Thmuis: echte und unechte Schriften sowie die Zeugnisse des Athanasius und anderer," diss. (Berlin and New York, 1992).

88-A. Prayerbook[†]

Often called the *Prayerbook of Serapion*, this collection of prayers was discovered in 1894 at Mount Athos by A. Dimitrijewsky in an eleventh-century manuscript. The compilation is generally accepted as being the work of Bishop Serapion, and yet the nature of Serapion's activity may well have been that of a compiler or editor. The collection contains thirty prayers: eighteen for the eucharistic assembly (including a eucharistic prayer), seven for the sacraments of initiation, three for ordination, one for the blessing of oils, and one for funerals. The date for the final redaction of what appear to be various preexisting subgroups is often given as the middle of the fourth century.

[†] Translated from F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 2 (Paderborn, 1895) 158–95. Many scholars believe that the sequence of the formulas given in the manuscript is not the original ordering. Brightman in his edition of the work reorganized the prayers; others have suggested alternative systems. Our translation follows the sequence given in the manuscript itself, with the numbers in parentheses indicating the sequence assigned by Brightman. Two excellent commentaries on the *Prayerbook*, together with translations, are R.J.S. Barrett-Lennard's *The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis* and especially M.E. Johnson's *The Prayers of Serapion of Thmuis*, both listed in the initial bibliography.

1. (XIII) Prayer of offering of Bishop Serapion

It is right and proper that we should praise, hymn, and glorify you, 2365
uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise you, O God uncreated, unsearachable, ineffable, beyond every created being's comprehension. We praise you because you are known by your only-begotten Son; through him you have been announced, interpreted, and made known to created nature. We praise you because you know the Son[1] and reveal his glories to the holy ones; you are known by your only-begotten Word and are seen by your saints and are revealed to them. We praise you, invisible Father and giver of immortality. You are the fountain of life,[2] of all grace,[3] and of truth. You love all people, and you love the poor. You seek reconciliation with all, and you draw all to yourself[4] through the coming of your beloved Son.

We pray that you make us a living people. Give us the spirit of light so 2366
that "we may know you, the true God, and know Jesus Christ whom you have sent."[5] Give us the Holy Spirit so that we may be able to proclaim and explain your ineffable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus speak in us, and may the Holy Spirit praise you through us. You are "far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in the age to come."[6] Beside you stand "thousands upon thousands and myriads upon myriads"[7] of angels, archangels, "thrones, dominations, rulers, and powers."[8] Before you stand the two most eminent six-winged "Seraphim, with two wings covering the face, two covering the feet, and with two they fly,"[9] and they cry out "Holy." Also accept with these our own cry of "Holy" as we say, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts"; heaven and "earth are full of your glory."[10] Heaven and earth are "full of your majestic glory."[11] O "Lord of hosts."[12]

Fill this sacrifice with your power and your participation, for we have 2367
offered to you this "living sacrifice,"[13] this unbloody offering. To you we have offered this bread, the likeness of the Body of the Only-Begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy Body, for the "Lord Jesus Christ on the night he was betrayed took bread, broke it, and gave it to his disciples saying, 'Take and eat, this is my Body which is broken for you'"[14] unto the remission of sins. And so we also, celebrating the likeness of the death,[15] have offered the bread and prayed: O "God of truth,"[16] "just as this bread was scattered over the mountains and was gathered together and became one, so gather your holy Church from every nation"[a] and from every country, from every city, village, and house, and make one, living, Catholic Church. We also offer the cup, the likeness of the blood, because

---

a. See *Didache* IX (WEC 1:186).

1. See Luke 10:22. 2. See Jer 2:13. 3. See John 1:14. 4. See John 6:44. 5. John 17:3. 6. Eph 1:21. 7. Dan 7:10. 8. Col 1:16. 9. Isa 6:2. 10. Isa 6:3. 11. 2 Pet 1:17. 12. Ps 84:1. 13. Rom 12:1. 14. 1 Cor 11:23–24; Matt 16:26; Luke 22:19. 15. See Rom 6:5. 16. Ps 31:6.

the "Lord Jesus Christ after supper took the cup and said" to his disciples, 'Take, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my blood shed for you for the forgiveness of sins.'"[17] Therefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood.

2368 O "God of truth,"[18] may your holy Word come upon this bread so that it may become the Body of the Word; may your Word come upon this cup so that it may become the Blood of the truth. Grant that all who receive Communion may receive the medicine of life for curing every sickness and for strengthening them in progress and virtue, not, O "God of truth,"[19] unto condemnation, censure, and shame. For we have called upon you, the Uncreated, through the Only-Begotten in the Holy Spirit. May this people receive mercy and be found worthy of advancement. May angels be sent forth to be with the people for destroying the Evil One and for strengthening the Church. We also pray for all the deceased whose names we now commemorate. (After mentioning the names): Sanctify these souls, for you know them all. Sanctify all who have "fallen asleep in the Lord";[20] count them among your holy powers and grant them a "place and a mansion"[21] in your kingdom. Also accept the thanksgiving of the people and bless those who have brought the offerings and oblations. Grant health, soundness, cheerfulness, and all bodily and spiritual progress to this people. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit as it was and is and will be from generation to generation forever and ever. Amen.

II. (XIV) After the prayer, the fraction, and the prayer at the fraction

2369 O "God of truth,"[22] make us worthy of this Communion. Grant that our bodies be chaste and that our souls contain knowledge and understanding. Make us wise, O God of mercies, by our reception of the Body and Blood. Through the Only-Begotten, glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

III. (XV) Blessing of the people after the broken bread is distributed to the people

2370 I extend my hand over this people, and I pray that your hand of truth may be extended and that a blessing be given to this people because of your loving kindness, O God of mercies, and because of the mysteries that are present. May the hand of prudence and power, of self-discipline and purity, of all holiness, bless this people and keep them so that they may advance and improve. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

IV. (XVI) Prayer after the distribution to the people

2371 Lord, we give you thanks for having called those who have strayed, for having taken to yourself those who have sinned, and for removing

17. Matt 26:27–28; 1 Cor 11:25. 18. Ps 31:6. 19. Ibid. 20. Rev 14:13. 21. John 14:2. 22. Ps 31:6.

the threat that was facing us. By your loving kindness you revoked it; through our conversion you wiped it away; you rejected it by your own knowledge. We thank you for having allowed us to "share in the Body and Blood."[23] Bless us, bless this people. Allow us to share in the Body and Blood through your only-begotten Son. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

v. (XVII) Prayer for the oils and the water that are offered

Through the name of your only-begotten Jesus Christ we bless these 2372
creatures. Upon this water and upon this oil we invoke the name of him who suffered, who was crucified, who rose again, and who sits at the right hand of the Uncreated One. Grant these creatures the power of healing so that every fever, every evil spirit, and every illness may depart through the drinking and the anointing. May the use of these creatures be a healing remedy and a medicine of wholeness in the name of your only-begotten Jesus Christ through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

VI. (XVIII) Imposition of the hand after blessing the water and the oil

O "God of truth,"[24] the lover of all people, may this people continue to 2373
"share in the Body and Blood."[25] May their bodies be living bodies, their souls be pure souls. Grant this blessing as a keeping of their Communion and as an assurance of the thanksgiving that has been celebrated. Bless all of them and count them among your elect. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

VII. (XIX) Sanctification of the waters

King and Lord of all things, Creator of the universe, you graciously 2374
granted salvation to all created nature through the coming of your ineffable Word. You redeemed your creation through the descent of your only-begotten Jesus Christ. "Look down" now "from heaven and behold"[26] these waters. Fill them with the Holy Spirit. May your ineffable Word be in them and transform their power. Being filled with your grace, may they be fruitful so that the mystery we now celebrate not be found to be useless for those being reborn, but may these waters fill with divine grace all who go down into them and are baptized. Loving benefactor, spare your own handiwork. Save the creature made by your right hand. Mold all who are reborn to your divine and ineffable form so that they, having been formed and reborn, might be saved and judged "worthy of your kingdom."[27] Just as your only-begotten Word, descending upon the waters of the Jordan, sanctified them, so may he now descend into these waters and render them holy and spiritual. In this way those being baptized may no longer be flesh and blood but a spiritual people capable of worshiping you, the

23. 1 Cor 10:16. 24. Ps 31:6. 25. 1 Cor 10:16. 26. Ps 80:15. 27. 2 Thess 1:5.

uncreated Father. Through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit through whom glory and power be to you now and forever. Amen.

VIII. (XX) Prayer for those being baptized

2375 O "God of truth,"[28] we pray to you for these your servants. We ask that you make them worthy of the divine mystery and of the ineffable rebirth. It is to you, loving God, that we now offer them; it is to you that we dedicate them. Grant that they may share in this rebirth so that they may no longer be led by those who are bad and evil but may serve you continually, keeping your commandments under the guidance of your only-begotten Word through whom glory and power in the Holy Spirit be to you now and forever. Amen.

IX. (XXI) Prayer after the renunciation

2376 Almighty Lord, seal the assent given you by these your servants. Keep their character and way of life unchangeable so that henceforth they may no longer attend to what is evil but may worship the "God of truth"[29] and serve you, the Creator of all things. In this way may they be made perfect[30] through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power in the Holy Spirit be to you now and forever. Amen.

X. (XXIII) Prayer after the reception

2377 Loving benefactor, Savior of all[31] who have turned to you, look graciously upon these your servants. With your right hand lead them to rebirth. May your only-begotten Word bring them to the washing. May their rebirth be honored and not be devoid of grace. May your holy Word be at their side. May your Holy Spirit be with them to ward off and repel every temptation. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ glory and power be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

XI. (XXIV) Prayer after the baptism and the ascent [from the pool]

2378 O God, the "God of truth,"[32] the Creator of all, the Lord of all creation, bless these your servants with your blessing. Cleanse them by means of their rebirth. Have them share in your heavenly powers so that by participating in your divine and useful gift they may no longer be flesh but spirit.[33] May they be sustained unto the end for you, the Creator of all things. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ through whom glory and power in the Holy Spirit be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

XII. (XXVI) Imposition of hands for appointing deacons

2379 Father of the Only-Begotten, you have sent your Son[34] and arranged things upon the earth. You have given your Church canons and rules for the profit and salvation of your sheep. You have chosen bishops,

---

28. Ps 31:6. 29. Ibid. 30. See Matt 5:48. 31. 1 Tim 4:10. 32. Ps 31:6. 33. See John 3:6. 34. See 1 John 4:10.

presbyters, and deacons for the ministry of your Catholic Church. Through your Only-Begotten you chose seven deacons and graciously gave them the Holy Spirit.[35] Appoint also this person to be a deacon in your Catholic Church and grant him the "spirit of wisdom and understanding"[36] so that he, pure and blameless, may be able to serve your holy people through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever. Amen.

XIII. (XXVII) Imposition of hands for appointing presbyters

Lord, "God of the heavens,"[37] Father of your Only-Begotten, we extend 2380
our hand upon this man and ask that the "Spirit of truth"[38] may come down upon him. Grant him understanding, knowledge, and a "good heart."[39] May the divine Spirit be within him so that he may be capable of being a steward of your people, an ambassador[40] of your divine words, and one who reconciles your people to you, the uncreated God. From the spirit of Moses you bestowed the Holy Spirit upon the chosen ones.[41] Through the spirit of your Only-Begotten grant to this man also the Holy Spirit for the grace of "wisdom, knowledge, and right faith"[42] so that he may be able to serve you with a "clear conscience"[43] through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through him glory and power be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

XIV. (XXVIII) Imposition of hands for appointing a bishop

You sent the Lord Jesus Christ[44] for the benefit of the whole world. 2381
Through him you chose the apostles,[45] and from one generation to the next you appoint holy bishops. O "God of truth,"[46] make this man a true bishop, a holy bishop in the succession of the holy apostles. Give him grace and the divine Spirit which you have graciously granted to all your true servants, prophets, and patriarchs. Make him worthy to "watch over your flock,"[47] and may he continue in the episcopate without blame and without offense, doing so through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever. Amen.

Prayer of Serapion, bishop of Thmuis

XV. (XXII) Prayer for the anointing of those being baptized

Lord, lover of all people and "lover of souls,"[48] "merciful and 2382
gracious"[49] "God of truth,"[50] we call upon you as we follow out and obey the promises of your Only-Begotten who said, "Whose sins you forgive

35. See Acts 6:3–5. 36. Isa 11:2; see also 1 Cor 12:18. 37. Neh 1:4. 38. John 15:26. 39. Luke 8:15. 40. See 2 Cor 5:20. 41. Num 11:17, 25. 42. 1 Cor 12:8–9. 43. 1 Tim 3:9; 2 Tim 1:3. 44. See John 17:3. 45. See Luke 6:13. 46. Ps 31:6. 47. Acts 20:28; 1 Pet 5:2. 48. Wis 11:26. 49. Ps 86:15. 50. Ps 31:6.

are forgiven them."[51] With this oil we anoint those who present themselves for this divine rebirth. We ask that our Lord Jesus Christ may grant them the power that heals and strengthens. By this anointing may he manifest himself and remove from soul, body, and spirit every sign of sin, of evil, of the devil's work. By his very grace may the Lord grant them forgiveness so that "freed from sin they might live for righteousness,"[52] and, becoming a new creation through this anointing and being cleansed "by the washing and renewed by the Spirit,"[53] may they henceforth overcome the forces of the enemy and the deceits of this life. May they be bound to and made one with the flock of "our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,"[54] and as "coheirs share the promises"[55] with the holy ones. Through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

XVI. (XXV) Prayer over the oil with which the baptized are anointed

2383 O "God of hosts,"[56] helper of every soul that turns to you and comes "under the mighty hand"[57] of your Only-Begotten, we call on you so that through the "divine" and heavenly "power of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,"[58] you may bring about in this oil a divine and heavenly work. May those who have been baptized and anointed with it be stamped with the sign of the saving cross of the Only-Begotten, the cross by which Satan and every enemy power were defeated and conquered. May the anointed, being reborn and renewed "through the water of rebirth,"[59] share in "the gift of the Holy Spirit."[60] Strengthened by this seal, may they remain "steadfast and immovable,"[61] innocent and inviolate, free from ill treatment and intrigue. May they continue unto the end in the "knowledge of the truth,"[62] awaiting the heavenly "hopes of life"[63] and the eternal promises "of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."[64] Through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever. Amen.

XVII. (XXIX) Prayer for the oil of the sick, or for the bread, or for the water

2384 "Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,"[65] "you possess all authority" and power; you are the "Savior of all people."[66] We pray that you send down from heaven the healing power of the Only-Begotten upon this oil. May those who are anointed by or who receive these your creatures be freed from "every disease and every sickness."[67] May it be a remedy against every demon. May it expel every unclean spirit. May it cast out every wicked spirit. May it drive away every fever, trembling, and infirmity. May it bring about grace and the forgiveness of sins. May it be a medicine of life and of salvation for the health and wholeness of "soul,

51. John 20:23. 52. 1 Pet 2:24. 53. Titus 3:5; see Eph 5:26. 54. 2 Pet 3:18; Heb 6:12. 55. Heb 6:12; 11:9. 56. Ps 84:1. 57. 1 Pet 5:6. 58. 1 Pet 1:3. 59. Titus 3:5. 60. Acts 2:38. 61. 1 Cor 15:58. 62. 2 Thess 2:13; 1 Tim 2:4. 63. Titus 1:2; 3:7. 64. 2 Pet 3:18. 65. See 1 Tim 4:10; 2 Cor 1:3; 2 Pet 2:20; 3:18. 66. 1 Tim 4:10. 67. See Matt 4:23; 9:35; 10:1.

body, and spirit,"[68] bringing about perfect health. Lord, may every diabolical power, every demon, every snare of the adversary, every plague, every scourge, every pain, every labor or blow or shaking or shadow fear your name, which we now invoke, and the name of the Only-Begotten. May they depart, inwardly and outwardly, from these your servants so that "his name may be glorified," he who for us was crucified and rose again, he who "took our infirmities and bore our diseases,"[69] yes "Jesus Christ" who is coming to "judge the living and the dead."[70] Through him to you be glory and power in the Holy Spirit now and forever and ever. Amen.

XVIII. (XXX) Prayer for a dead person and for one whose body is being carried out for burial

O God, "you have power over life and death."[71] O "God of the spirits" 2385
and master "of all flesh,"[72] O God, "you bring death and life; you lead down to the gates of the lower world and bring back again."[73] You create the human spirit within us, and you receive the souls of the just and grant them rest. You change, transform, and transfigure your creatures as is right and just. You "alone are incorruptible,"[74] immutable, and eternal. We pray to you for the repose and the rest of this man [or woman], your servant. Refresh his [or her] soul and spirit in "green pastures,"[75] in places of rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all your holy ones. Raise his [or her] body on the day you have appointed according to your unfailing promise so that you might grant him [or her] a fitting inheritance in your holy pastures. Remember not transgressions and sins, and make his [or her] going forth peaceful and blessed. Through the consoling Spirit heal the sorrows of those who live on, and grant all of us a good end through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

XIX. (I) First prayer for the Lord's Day

Father of the Only-Begotten, Lord of all things, Creator of what has 2386
been created, Maker of all that has been made, we pray to you. To you, Lord, we lift up our pure hands and open our minds. We ask that you be merciful, that you spare us, that you be kind to us, that you improve us, that you increase our goodness, our faith, and our knowledge. "Look upon us,"[76] Lord; to you we bring our weakness. Be kind and merciful to all of us who have gathered here. Have pity on us your people and be good to us. Make us chaste and clean. Send the angelic powers so that all of us, your people, may be holy and pure. We ask that you send the Holy Spirit into our minds. Grant that we may learn the divine Scriptures from the Holy Spirit and interpret them clearly and worthily so that all present may profit from them. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the

68. 1 Thess 5:23. 69. Matt 8:17. 70. 2 Tim 4:1. 71. Wis 16:13. 72. Num 16:22. 73. 1 Tim 1:17. 74. 1 Sam 2:6. 75. Ps 23:2. 76. Ps 106:4.

Holy Spirit, through whom glory and power be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

xx. (II) Prayer after rising after the homily

2387 O "God and Savior,"[77] God and Creator of all things, Father of the Only-Begotten who is the living and true image[78] born of you. You sent him to help the human race. Through him you have called and acquired a people for yourself. For them we pray. Send the Holy Spirit; may the Lord Jesus Christ visit them; may he speak in the minds of all and predispose their hearts for faith. Merciful God, may the Lord lead their souls to you so that he might gain people even in this city and create a true flock. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit, through whom glory and power be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

xxi. (III) Prayer for the catechumens

2388 Helper and Lord of all, deliverer of those who have been freed, protector of the rescued, hope of those who have come under your "mighty hand,"[79] you have destroyed lawlessness. Through your Only-Begotten you have "destroyed Satan,"[80] "destroyed his works,"[81] and freed those whom he held captive.[82] We thank you for the catechumens; you have called them through your Only-Begotten and have graciously led them to know you. And so we pray. May they be strengthened in this knowledge so that "they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent."[83] May they be protected by what they have learned and by unadulterated wisdom. May they progress to become worthy of the "washing of rebirth"[84] and of the holy mysteries. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit through whom glory and power be to you now and forever and ever. Amen.

xxii. (VII) Prayer for the sick

2389 We pray to you, the ruler, the lord and maker of the body, the creator of the soul. You fashion humanity; you are the steward, governor, and savior of the whole human race. You are reconciled and calmed by your own love for us. Be kind, Lord. Assist and heal all who are ill; rebuke sickness[85] and raise up those confined to their beds; "give glory to your holy name"[86] through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

xxiii. (IX) Prayer for fruitfulness

2390 Creator of heaven and earth, you have crowned heaven with the choir of the stars and illuminated it by the luminaries. You have adorned the earth with fruits for human use. You have freely given to the human race, which you created from above, to enjoy the radiance and light of the

77. Ps 27:9. 78. See Heb 1:3. 79. 1 Pet 5:6. 80. See Heb 2:14. 81. 1 John 3:8. 82. See Luke 13:16. 83. John 17:3. 84. Titus 3:5. 85. See Luke 4:39. 86. Ps 115:1.

luminaries on high and to be nourished by the fruits of the earth below. We ask that you grant us the most abundant and nourishing rains. Cause the earth to be fruitful and to produce abundantly because of your "goodness and loving kindness."[87] Be mindful of those who call upon you. Confer honor on your holy and only Catholic Church. Hear our petitions and prayers. Bless the whole earth through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

xxiv. (x) Prayer for the Church

"Lord, God of the ages,"[88] God of "reasoning spirits, God of pure souls"[89] and of all who in simplicity and purity call upon you. In heaven you manifest and make yourself known to the pure spirits; on earth you are praised in song, and you dwell in the Catholic Church. The holy angels and pure souls minister to you. You also made a living choir from heaven to the glory and praise of truth. Grant that this Church may be a living and pure Church, that it might have divine powers and pure angels to help it so that it may praise you with purity. We make our petition for all the members of this Church. To all grant reconciliation, forgiveness, and the remission of sins. Grant that they may sin no longer. Become a wall on their behalf and destroy every temptation. Be merciful to men, women, and children. Show yourself to all of them, and may the knowledge of yourself be "written on their hearts"[90] through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen. 2391

xxv. (xi) Prayer for the bishop and the Church

We pray to you, Savior and Lord, the "God of all flesh,"[91] the Lord of every spirit, the blessed one, and the giver of every blessing. Make holy this bishop; keep him far removed from all temptation; give him wisdom and knowledge; grant that he may grow in knowledge of you. We also pray for our fellow presbyters. Make them holy; give them wisdom, knowledge, and correct teaching; grant that they may rightly and without reproach dispense your holy teachings. Also sanctify the deacons so that they be "one in heart"[92] and in body, and "with a clear conscience"[93] be able to stand by the holy Body and Blood. We also pray for the subdeacons, readers, and interpreters;[b] refresh all the ministers of the Church; grant pity, compassion, and spiritual growth to all. We pray for those who live as monks and virgins; "may they finish the race"[94] without blame, and may their lives be without incident so that they can pass all their days in 2392

b. Interpreters: those who translated texts proclaimed in a language other than the vernacular.

87. Titus 3:4. 88. Sir 36:17. 89. Num 16:22. 90. Heb 8:10. 91. Num 16:22. 92. Matt 5:8. 93. 1 Tim 3:9; 2 Tim 1:3. 94. 2 Tim 4:7.

purity and holiness. We pray for all who are married, for men, women, and children. Grant to all a blessing that they may progress and improve, becoming a living and chosen people through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

xxvi. (xii) Prayer at the genuflection

2393 Father of the Only-Begotten, you are good, "merciful, gracious,"[95] a lover of humanity and a "lover of souls,"[96] the benefactor of all who turn to you. Receive this prayer; grant us knowledge, faith, devotion, and holiness. From your people abolish all passion, all lust, every sin; cleanse them all; pardon their sins. It is before you, uncreated Father, that we, through the Only-Begotten, kneel. Grant us a holy mind and perfect help; grant that we might look for and love you; help us to seek your divine words; give us your hand, Lord, and raise us up. Merciful God, lift us up, make us gaze up toward you; open our eyes and give us courage so that we may not blush to be ashamed, to reproach ourselves. Blot out the "record that stands against us."[97] "Write our names in the book of life";[98] count us among your "holy apostles and prophets"[99] through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

xxvii. (v) Prayer for the people

2394 O God, you love all people. We thank you and cast our weakness before you so that strength be given us. Forgive our past sins; pardon our former faults; make us a "new people."[100] Make us your true and pure servants. We consecrate ourselves to you, O "God of truth."[101] Receive this people; grant that it may be completely yours; allow it to walk in innocence and purity. May its members be numbered among the heavenly spirits, counted with the angels, and be fully chosen and holy. We pray to you for those who have believed and who acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ; may they be "strengthened in faith,"[102] in knowledge, and in learning. We pray for this people; be reconciled to all; make yourself known;[103] reveal your splendor; may all know you, the uncreated Father, and your only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. We pray for all rulers: may they have a peaceful life; we also pray for the tranquility of the Church. Merciful God, we pray for those who are free and for those in servitude, men and women, the elderly and children, the poor and the wealthy; to all these show your goodness and extend your kindness. Have mercy on all and grant that all may turn to you. We pray for travelers: grant them an angel of peace as a companion on the road; may no harm befall them so that with great tranquility they may complete their journey and travels. We pray for the afflicted, for captives, for the poor; grant relief to each of them, free them from their bonds, deliver them from

95. Ps 86:15. 96. Wis 11:26. 97. Col 2:14. 98. Phil 4:3; Rev 13:8. 99. Eph 3:5. 100. Eph 4:24. 101. Ps 31:6. 102. Col 2:7. 103. See John 17:3.

poverty, console them all, for you are the comforter and the consoler. We pray for the sick: grant them health, raise them up from illness, and grant that they may possess perfect health of mind and body. You are the savior and benefactor; you are the lord and king of all. We have prayed to you for all through your only-begotten Jesus Christ through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

XXVIII. (IV) Imposition of hands on the catechumens

Lord, we extend our hand and pray that your divine and living hand 2395
be extended in blessing upon this people. To you, uncreated Father, they have bowed their heads through your only-begotten Son. Bless this people with the blessing of knowledge and of piety, with the blessing of your holy mysteries. Through your only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

XXIX. (VI) Imposition of hands on the laity

May the pure and living hand, the hand of the Only-Begotten, the hand 2396
that has washed away all evil, the hand that stays and supports all that is good, be extended over this people. May they be blessed with the blessing of the Spirit, with that of heaven, and with that of the prophets and the apostles. May their bodies be blessed unto chastity and purity. May their souls be blessed unto learning, knowledge, and the mysteries. May all of them together be blessed through your only-begotten Jesus Christ. Through whom glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

XXX. (VIII) Blessing of the sick

Lord, God of mercies, extend your hand and graciously grant that 2397
all the sick may be healed; grant that they be made worthy of health. Deliver them from the illness now afflicting them. In the name of your Only-Begotten may they be cured. May his holy name be a medicine unto health and soundness. For through him glory and power be to you in the Holy Spirit now and forever. Amen.

89. *DIDASCALIA OF THE 318 FATHERS (FIDES NICAENA)*[†]

Also known as the *Fides Nicaena*, the *Didascalia of the 318 Fathers* was once, though incorrectly, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (WEC 2:90). Nonetheless, the document is most probably of Egyptian origin, perhaps dating from the fourth century.

The first part of the text contains the Nicene Creed with a dogmatic commentary, this followed by a series of regulations.

[†] Translation from J. Quasten, *Music & Worship in Pagan & Christian Antiquity*, trans. B. Ramsey, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy (Washington, D.C., 1983) 81.

CPG 2: no. 2298 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:60 * CATH 3:751 * DPAC 1:1356 * EEC 1:323

2398 [. . .] Women are ordered not to speak in church, not even softly; nor may they sing along and take part in the responses, but they should only be silent and pray to God. [. . .]

90. ATHANASIUS

Athanasius was born in 296, probably in Alexandria, where he studied the classics. Said to have been a convert to Christianity, he became secretary for the bishop, Alexander of Alexandria (d. 328), whom he as a deacon accompanied to the First Council of Nicaea (WEC 2:**71-C**). Upon Alexander's death Athanasius became bishop of Alexandria.

Athanasius's years as bishop were very turbulent, mostly due to his staunch opposition to Arianism. In fact, out of his forty-five years as bishop he had to spend over fifteen years in exile, either residing with the monks in the Egyptian desert or at Rome, where he received great support. The last seven years of his life, from 366 to 373, were a time of peace that afforded him an opportunity for, among other things, literary activity.

His writings include many forms, e.g., biography, scriptural commentaries, treatises, apologies, and especially letters, with the vast majority of his literary output refuting the opponents of the Nicene faith. Although organization of material was not one of Athanasius's gifts, nonetheless, he is generally considered the most important fourth-century theologian of the Church in the East.

CPG 2: nos. 2090ff. * Altaner (1961) 312–23 *Altaner (1966) 271–79 * Bardenhewer (1908) 253–64 * Bardenhewer (1910) 210–19 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:44–79 * Bardy (1929) 94–100 * Bautz 1:259–65 * Campbell 50–53 * Hamell 95–98 * Jurgens 1:320–46 * Leigh-Bennett 143–60 * Quasten 3:20–79 * Steidle 84–88 * Tixeront 152–58 * Wright (1932) 331–33 * CATH 1:974–80 * CE 2:35–40 * CHECL 275–80 * DCB 1:179–203 * DHGE 4:1313–40 * DictSp 1:1047–52 * DPAC 1:423–32 * DTC 1.2:2143–78 * EC 2:254–62 * EEC 1:93–95 * EEChr 1:137–40 * LTK 1:1126–30 * NCE 1:996–99 * NCES 1:817–20 * ODCC 119–20 * PEA (1894) 2.2:1935–38 * PEA (1991) 2:157–58 * RACh 1:860–66 * TRE 4:333–49

J. Ernst, *Der Keutzertaufstreit in der altchristlichen Kirch nach Cyprian: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Konzilien von Arles und Nicaea* (Mainz, 1901). * J. Ernst, "Die Ketzertaufangelegenheit auf den Konzilien von Arles und Nicaea," ZkTh 27 (1903) 759–67. * W. Sattler, *Die Stellung der griechischen Kirche zur Ketzertaufe bis ca. 500* (1911). * H. Emonds, "Das neue 'Lexicon Athanasium' und seine Beziehungen zur Liturgiewissenschaft," ALW 2 (1952) 110–14. * G. Garitte, "Un opuscule grec traduit de l'arménien sur l'addition d'eau au vin eucharistique," Mus 73 (1960) 297–310. * J. Mateos, "Office de minuit et office de matin chez s. Athanase," OCP 29 (1962) 173–80. * P. Merendino, *Paschale Sacramentum: eine Untersuchung über die Oesterkateche des hl. Athanasius von Alexandrien in ihrer Beziehung zu den frühchristlichen exegetische-theologischen Ueberlieferung*, LQF 42 (1965). * P. Merendino,

"Zu 'Paschale Sacramentum,'" ALW 10 (1967–68) 154–56. * C. Kannengiesser, "Le mystère pascal du Christ selon Athanase d'Alexandrie," RSR 63 (1975) 407–42. * S.P. Brock, "A Baptismal Address Attributed to Athanasius," OC 61 (1977) 92–102. * J. Quasten, *Music & Worship in Pagan & Christian Antiquity*, trans. B. Ramsey (Washington, D.C., 1983) 69ff., 93ff., 98ff. * D. Dufrasne, "Un théologien du Saint-Esprit: Athanase d'Alexandrie," ComL 66:2 (1984) 177–84. * R. Lorenz, *Der zehnte Osterfestbrief des Athanasius von Alexandrien: Text, Uebersetzung, Erläuterungen*, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 48 (Berlin and New York, 1986). * A. Camplani, *La lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria: studio storico-critico* (Rome, 1989). * A.L. Petterson, "Christ's Death—a Liturgical Event for Athanasius of Alexandria," DR 102, no. 346, 22–31. * B. Jeggle-Merz, *Erneuerung der Kirche aus dem Geist der Liturgie: der Pastoralliturgiker Athanasius*, LQF 84 (Münster, 1998).

90-A. Discourse 2 against the Arians†

Although some manuscript traditions attribute to Athanasius four discourses against the Arians, it is generally believed that the last piece in the series is spurious. The other three treatises, seemingly written between 358 and 362, are considered to be Athanasius's principal dogmatic works.

XLII. [. . .] Whereas we were baptized in the name of the Father and of 2399
the Son, the Arians do not profess the Father because they deny that the Son is of the same nature as the Father. They name another of their own making as created out of nothing. And so is not the baptism conferred by them completely useless and empty? Is it not a pretense of religion, unable to contribute anything to true religion? For the Arians do not baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son but in the name of the Creator and the creature, in the name of the Maker of all that has been made. Therefore just as a creature is other than the Son, so baptism, presumably given by them, is not true baptism even if they appear to say the names of the Father and the Son as Scripture requires. For it is not whoever says "Lord"[1] when baptizing but whoever possesses true faith with the name. For this reason the Savior not only gave the command to baptize but first said, "Teach," and then "baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[2] Correct faith is the result of being instructed, and it is with faith that baptism is effective.

XLIII. Many other heresies use the words only, as I said, but not with 2400
a correct understanding; they lack correct faith; useless is the water they use, simply lacking godliness. And so anyone sprinkled by them is defiled rather than saved. Even the gentiles, although they speak of God, stand convicted of not worshiping God because they do not acknowledge him who truly is God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so the

† Translated from PG 26:235–38.

1. See Matt 7:21. 2. Matt 28:19.

Manicheans,[a] the Phrygians,[b] and the followers of Samosata,[c] although using the formula, nonetheless are heretics. [. . .]

90-B. Apology against the Arians[†]

Written ca. 357, this treatise includes a series of earlier documents among which is an Encyclical Letter of the Council of Egypt (end of 338) and from which the following selection is taken.

2401 XI. [. . .] We should not expose the holy mysteries to the catechumens nor, and even worse, to the pagans. As written, it is fitting "to hide the secret of the king."[1] And as the Lord has commanded, "Do not give what is holy to the dogs; do not throw pearls before the swine."[2] It is not allowed to explain the mysteries to those who have not been initiated lest the pagans, being ignorant, ridicule them, lest the catechumens, being curious, are scandalized. [. . .]

2402 If the cup used during the mysteries is intentionally broken, then the person breaking it is an impious individual. The cup belongs only to the Church's legitimate presiders. Only they and no others can use the cup. You rightfully present it to the people; you received it by reason of the ecclesiastical canon; it belongs only to those who preside over the Catholic Church. Only you are to present the Blood of Christ; no other is to do so. But just as a person breaking the cup is godless, so all the more impious are those who insult the Blood of Christ as is done by those who act contrary to ecclesiastical law. [. . .]

90-C. Apology to the Emperor Constantius[††]

Upon Constantine's death in 337, the empire was divided among (1) Constantine II (d. 340), his eldest son who received Gaul, Spain, and Britain; (2) Constantius II (d. 361), who was given the East and who favored Arianism; (3) Constans I (d. 350), who received Italy and Africa. Athanasius here replies to the accusation that he played a part in turning Constans I against Constantius II.

2403 XIV. I have been attacked in regard to the great church. The charge was that a gathering took place there before its construction was completed.

---

a. Manicheans: members of a heretical sect based on a supposed conflict between light and darkness.

b. Phrygians: followers of Montanus, who initiated a religious movement characterized by a belief in the imminent coming of the Holy Spirit at the end of time.

c. Paul of Samosata: a third-century heretical bishop of Antioch.

[†] Translated from PG 25:267–68.

1. Tob 12:7. 2. Matt 7:6.

[††] Translated from *Deux Apologies. Athanase d'Alexandrie*, trans. and ed. J.M. Szymusiak, SChr 56 bis (Paris, 1987) 114–21.

Indeed! Here again I will defend myself before Your Majesty, being forced to do so by the hatred of those who press upon me.

The fact is true, I admit. I have not lied in my first statements. I will not 2404
deny what took place. But, again this time, there is a complete difference between what actually happened and what they said happened. Allow me, most godly Augustus, to tell you that what we did there was not the celebration of a dedication; it would have been unlawful to do so before having received your agreement. Furthermore, we did not act as if from premeditation since no bishop, no other cleric, had been invited. There was still work to be done on the building. I add that no notice was given in advance of this gathering, a notice that could have given them a pretext for accusing us. Everyone knows what happened. Listen to me now with your customary indulgence and patience.

It was the feast of the Pasch. Considerably large was the crowd that 2405
gathered. It was as large as any Christian king could hope to see in his own cities. But churches were few in number and small. So the crowd put up a commotion, the people demanding that they be allowed to gather in the large church and that all be able to come there in order to pray, to pray also for your safety. This is what happened. As for me, I urged them to wait and to find a way of crowding into other churches in order to celebrate; they did not listen to me and were about to leave the city and head out into the desert, into the open air, believing it better to endure the fatigue of the journey rather than celebrate the feast in such unhappy circumstances.

xv. Believe me, my King, and, here again, receive the testimony of Truth. 2406
During the Lenten gatherings—and considering the smallness of places and the large crowd of people—many children, some young women, many of the elderly, and a number of young people were suffocating; they had to be taken home. Thanks to God, no one died, but all were murmuring and demanding to use the large church. And if the pressure was so great on the day before the feast, what would it have been on the feast itself? Surely things would have been much worse. Yet it was not advisable to turn the people's joy into sadness, to replace their happiness with gloom, to replace feasting with tears, especially since I well knew the example of the elders.

The lamented Alexander,[a] because the churches were small, constructed 2407
a church that he then believed to be rather large, its name being the church of Theonas.[b] This was the place where, due to the crowd of people, he held his assemblies. Work continued while this was happening. I saw the same at Treveri and at Aquilea. In both places the people, because of their numbers, assembled on feasts while the building was under construction. There was no reason to come up with accusations. Even more, at Aquilea

a. Alexander: the immediate predecessor of Athanasius as bishop of Alexandria.

b. Theonas: bishop of Alexandria during the second half of the third century.

your lamented brother took part in a gathering held under like circumstances. So did I. There was no dedication, just a service of prayer.

2408 In short, I know that in your love for God you will both approve the zeal of the people as well as forgive me for not having impeded the prayer of such a large multitude.

2409 XVI. I again wish to address my accuser on this matter and ask him where it is right for the people to pray: in the desert or in a place of prayer that is still under construction? Where is it right to have the people respond "Amen"? In the desert or in a place already called the Lord's? And you, O most religious king, where do you want your people to stretch forth their hands and pray for you? At a place where the pagans who are passing by might stop to listen? Or in a place that bears your name, a place everyone—since its foundations were laid—has long called a place "of the Lord"?

2410 I well know that you favor your own building, for I see you smiling and this indicates your approval. "But," says my accuser, "this should have taken place in churches." Yet these are all too small, too confining, as I said, to contain so many people. Again, what was the better way to arrange their prayer? To separate and divide the people with the risk of having them jostle one another? Or to gather in an already existing place that is capable of holding everyone so that there be only one and the same voice, with all the people harmoniously participating? The latter was the best solution, showing as it did the unity of the people. In this way God quickly hears our prayers. If the Savior himself promised, "When two agree on anything for which to pray, it will be given them,"[1] then how will it be when so many people with one voice say "Amen" to God?

2411 Was there anyone who did not admire all this? Anyone who did not bless your [the emperor's] name when seeing such a large gathering of people in one place? What a joy it was for all the people to see one another, whereas formerly they gathered in separate places! Such a happening gave joy to all and bothered only my calumniator.

90-D. Apology for His Flight†

Writing in 357 while among the monks in the desert, Athanasius here refutes his critics who blamed him for leaving his diocese.

2412 XXIV. [. . .] It was night, and some of the faithful were keeping watch while awaiting the [morning] gathering. Suddenly General Syrianus with more than five thousand soldiers arrived. They were armed, swords in the hand, with bows, spears, clubs, as I mentioned above. He had them surround the church, stationing the soldiers so that no one could leave the building and escape. I believed it would be unworthy of me to abandon

1. Matt 18:19.

† Translated from SChr 56 bis, 234–35.

my people at such a critical moment rather than defending them. I sat upon my throne and told the deacon to read a psalm. The people participated by responding, "Eternal is his mercy."[1] Then all departed and went home.

90-E. History of Arian Impiety†

Only a fragment, covering the years 335 to 357, remains of this work, which was written at the request of the monks with whom Athanasius had taken refuge in the desert.

LVI. [. . .] The soldiers seized the seats, the throne, the wooden table, 2413
the curtains of the church and whatever else they were able to remove. Taking them out, they burned them before the door in the great street, throwing incense upon the fire. [. . .]

90-F. Festal Letters

It was customary for the bishop of Alexandria to send out, shortly after the Epiphany, a letter to his suffragan bishops announcing the date of Easter, the date for beginning the pre-Easter fast, the date of Pentecost; sundry other ecclesiastical matters were also discussed. Athanasius followed such a custom from 329 to 373, although letters for some years do not exist.

Soon after his death these letters were gathered together. Although the original Greek collection has been lost, a number of Athanasius's letters and fragments of other letters have come down to us in Syriac and Coptic translation.

Of special interest is Letter 39, issued in 367 and reconstructed from the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic. It gives a canon, listing books of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

90-F-1. FESTAL LETTER 1††

10. We begin the holy fast on the fifth day of Pharmuthi[a] (31 March) 2414
and add to it according to the number of those six holy and great days which symbolize the creation of this world; let us rest and cease [from fasting] on the tenth day of the same Pharmuthi (5 April), on the holy Sabbath of the week. And when the first day of the holy week dawns and rises upon us, on the eleventh day of the same month (6 April), from which again we count all the seven weeks one by one, let us observe a feast on the holy day of Pentecost—a day which at one time was to the

1. Ps 136:1–26.

† Translated from PG 25:793–94.

†† Translation with adaptations from LNPF 4:329. This letter was written for the year 329.

a. Pharmuthi: the eighth month in the Egyptian calendar.

Jews a type of the feast of weeks when forgiveness and the settlement of debts were granted; indeed that day was one of deliverance in every respect. Let us observe a feast on the first day of the great week, as a symbol of the world to come, in which we here receive a pledge of our future everlasting life. Then having passed from here, we shall keep a perfect feast with Christ while we, like the holy ones, cry out and say, "I will go to the place of the wondrous tabernacle, to the house of God, with the voice of gladness and thanksgiving, the shouting of those who feast."[1] It is from here that pain, sorrow, and sighing have fled; it is from there that gladness and joy shall come to us! May we be judged worthy to share in these things.

90-F-2. FESTAL LETTER 2†

2415 VII. [. . .] Let us not forget what Paul preached to the Corinthians, namely, Christ's resurrection whereby "he destroyed the one who has the power of death, that is, the devil";[1] he raised us up together with him, having loosed the bonds of death and having granted a blessing instead of a curse, joy instead of grief, feasting instead of mourning; this holy joy of Easter is continually in our hearts, and we always rejoice, as Paul commanded; "We pray without ceasing; in everything we give thanks."[2] So we are not remiss in giving notice of its seasons as we have received them from the fathers. Again following apostolic traditions, we remind each other that when we come together for prayer, when we keep the feast in common, then with one mouth we truly give thanks to the Lord. By giving thanks to him and by being followers of the saints "we shall praise the Lord all day long"[3] as the psalmist says. So when we rightly keep the feast, we shall be counted worthy of the joy that is in heaven.

2416 VIII. We begin the fast of forty days on the thirteenth of the month Phamenoth[a] (9 March). After we have given ourselves to fasting in continued succession, let us begin the holy Pasch on the eighteenth of the month Pharmuthi[b] (13 April). Then ceasing on the twenty-third of the same month Pharmuthi (18 April), and keeping the feast afterwards on the first of the week, namely, on the twenty-fourth (19 April), we are to add the seven weeks of the great Pentecost, during this time wholly rejoicing and exulting in Christ Jesus our Lord through whom, in the Holy Spirit, glory and dominion are to be given the Father for ever and ever. Amen.

---

1. Ps 42:4.

† Translation with adaptations from LNPF 4:512. This letter was written for the year 330.

a. Phamenoth: the seventh month in the Egyptian calendar.

b. Pharmuthi: the eighth month in the Egyptian calendar.

1. Heb 2:14. 2. 1 Thess 5:17–18. 3. Ps 35:28.

90-F-3. FESTAL LETTER 3[†]

VI. We begin the fast of forty days on the fifth of Phamenoth (1 March). 2417
When, as I said, we have been purified and prepared by these days, we begin the holy week of the great Pasch on the tenth of Pharmuthi (5 April); during this time, my beloved brethren, we should engage in more prolonged prayers, fasting, and keeping vigil so that we may be enabled to anoint our lintels with precious blood and to escape the destroyer.[1] And so let us rest on the fifteenth of the month Pharmuthi (10 April), for on that Saturday evening we hear the message of the angels, "Why do you seek the living one among the dead? He is risen."[2] Immediately afterwards we come to that great Sunday, namely, the sixteenth of the same month Pharmuthi (11 April) when our Lord, having risen, gave us peace in regard to our neighbors. After keeping this feast as he desired, we are to add the seven weeks of Pentecost beginning from that first day in the holy week. And just as we receive the grace of the Spirit at Pentecost, so let us at all times give thanks to the Lord through whom, in the Holy Spirit, glory and dominion are to be given the Father for ever and ever. Amen.

90-F-4. FESTAL LETTER 5[††]

5. [. . .] As the apostle exhorts us, "Remember Jesus Christ who rose 2418
from the dead."[1] No particular time for remembering was appointed since we are always to remember him. Due to the laziness of many, day after day we delay doing so. Let us thus begin in these days. The purpose for doing so is to show forth to the holy ones the reward of their calling and to exhort the careless while reproving them. Therefore during the days that remain let us persevere in virtuous conduct, repenting as is our duty of all that we have neglected, whatever it may be; for no one is free from defilement even though a person may have lived only one hour upon the earth as Job, that man of surpassing fortitude, testifies.[2] But, "stretching forth to those things that are ahead,"[3] let us pray that we may not eat the paschal meal unworthily so as not to be exposed to dangers. To those who keep the feast in purity, the paschal meal is heavenly food; but to those who observe it profanely and contemptuously, it is a danger and reproach since it is written, "Whosoever shall eat and drink unworthily is guilty of the death of our Lord."[4] And so may we not merely perform the festal rites; we should prepare ourselves to draw near to the divine Lamb and to touch heavenly food. Let us cleanse our hands. Let us purify the body. Let

---

[†] Translation with adaptations from LNPF 4:515. This letter was written for the year 331.

1. See Exod 12:23. 2. Luke 24:5.

[††] Translation with adaptations from LNPF 4:519. This letter was written for the year 333.

1. 2 Tim 2:8. 2. See Job 14:5, LXX. 3. Phil 3:13. 4. 1 Cor 11:27.

us keep ourselves free from deceit, not giving way to excess and to lusts, but may we occupy ourselves entirely with our Lord. [. . .]

90-F-5. FESTAL LETTER 39†

2419 IV. There are, then, twenty-two books in the Old Testament. This, I have heard, is the number of the written characters among the Hebrews. The order and names of these books are as follows: first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after this Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following these is Joshua, the son of Nun, then Judges, and then Ruth. And again, after these there are four books of Kings, the first and second being reckoned as one book, and likewise the third and fourth as one book. And again, the first and second Chronicles are counted as one book. Then Ezra, the first and second [Ezra and Nehemiah], are similarly one book. After these there is the book of Psalms, then Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaiah, one book, then Jeremiah together with Baruch, Lamentations, and the Letter [Baruch 6], one book; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel, each one book. All these constitute the Old Testament.

2420 V. Again it is not tedious to speak of the [books of the] New [Testament]. These are the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (called Catholic), seven, namely, one of James, two of Peter, three of John; after these one of Jude. In addition, there are fourteen Epistles of Paul, written in this order. The first is to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians; then to the Colossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians and one to the Hebrews; then two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, one to Philemon. Also, the Revelation of John.

2421 VI. These are the fountains of salvation. With their living words they satisfy all who are thirsty. These alone proclaim the doctrine of godliness. Let no one add or take away from them. In this regard the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, and said, "You err because you do not know the Scriptures." He reproved the Jews, saying, "Search the Scriptures, for these bear witness to me."[1]

2422 VII. For the sake of greater exactness I must add that there are other books not included in the canon; they have been designated by the fathers to be read by those who have recently joined us and who desire instruction on the word of godliness: the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach; also Esther, Judith, Tobit, and what is called the *Teaching of the Apostles*[a] and the *Shepherd*.[b] The former, my brethren, are included in the canon, the latter

† Translation with adaptations from LNPF 4:552. This letter was written for the year 367.

a. See WEC 1:7.

b. See WEC 1:10-A.

1. John 5:39.

being [merely] read; nor is there any place where mention is made of the apocryphal writings. These are an invention of heretics, who write them as they choose, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning them a date so that, using them as ancient writings, they may lead astray the simple.

90-G. Letter to Serapion[†]

Serapion (WEC 2:88), a close friend of Athanasius, was the bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta. This letter was written about April 340, a time when Athanasius was an exile in Rome.

I have deemed it very necessary and urgent to make known to you—for 2423
I have written this to each one—that you should proclaim the forty-day fast to the brethren and persuade them to fast to its end so that, whereas the whole world is fasting, we who live in Egypt will not become a laughing-stock for being the only people who do not fast but take our pleasure during these days. Now if we do not fast, because the letter is [only] then read, it is right that we should take away this pretext also, and that it be read before the forty-day fast so that they may not make an excuse for neglecting the fast. But, dearly beloved, whether in this way or another, exhort and teach them to fast forty days. It is a disgrace that, when all the world is fasting, those in Egypt find pleasure rather than fast.

90-H. Sermon to the Newly Baptized[††]

This short passage is quoted in a sermon of St. Eutyches of Constantinople (d. 582).

You will see the levites [deacons] bringing in the bread and the cup of 2424
wine. Until the prayers and invocations have been said, the bread and the cup remain what they are. But once the great and wonderful prayers are said, the bread becomes the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ and the cup becomes his Blood. Let us approach the celebration of the mysteries. Before the prayers and invocations this bread and this cup retain their own nature. However, once the great prayers and the holy invocations are said, the Word descends into the bread and cup, and his Body is confected.

91. *CANONS OF FATHER ATHANASIUS*[†††]

Originally composed in Greek yet coming down to us in an Arabic translation (sections in Coptic also exist), the so-called *Canons of Father Athanasius*

[†] Translation with adaptations from *The Festal Letters of St. Athanasius*, ed. L.Th. Lefort (Oxford, 1854) 100.

[††] Translated from PG 26:1325–26.

[†††] Translation based on that (from the Arabic) found in W. Riedel and W.E. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, Text and Translation Society, vol. 9, reprint of the 1904 London Edition (Amsterdam, 1973) 14ff.

are the work of a cleric who was a bishop and perhaps a metropolitan. The provenance of the document is Egypt and likely Alexandria. Thus some, and not rashly, suggest Athanasius (WEC 2:90) as the author of these 107 canons.

CPG 2: nos. 2302ff. * Tixeront 157

2425 Canon 7. [. . .] Because the Lord stands over the altar,[1] so the altar's vessels are spiritual, being neither silver nor gold, neither stone nor wood, just as the bread and wine, before being raised over the altar, are bread and wine. Yet after they are raised over the altar, they are no longer bread and wine but are the life-giving and divine Body and Blood so that those receiving them do not die but live for ever. The same is no less true of the altar, whether it be of wood, stone, gold, or silver. It is not mortal as its former substance, but being spiritual it lives for ever. [. . .]

2426 Canon 10. [. . .] Wisdom has rested her house[2] upon seven pillars, and seven are the perfect spirits[3] of God in the Church. These are the bishops and presbyters, the deacons and subdeacons, the readers and singers, and also the doorkeepers; Zechariah calls them the seven eyes of God,[4] whereof God said, "He touches them as one who touches the pupils of his eyes."[5] The seven orders we have named are the seven eyes of the Church. But what is the Church's head other than Christ?[6] They are the seven pillars upon which the Church is founded, of which the wise Solomon said, "Wisdom has built herself a house and established it upon seven pillars."[7] He then immediately speaks to us of the bread and the cup, showing us that he thereby has in mind the Church, showing us how he calls to the people who dwell in idolatrous ignorance when he says, "Come, eat of my bread" [namely, Christ's Body] and "drink of the wine that I have mixed"[8] [namely, Christ's Blood]. Know, O bishop, that the Church is established not upon you alone but also upon the other six orders in the Church. Neither reject nor despise these; rather, honor them since they are your fellows, and they minister with you.[9] For the head may not say to the feet, "I do not need you" because the head lacking a foot would itself be all foot.[10] Likewise if a bishop despises the doorkeeper or the deacon or the singer, then the bishop cannot direct their activities. How can he celebrate the mysteries and [at the same time] attend to the doors? Or how can he sing and [at the same time] receive from the mysteries? Just as there is need of the head, so also necessity requires the feet. [. . .]

2427 Canon 11. [. . .] The reader shall read nothing except from the Catholic Scriptures lest the people mock the lying words that have been chosen, words not being of God but of worldly inspiration.

---

1. See Amos 9:1. 2. See Prov 9:1. 3. See Rev 1:4; 4:59; 5:6; Isa 11:2. 4. See Zech 3:9; 4:10. 5. Zech 1:12. 6. See Col 1:18; Eph 1:22; 5:23. 7. Prov 9:1. 8. Prov 9:5. 9. See Col 1:7. 10. See 1 Cor 12:17.

Canon 12. Singers shall not sing what has been written by Melitius[a] and by the ignorant, for these sing without wisdom;[11] unlike David, they do not sing in the Holy Spirit; their voices, singing as do the heathens, should be muted.[12] If singers fail to sing in the Holy Spirit, then they must not sing at all. It is written, "You shall not add thereto nor take from it."[13] 2428

Canon 13. Each day the doorkeepers shall stand at the portals of the sanctuary. Watching the doors at the place of entry, they shall also pay attention to the doors of the sanctuary. They are the ones who are blessed when the Word bestows the blessing: "Blessed are they who guard the entry and those who watch the sanctuary at night because of the enemies of the sanctuary; they who desire that God's house [. . .] should flourish, they who give heed to the ordering of the sanctuary and do not allow the lamp to go out during the night."[b] Likewise it is said concerning the laws of the tabernacle that the lamp in the sanctuary shall always shine from evening till morning.[14] [. . .] 2429

Canon 14. [. . .] Unless he is sick, no bishop shall on any day neglect the sacrament. If he does so, he will die in sorrow. [. . .] 2430

Canon 16. On Sundays the bishop shall not fail to bestow alms. The poor and the orphan he shall know as a father, and he shall gather them together at the great festival of the Lord [Easter], vowing and distributing many alms, giving each what is needed. On Pentecost the bishop shall refresh[15] the people because on that day the Holy Spirit descended upon the Church. On the feast of our Lord's Epiphany, which falls during the month of *Tûbah*[c] and is the feast of baptism, they shall rejoice together. The bishop shall gather all the widows and orphans and rejoice with them, doing so with prayers and hymns. He shall provide for each person's needs since it is a day of blessing. On this day the Lord was baptized by John. The poor shall rejoice with you, O bishop, on all the Lord's feasts, and they shall celebrate these three seasons with you. Each year the paschal feast shall be observed unto the Lord our God; also a feast at the end of the fifty days; also the new year's feast, a time when the harvest and the fruits are collected. The last of all the fruits is the olive, which is gathered on that day; thus the Egyptians call this feast the beginning of the year. As with the Hebrews the feast of the beginning of the year is the Pasch, which 2431

a. Melitius: bishop of Lycopolis; he espoused a rigorist position regarding the readmission of Christians who relented during times of persecution.

b. Source unknown, but see Ps 84:5; 134:1.

c. *Tûbah*: in the ancient Egyptian calendar the month extending from December 27 till January 25.

11. See Eph 5:19; Col 3:16. 12. See Ps 63:11; Rom 3:19. 13. Deut 12:32; 4:2. 14. See Exod 27:20. 15. See Phlm 20; 2 Cor 7:13.

is the first of *Baramûdah*.[d] So again in the month of *Tûbah* did our Savior appear as God when by a wonderful miracle he turned the water into wine. [. . .]

2432 Canon 18. The bishop shall see to it that the readers and singers do not read just any books but only those that are common and catholic. [. . .]

2433 Canon 25. [. . .] Let no presbyter in celebrating the sacrament associate with wizards, conjurers, or soothsayers. Rather, when any enter without reverence, they are to be placed apart with the catechumens. In short, the doorkeepers are not to overlook them, leave them unattended. If they enter out of ignorance, then shall the deacons in charge of this matter set them apart. Yet should one of these enter, then the deacons are guilty of sin since they have not paid careful attention to the door of the holy place. The doorkeepers shall look after the outer door so that those who have already entered the church may have no dealings with the Church's enemies. [. . .]

2434 Canon 27. As to the deacons who strike one another at the altar [. . .], they must stand outside [the church] for a month and fast for a week. [. . .]

2435 Canon 28. The garments worn by the priests when celebrating shall be white and washed. They shall be placed in the storeroom of the church. When the priests proceed to the altar, these garments shall be laid out in the church, [like] in the storeroom, in charge of the person who guards the vessels, as the prophet Ezekiel has ordained.[16]

2436 Canon 30. During the days of the Pasch[e] no priest may drink any wine nor eat anything from which blood has flowed forth. Whatever wine is not used at the altar on the Pasch shall be given to the sick and the poor.

2437 Canon 31. During holy *Quadragesima* no priest shall go to a bath nor shall he do so on the two fast days, namely, on Wednesday and Friday. Those found to have done this other than for reasons of sickness or necessity shall be expelled.

2438 Canon 32. No priest shall speak in the *Tafîr*, which is the place of the offering, nor in any way sit there. Neither shall they divide anything there.[f]

---

d. *Baramûdah*: in the ancient Egyptian calendar the month extending from March 27 till April 25.

e. Days of the Pasch: the concluding days of what came to be known as Holy Week?

f. This apparently refers to dividing the *eulogia*, probably in this case referring to the unconsecrated bread brought to the sick. For the many uses of this term see EEC 1:297.

16. See Ezek 44:19.

Canon 33. Priests shall have a place apart from the people where the bread is divided. The youngest priest shall do this; no priest may divide it when a younger priest is present. [. . .] 2439

Canon 35. Readers are not to serve the subdeacons but shall devote themselves to their books. The reader is to be honored because the holy word flows forth from his mouth. 2440

Canon 36. No priest is to carry the mysteries through the streets except in the case of a sick person for whom the end and death's hour of need draw near. When the priests carry the mysteries outside the church, they shall take them only to the sick who will receive them. [. . .] 2441

Canon 37. No deacon shall speak while holding the cup. No one at all shall speak when the cup is there present. 2442

Canon 39. The deacon shall not approach the altar when an older deacon is present there. Deacons shall hold fans in their hands while the Body is being divided, continuing in their prayer. When the dividing has ended, one deacon shall always stand behind and fan with the *epomís*[g] he is wearing, from the beginning to the end of the offering. 2443

Canon 40. May a priest be troubled if any would have him celebrate before the people have assembled and before the Alleluia is heard. For it is written, "The glory of the king is in a great assembly."[17] [. . .] 2444

Canon 49. As for the priests' occupations, they shall not follow any trade that involves stealing or does not leave time for the sacrament. If a priest's occupation hinders him at the time of the sacrament and does not allow him to enter the church on Saturday and on Sunday or if he arrives after the psalm has been read, he shall not receive the divided portions of the bread. Nor shall he join those who are already standing in the sanctuary prior to their going to the place of eating. Likewise shall it be on the two fast days of Wednesday and Friday. Priests residing in town must come every day to the church. 2445

Canon 50. But if a priest arrives and is seen before the lesson and then departs to work until the time of the offering, he shall not be given a portion of the sacrament; yet he shall be present at the eating. [. . .] 2446

Canon 57. During the week of the holy Pasch all the priests shall sleep in the church. On Friday they shall gather at the third hour, the hour when our Savior was crucified. Those who are not present shall suffer reproof. If the priest works in the fields, he shall not delay beyond the sixth hour. 2447

g. *Epomís*: literally a "shoulder strap."

17. Prov 14:28.

The deacons shall split into two groups among the people, helping one another, bringing to silence the people at the door. They shall reject weeping children, people who chatter, those who are not instructed, and those who act in an unseemly fashion. The doorkeepers shall keep watch at the outer doors and forbid entrance to scoffers or those whom they have put forth till it is time for them to enter. The deacons stand at the second door. If there is a large crowd at the outer door, the deacons shall assist the doorkeepers; but if the deacons have need of the doorkeepers to help them keep order among the people, then the doorkeepers shall assist them. They do all this so that God's word may be glorified, and so that the people in the church may in quiet and silence be able to hear until the word of God with the blessing has been completed. But if any of the people should talk loudly, the presbyter is to blame the deacons for this since the latter have not trained the people. During the Pasch priests shall fast for two days. Readers, however, may eat every day. [. . .]

2448 Canon 58. Readers shall understand what they proclaim and ungrudgingly[18] instruct and teach those who are willing to learn, being even more glad since what they ask for is good.

2449 Canon 59. The singers shall sing nothing other than from the Psalter. They shall gladly teach others to sing so that God may dwell in all the people, from the head to the feet.

2450 Canon 60. No priest shall tarry behind from the eighth hour of the day onward, and they shall be gathered together until the stars appear in the heavens. They shall read before they allow the people to depart, praying and listening to the lessons[h] so that with joy and gladness they may be worthy of the Pasch. As for what they do at the Pasch, they shall eat and drink in wisdom without drunkenness.

2451 Canon 62. All the stewards shall be appointed for the church at the Pasch. The lesser steward is commanded to have in his possession all the consecrated vessels, and he shall see to it that their reckoning takes place in the great church. All the consecrated vessels that have been set aside shall be given to him, whether they be of gold or silver or bronze; at the paschal feast he shall inform the bishop concerning them so that he may catalog them.

2452 Canon 64. An offering left over from the previous day they shall not offer nor that which has been divided into portions in any church. Only bread that is warm, fresh, and whole.

2453 Canon 66. The bishop shall often eat with the priests in the church so that he may view their behavior, whether they eat quietly and with the fear

h. The instruction here appears to refer to the Friday of the Pasch.

18. See Wis 7:13.

of God. He shall stand there and serve them. If they are weak, he shall wash their feet with his own hands. If the bishop is unable to do this, he shall see to it that the archpriest or whoever follows him washes their feet. [. . .] The bishop shall not fail to do this three times a year: on the paschal feast, on the feast of Pentecost, and on the feast of baptism which is the eleventh day of the month of *Tûbah*. Neither an unbelieving priest nor a stranger from another people shall share in their gathering—only priests.

Canon 78. Concerning the holy mysteries, namely, the Body and Blood of Christ, they shall not let anything thereof remain from evening to morning but shall do with it whatsoever they will. The holy altar having been prepared and as long as the holy mysteries are upon it before he has raised them up, the readers shall not be silent before it but shall sing the word of God or shall repeat the psalms, for it is written: "I have set watchers upon the walls of Jerusalem, day and night, who are not silent at any time from reminding the Lord."[19] And because it is the Body and Blood of Christ, so they do not leave while uttering praise; they delay their departure till the time when the place is being cleansed. 2454

Canon 91. The feasts of the martyrs also shall be observed with much care and in great order. There are to be assemblies, the whole night being spent in singing of the psalms, in prayers, and in holy readings. 2455

Canon 92. As for the monks, no monk or nun shall enter any of the *martyria*, that is, the places of the martyrs, or any place of ease, there to relax. But in every monastery of virgins its nuns on the nights of the martyrs shall remain in their monastery, as if gathered at the place of the martyrs, praying; when it is the hour of the offering, they, being exhorted, shall enter the church before the reading of the psalms. Upon leaving, they shall walk two-by-two with their mother [superior] before them. [. . .] On the first day of the week, after they have received Christ's Body and Blood, they shall break their fast. And they shall never eat their fill on Saturday and on the first day till evening comes. [. . .] 2456

Canon 93. [. . .] No priest, no Christian should neglect the sacraments on the Sabbath and on Sunday. [. . .] 2457

Canon 95. [. . .] First, all Christian children shall give thanks to their parents because their parents have begotten them a second time in the baptism of the faith and because it is from their parents that they have learned how to worship God. [. . .] 2458

Canon 99. As for the monasteries of virgins, [. . .] no virgin shall remain in the church during the night; she is to stay in the monastery. [. . .] 2459

19. Isa 62:6.

2460 Canon 100. When someone dies, there shall be no lamentation for this person as is found among the foreign, accursed nations. This is especially true in the case of those who have not kept their mouths pure from the names of idols. Now if the deceased is highly loved or is an only child, the people shall not despair, being filled with inner grief; but the priests shall chant and read to the people till the time when the body of the deceased is brought forth, while at each hour the priests pray that the people's deep sorrow be alleviated so that they do not die. If the deceased are poor, the Church shall tend to them; and if there are no relatives, the Church shall be the deceased person's heir. On the seventh day of mourning the priests go to the deceased person's friends who are in the church and visit them.

2461 Canon 106. At every offering of incense that occurs in the holy place, morning and evening, and especially at the divine *anaphora*, and before the reading of the Gospel, the archdeacon shall take in his hand a censer, fill it with coals, and stand before the altar, opposite the gospel book. Incense shall be placed into the censer, and he shall see to it that it rises up till the Gospel is read. Then he shall go with the censer before the Gospel [book?] into the inner part of the holy place. It is not that the Lord has need of incense. No, but we shall remember the incense of the ages of light[20] where there is no hateful odor before the Lord, the God of the living, where there are hymns of praise.[21]

92. TIMOTHY I OF ALEXANDRIA

In 381 Timothy succeeded his brother, Peter II, as metropolitan of Alexandria and was present (but arrived late) at the Council of Constantinople (WEC 2:71-D), where he opposed the election of Gregory of Nazianzus (WEC 2:68) as metropolitan of Constantinople. Little is known of Timothy's very brief term as bishop. He died in 385.

CPG 2: nos. 2520ff. * Altaner (1966) 238 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:104 * Bautz 12:145–47 * Steidle 89 * DCB 4:1029–30 * DPAC 2:3452 * EEC 2:840 * PEA (1894) 6.2 (n.s.) 1354

92-A. Canonical Responses†

These questions and answers eventually became part of the legal code of the Eastern churches.

2462 1. *Question.* If a catechumen—for example, a seven-year-old boy or even an adult—is present at the sacrifice and through ignorance partakes of it, what is to be done?

20. See Isa 6:4. 21. See Isa 6:3.

† Translated from *Iuris Ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, vol. 1, ed. I.B. Pitra (Rome, 1864) 630–33.

Reply. He is to be baptized, for he has been called by God.

2. *Question.* If a catechumen has been possessed by a devil and desires 2463
to receive holy baptism, should he or she be baptized or not, especially if death is imminent?

Reply. A person possessed by a devil and not yet cleansed from this impure spirit is not able to receive holy baptism but is baptized at the time of his or her departure from this life.

3. *Question.* May or may not a believer possessed by the devil share in 2464
the holy mysteries?

Reply. Provided such a person does not divulge the mysteries nor has blasphemed in any other way, he or she may share in the mysteries but not every day. It suffices if this takes place only on Sunday.

4. *Question.* When a catechumen, being sick and mentally disturbed, is 2465
unable to personally confess the faith, and when friends urge that this person be baptized while still alive, may he or she be baptized or not?

Reply. Baptism may be given provided this person is not possessed by the impure spirit.

5. *Question.* If married people have intercourse during the night, may 2466
they receive Communion or not?

Reply. They may not since the apostle says, "Do not defraud one another except by consent for a time so that you have time for prayer; come back together again so that the devil may not tempt you for your incontinency."[1]

6. *Question.* If a female catechumen presents her name for baptism and 2467
on the day of baptism is menstruating, is the baptism to take place on that day or is it to be postponed and, if so, for how long?

Reply. It is to be postponed till she has been cleansed.

7. *Question.* If a woman notices that she is menstruating, may she ap- 2468
proach the holy mysteries or not?

Reply. She may not till she has been cleansed.

8. *Question.* If a pregnant woman is confined to bed, should she observe 2469
the paschal fast and refrain from wine? Or is she excused from the fast and permitted to drink wine, in that she is preparing to give birth?

Reply. The fast is observed so as to weaken the body. If therefore the body becomes weak and lacks strength, she can take food and drink to the extent that she desires or is able.

9. *Question.* When Arians or other heretics are present, is a cleric allowed 2470
to offer prayers? Will he suffer harm if he says the prayer of offering?

Reply. During the offering the deacon says before the peace, "Those who will not receive Communion are to leave." And so these are not to be present unless they make it known that they are ready to do penance and reject their heresy.

---

1. 1 Cor 7:5.

2471 10. *Question.* As to the sick and those greatly weakened by illness, when they come to the paschal fast should they observe the whole fast or may a cleric excuse them so that they may take whatever they can, even oil and wine?

Reply. The sick should be excused from the fast so that they can take food and drink to the extent possible. The very weak can rightfully take oil.

2472 11. *Question.* If someone summons a cleric to be present at a marriage and the cleric hears that it would be an illicit marriage because the person to be married is the spouse of one's aunt or the sister of a deceased spouse, should the cleric attend and do the offering?

Reply. In a word, if a cleric has learned that the marriage is illicit and contrary to law, the cleric is not to attend since he is not to participate in the sins of others.

2473 12. *Question.* What about a layman who has a nocturnal emission and asks a cleric whether he may or may not receive Communion?

Reply. If the emission is caused by a desire for a woman, he should not receive. However, if Satan is tempting him so that he not be fed by participating in the divine mysteries, he ought to receive because the tempter will not cease to assault him at the time he receives.

2474 13. *Question.* On what days are the married to refrain from intercourse and on what days is intercourse permitted?

Reply. Let me repeat what I said previously. "Do not defraud one another except by consent for a time that you may have time for prayer; come back together again so that the devil may not tempt you for your incontinency."[2] They must refrain from doing so on Saturday and on Sunday because on these days the spiritual sacrifices are offered.

93. DIDYMUS THE BLIND

Blind at the age of four or five, Didymus (ca. 313–ca. 398), a married layman, was head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, where his pupils included such notables as Jerome (WEC 3:145) and Rufinus (WEC 3:105).

Though not considered an original thinker, Didymus is noted for his remarkable memory, his kindness toward heretics, and his encyclopedic knowledge. Influenced by Origen (WEC 1:43) regarding the preexistence of souls and the doctrine that all mortal creatures will ultimately be saved, Didymus was among those condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 553. Although Didymus was a prolific and influential author, much of his writing perished as a result of this condemnation.

CPG 2: nos. 2544ff. * Altaner (1961) 324–25 * Altaner (1966) 280–81 * Bardenhewer (1908) 307–10 * Bardenhewer (1910) 225–28 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:104–15 * Bardy (1929) 101–3 * Bautz 1:1283–84 * Hamell 108–9 * Jurgens 2:60–64 * Quasten 3:85–100

2. Ibid.

* Steidle 89–90 * Tixeront 158–60 * CATH 3:759–60 * CE 4:784 * CHECL 280–81 * DCB 1:827–29 * DHGE 14:416–27 * DictSp 3:868–71 * DPAC 1:950–52 * DTC 4.1:748–55 * EC 4:1567–68 * EEC 1:235–36 * EEChr 1:329–30 * LTK 3:212–13 * NCE 4:861 * NCES 4:738–39 * ODCC 480 * PEA (1894) 5.1:474–75 * PEA (1991) 3:554 * TRE 8:741–46

93-A. On the Trinity†

Written between 381 and 392 and in three books, this is one of Didymus's most important works, a treatise not marred by traces of Origenism. Some doubts have been raised in modern times as to its authenticity since in style and substance it differs from other works by Didymus. Common opinion, however, ascribes the work to him.

[. . .] Let us return to the divine Holy Spirit, who is the gracious be- 2475
stower of great gifts. It is the Spirit who, with the Father and the Son, leads us back from a deformed state to our former beauty. The grace of the Spirit so fills us that no longer are we able to possess anything that we are not to long for. The Spirit liberates us from sin and death. Freeing us from the things of this world, namely, from "dust and ashes,"[1] the Spirit makes us spiritual, makes us sharers in divine glory, children and heirs of our God and Father, conforming us to the image of the Son, making us coheirs and brothers [and sisters], who are to be glorified with him and are to reign with him. The Spirit bestows heaven in place of the earth and graciously grants paradise, making us already more honorable than the angels. And in the divine waters of the pool the Spirit quenches the inextinguishable fires of hell. [. . .]

[. . .] When we are plunged into the pool, it is by the goodness of God 2476
the Father and through the grace of God's Spirit that our sins are removed. We cast aside the old self. We are born again and sealed by God's royal power. When we come up out of the pool, we put on Christ our Savior as an incorruptible garment, worthy of the same honor as the Holy Spirit who brought us forth anew and signed us. Scripture says, "As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ."[2] Through the divine insufflation we received God's image and likeness, which are spoken of by the Scriptures[3] and which we lost through sin. [. . .]

[. . .] Those who were not baptized but suffered martyrdom were washed 2477
in their own blood and so were given life by God's Holy Spirit. [. . .]

94. PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS

A number of treatises on virginity have been ascribed to Athanasius (WEC 2:90), and yet their authenticities have often been debated. The work from

† Translated from PG 39:667–70, 679–82.

1. Gen 18:27. 2. Gal 3:27. 3. See Gen 1:26.

which the following selections are taken is today generally accepted to be the product of an anonymous author, who, as some suggest, wrote in Egypt during the early fourth century.

CPG 2: no. 2248 * Tixeront 157

94-A. On Virginity†

2478 XII. Day and night God's word is not to be absent from your mouth. May meditation on the divine Scriptures be your activity at all times. Own a Psalter. Learn the psalms. At the third hour hold your assemblies [of prayer] because at that very hour the wooden cross was fashioned. Also, at the sixth hour complete your prayers with psalms, weeping, and entreating because at this very hour the Son of God was hanging on a cross. At the ninth hour confess your sins by means of hymns and praises, doing so with tears, because at this very hour the Lord, hanging on the cross, breathed his last.

2479 And after the synaxes of the ninth hour eat your bread, giving thanks to God at your table and using these words: "Blessèd be God who has mercy on us and feeds us from our youth, God who gives bread to all."[1] Fill our hearts with joy and happiness so that having enough in all things, we may be rich in every good work in Jesus Christ our Lord.[2] [. . .]

2480 XIII. Later on when you are sitting at table and when you have begun to break bread, sign yourself three times with the sign of the cross and give thanks as follows: "Our Father, we thank you for the holy resurrection you have made known to us through your Son Jesus; and just as the bread which is here upon the table, once scattered and then gathered together is made one, so may your Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into your kingdom because yours is the power and the glory forever and ever. Amen."[a] You should say this prayer when the bread is broken before you eat. However, when you place the bread on the table and before sitting down recite the whole prayer, namely, the "Our Father." We recite the "Blessed be God" as given above when we stand after the meal.

2481 If two or three virgins are with you, let them give thanks over the bread and, as one, pray with you. But if a [female] catechumen is at the table, she is not to pray with the faithful nor are you to sit with her when taking a meal. Nor will you sit down to take a meal with negligent and frivolous women without necessity. You are holy before the Lord your God, and your food and drink are sanctified by means of prayers and holy words. [. . .]

---

† Translated from PG 28:265–68, 269–72, 275–76.

a. See *Didache* IX.4 (WEC 1:186).

1. See Ps 136:25. 2. See 2 Cor 9:8.

xvi. Therefore, handmaids of God, whether standing or sitting, whether 2482
working or eating, whether sleeping in bed or arising from bed, may a hymn to God never fail to be on your lips. Blessed be the ears that welcome these words. If you observe the twelfth hour, your gathering with the other virgins is to be greater and longer. But if no such companions are present, observe the gathering by yourself, God being present and listening. To weep before God is good. Remember that our Lord descended into the depths at the twelfth hour. [. . .]

xx. At midnight arise and praise the Lord your God with hymns, for 2483
this was the hour when our Lord rose from among the dead and praised his Father with hymns. Upon rising, first say this verse, "At midnight I rise to praise you because of your just commands."[3] Pray and begin by reciting Psalm 50 to its conclusion. This is what has been appointed for you to do each day. Recite as many psalms as you can while standing. Following each psalm there is to be a prayer and a genuflection so that with tears you may confess your sins to the Lord and request forgiveness. After three psalms say the Alleluia. But if [other] virgins are present with you, they also are to pray the psalms and recite the prayers one by one. In the morning there is the following psalm: "God, my God, I keep watch before you. My soul thirsts for you."[4] At dawn: "All works of the Lord, bless the Lord."[5] "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to those of good will.[6] We praise you, we bless you, we adore you." [. . .]

95. *DÊR BALYZEH PAPYRUS*†

In 1907 at Dêr Balyzeh (Dair Balaizah), south of Assiout in Upper Egypt, W. Flinders Petrie and W. Crum discovered in the ruins of a Coptic monastery three incomplete leaves of a papyrus codex as well as numerous fragments. The codex, now known as the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* and preserved at Oxford in the Bodleian Library, contains a series of liturgical prayers, primarily for use at the Eucharist. The papyrus dates from the sixth or seventh century. Most scholars date the prayers as originating in the third or fourth century; some, however, place them as late as the sixth century.

The liturgical prayers reflect an ancient anaphora and include intercessions, a pre-*Sanctus*, the *Sanctus*, a consecratory epiclesis, an institution narrative that quotes the *Didache*, and an anamnesis. After a gap of fifteen or so lines, the text continues with what some believe to be the conclusion of the anaphora; according to others it is a prayer after Communion.

Toward the end is a simple form of the creed, perhaps the remnant of a baptismal liturgy.

---

3. Ps 118:62. 4. Ps 63:1. 5. Dan 3:57. 6. Luke 12:14.

† Eucharistic texts translated from Hänggi 124–27. Translation of the creed from Quasten 3:144.

Altaner (1961) 61 * Altaner (1966) 258 * Quasten 3:143–45 * DACL 2:1881–95, 11:624–26 * EEChr 1:327 * ODCC 471

TEXT AND STUDIES

P. de Puniet, "Le nouveau papyrus liturgique d'Oxford," RB 26 (1909) 34–51 [Greek]. * S. Salaville, "Le nouveau fragment d'anaphore égyptienne de Dêr-Balyzeh," EO 12 (1909) 3. * P. de Puniet, "A propos de la nouvelle anaphore égyptienne," EO 13 (1910) 72–76. * S. Salaville, "La double épiclèse des anaphores égyptiennes," EO 13 (1910) 133–34. * T. Schermann, *Der liturgische Papyrus von Dêr-Balyzeh: eine Abendmahlsliturgie des Ostermorgens*, TU 36.1b (Leipzig, 1910). * F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Reliquiae Liturgicae Vetustissimae*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, vol. 1.1 (1913) CLXIV–CLXXV. * J.A. Jungmann, "Zwei Textergänzungen im liturgischen Papyrus von Dêr-Balyzeh," ZkTh 48 (1924) 465–71. * C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monumenta du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, vol. 2, PO 18 (1924) 425–29. * H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926) 37–39, 74–80, 154. * P. Batiffol, *L'Eucharistie: la présence réelle et la transubstantiation*, Etudes d'histoire et de théologie positive 2, 9th ed. (Paris, 1930) 327–34. * C. del Grande, *Liturgiae, Preces, Hymni Christianorum e Papyris Collecti*, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1934) 1–5. * J. Quasten, *Monumenta Eucharistica et Liturgica Vetustissima*, Florilegium Patristicum 7 (Bonn, 1935) 37–44. * L.A. Winterswyly, *Gebete der Urkirche* (Freiburg i. B., 1940) 13–15 [German].* P. Nautin, *Je crois à l'Esprit-Saint dans la Sainte Eglise pour la résurrection de la chair: étude sur l'histoire et la théologie du symbole* (Brussels and Paris, 1947). * C.H. Roberts and B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium: The Dêr-Balyzeh Papyrus Enlarged and Reedited*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 23 (Louvain, 1949) [Greek]. * J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950) 88–89, 121–22. * A. Bugnini, "L'Eucologio di Dêr-Balizeh," EphL 65 (1951) 157–70 [Latin]. * P.E. Kahle, Jr., ed., *Bala'izah: Coptic texts from Deir Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1954). * K. Gamber, "Das Eucharistiegebet im Papyrus von Dêr-Balizeh und die Samstagabend-Agapen in Aegypten," OstkSt 7 (1958) 48–65. * Deiss 243–48 [English]. * L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame, 1968) 200ff. * A. Hänggi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgicis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg i. S., 1968) 124–27 [Greek, Latin]. * K. Gamber, "Der liturgische Papyrus von Deir El-Bala'izah in Oberägypten (6/7 Jh.): fragments liturgiques de," Mus 82 (1969) 61–83. * J. van Haelst, "Une nouvelle reconstitution du Papyrus liturgique de Dêr-Balizeh," ETL 45 (1969) 444–55. * P.F. Palmer, *Sources of Christian Theology*, vol. 1, *Sacraments and Worship* (Westminster, MD, 1955) 46–47 [English]. * Jasper 79–81 [English].

2484 [. . .] who hated you. Bless your people who do your will; raise up the fallen; bring back the erring; console the weak.

2485 For you are above every principality, power, strength, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world but in the world to come. A thousand holy angels and innumerable archangels stand around you; near you stand the cherubim with many eyes; around you stand the seraphim, one with six wings and the other with six wings; with two wings they cover their faces, with two their feet, and with two they fly. And all constantly proclaim you holy. Hear our acclamation as we, together with all who proclaim you holy, say:

Holy, holy, holy, heaven and earth are filled with your glory. 2486

Fill us also with your glory and deign to send your Holy Spirit upon 2487
these creatures; make the bread indeed the Body of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and the cup the Blood of the new covenant of our Lord, God, and Savior, Jesus Christ.

And just as this bread was scattered upon the mountains, the hills, and 2488
the valleys, and was brought together into one body . . . and just as this wine, coming from the vine of David, and water from the spotless lamb, where mixed together the two become one mystery, so gather the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ.[a]

For our Lord Jesus Christ on the night he was betrayed, taking bread, 2489
blessed it, and offering thanks gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying, "Take and all of you eat of this. This is my Body which is given for you for the remission of sins."[1] Likewise, after supper, taking the cup, he blessed and drank and gave it to them saying, "This is my Blood which is shed for you for the remission of sins."[2] "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you announce my death and proclaim my resurrection."[3]

Your death we announce and your resurrection we confess, and we be- 2490
seech you . . .

[*fifteen or so lines are missing*]

. . . and give to us your servants the power of the Holy Spirit to 2491
strengthen and increase our faith, unto the hope of eternal life to come.

Through our Lord Jesus Christ through whom glory be to you, the 2492
Father, with the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

* * * * *

I believe in God the Father almighty and in his only-begotten Son our 2493
Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the flesh and in the holy Catholic Church.

96. *STRASBOURG PAPYRUS*†

Located in the Strasbourg Library (no. gr. 254), this fourth- or fifth-century papyrus contains early remnants of the Alexandrian Anaphora of Saint Mark.

---

a. Cf. *Didache* IX.4 (WEC 1:186).

1. Matt 26:26, 28; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24. 2. Matt 26:28; Mark 14:23; Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25. 3. 1 Cor 11:26.

† Translation, slightly altered, from Jasper 53–54. Words in brackets are supplied from the final form of the Anaphora of Saint Mark; ellipses indicate gaps in the manuscript.

M. Andrieu and P. Collomp, "Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de s. Marc," RevSR 8 (1928) 489–515. * S.R. Mercatim, "L'anafora di san Marco riconosciuta in un frammento membranaceo del Museo Britannico," *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 1–7. * K. Gamber, "Das Papyrusfragment zur Markusliturgie und das Eucharistiegebet im Clemensbrief," OstkSt 8 (1959) 31–45. * Deiss 209–12. * H.A.J. Wegman, "Une anaphore incomplête?" in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, ed. R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren (Leiden, 1981) 432–50. * B.D. Spinks, "A Complete Anaphora? A Note on Strasbourg Gr. 254," *The Heythrop Journal* 25:1 (January 1984) 5–54. * E. Mazza, "Una Anaphora incompleta?" EphL 99 (1985) 425–36. * Jasper 52–54. * W.D. Ray, "The Strasburg Papyrus," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. P.F. Bradshaw (Collegeville, 1997) 39–56.

[PREFACE]

2494 . . . to bless [you] . . . [night] and day . . .

2495 [you who made] heaven [and] all that is in [it, the earth and what is on earth,] seas and rivers and [all that is] in [them]; [you] who made us [according to your] own image and likeness. You made everything through your wisdom, the light [of?] your true Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, giving thanks through him to you with him and the Holy Spirit, we offer the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless service, which all the nations offer you. From sunrise to sunset, from south to north, [for] your "name is great among all the nations, and in every place incense is offered to your holy name and a pure sacrifice."[1]

[INTERCESSIONS]

2496 Over this sacrifice and offering we pray and beseech you, remember your holy and only Catholic Church, all your peoples and all your flocks. Provide the peace which is from heaven in all our hearts, and grant us also peace during this life. The . . . of the land powerful things toward us, and towards your [holy] name, the prefect of the province, the army, the princes, councils . . .

2497 [for seedtime and] harvest . . . preserve, for the poor of [your] people, for all of us who call upon [your] name, for all who hope in you. Grant rest to the souls of those who have fallen asleep; remember those of whom we make mention today, both those whose names we say [and] those whose names we do not recite . . . [Remember] our orthodox fathers and bishops everywhere; and grant us to have a part and a lot with . . . your holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs. Receive (?) [through] their entreaties [these prayers]; grant them through our Lord, through whom be glory to you to the ages of ages.

1. Mal 1:11.

Index to Volume Two

Numbers in bold and within parentheses are subhead numbers, which indicate particular authors/documents in this volume. All other numbers refer to marginal paragraph numbers.

Abitina, Acts of the Martyrs of. See *Acts of the Martyrs of Abitina*
account of institution. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: institution account
acolyte(s), 1198
Acts of Pilate, 1920
Acts of the Martyrs of Abitina, 862–67 (48)
Addai and Mari, Anaphora of. See *Anaphora of Addai and Mari*
Aetheria. *See* Egeria/Aetheria
agape, 1954, 1979
Alexandria, 1349, 1458, 2031–32, 2360
Alleluia, no celebration till heard, 2444
alms, praying for those who give, 1723
almsgiving
  cleanses one's hands, 1537
  role of deacons in, 2248
  working with hands and, 1355
  See also poor: care for
altar(s), 873, 2454
  incensing, 907
  linen cloth covering, 873
  only clerics allowed to approach, 1971
  setting up a separate, 1949
  spiritual and living forever, 2425
  symbol of Christ, 1103
  as table, 1396, 1500, 2413
  women not allowed to approach, 1990
  See also Eucharist: as sacrifice
ambo. *See* pulpit/ambo
Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), 901–1184 (53)
Ambrosian Baptistery, Epigraph in the, 1213 (57-B)
"analempsis." *See* deceased: "analempsis" for
anamnesis. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: anamnesis (memorial)
Ananias, 1855
anaphora. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora
Anaphora of Addai and Mari, 1936–46 (79)
Anastasis (Jerusalem), 2164–2219 passim
Ancyra, Synod of (314). *See* councils/synods: Ancyra (314)
"And with your spirit," 1500, 1536, 1596–97
angel(s)
  baptism, present at, 951, 1010, 1072, 1553
  baptism not in the name of, 900
  "bread" of, 1343
  Communion, distributing, 2363
  descending into the pool, 916, 1031–32
  dying, assisting the, 1597
  prayer and, 1533
  sacrifice, assisting at, 907, 1523, 1596–97
  worshiped, not to be, 1985
Anicetus, Pope (ca. 154–ca. 166), 2025, 2027
anointed ones, 2123
anointing, 1324
  Holy Spirit and. *See* Holy Spirit: anointing and
  of Jesus Christ, 871
  postbaptismal. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), postbaptismal

prebaptismal. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), prebaptismal
reconciliation of heretics and, 1460, 1960
See also chrism/myron; oil: blessing of
anonymous Roman deacon (4th century), 1202–10 (**56**)
Antioch, Synod of (341). *See* councils/synods: Antioch (341)
antiphonal psalmody. *See* psalms/psalmody: singing, methods of
antiphons, 2164–2218
Apelleites, 1246
Aphraates (early 4th century), 1599–1600 (**75**)
apostles, feasts of
baptism on, 1193
servants not working on, 1820
Apostolic Canons. See *Apostolic Constitutions*
Apostolic Constitutions, 1608–1911 (**77**)
aputactitae, 2187, 2205, 2208, 2213, 2220
Aquarians, 1185. *See also* water: replacing wine
Aquilea, 2407
Arabians, 1356
architecture, church. *See* church(es): architecture of
Arian(s), 1136, 1171, 1173, 1460, 2399, 2470
Arimium, Council of. *See* councils/synods: Arimium (359)
Arles I, Synod of (314). *See* councils/synods: Arles I (314)
Ascension, feast of, 1187–88, 1288, 1643
as observed in Jerusalem, 2209
servants not working on, 1820
assembly, 1611, 1613, 1657
absenting oneself from, 1274, 1289, 1299, 1619, 2349, 2362
applauding during, 1525
as Body of Christ, 1483, 1487, 1619
celebration, needed for, 2444
Christ present within, 1476
church, held outside a, 1953, 2363
church, within a, 1952
church space, overflowing, 1395
on Easter, 1933
energumens as members of, 2464
as a feast, 1476
forbidden by government, 862
on Friday, 1932
hearers and not bodies required, 1477
improper behavior in, 1341, 1495–96, 1506, 1527
Lent, during, 1933
nonbaptized and infidels excluded from, 1616
place for song, 1471, 1496
place of joy, 1472
power of, 1500
praise for, 1526
on Saturday, 1644, 1935
on Sunday, 1644, 1932
town, held outside the, 2076
unity in. *See* unity: faithful, of the
visitors, 1617–18
on Wednesday, 1932
Athanasius (ca. 296–373), 2399–2424 (**90**)
Athanasius, Canons of Father. See *Canons of Father Athanasius*
Athanasius, Pseudo-. *See* Pseudo-Athanasius

baptism/initiation, 1227–34 (**60-A**), 1350–53 (**67-E-3**),1374–83 (**68-A-5**)
Arians and, 2399
bathing in water before, 2283
of catechumens, possessed, 2463
of catechumens unable to confess the faith, 2465
of children. *See* children/infants: baptism of
Christ and, 1303–4, 1545, 1561, 1599, 2120–28
Church and, 1301–2, 1304
circumcision and, 1935
converting from heresy, of those, 1961, 2037–40
of converts to the Church, 1350
danger, of those in, 1194
day(s) for celebrating, 905, 1189, 1193, 1300, 1342, 1573–76, 2360. *See also* Pasch/Easter: baptism during

deaconesses, role in, 1625
deceased, not conferred upon the, 883
devil and, 1046–47. *See also* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: the devil, renunciation of
of the dying, 1646, 1815, 2463
of energumens, 2463
faith and, 1323, 1498, 1543–44, 1551–77
fasting before. *See* fasting/fasts: baptism, before
fish and, 1055
harassed by unclean spirits, of those, 1284
of heathens, 1286
heretics conferring, 1193, 1882
by John the Baptist. *See* baptism (of Jesus) by John
Manichaeans and, 2400
martyrdom and, 1166, 1269, 1373, 1542, 2102, 2281, 2477
menstruating women and, 2283, 2467
minister(s) of, 872, 951, 1294, 1378, 1488, 1559, 1577, 1593, 1595, 1620–22
names for, 1375, 1570, 2353, 2356
necessity of, 1065
new name given, 2353, 2356
New Testament and, 1064
Old Testament types, 945, 955–63, 1016–18, 1024, 1026–27, 1029, 1036, 1039–41, 1170, 1265–68, 1343, 1373, 1599
only one, 1030, 1500
outside the Church, by those, 1350
Phrygians and, 2400
pool of Siloah and, 967, 1031–35
postponing, 1377, 1400–2 (**69-C-4**), 1567
repeated, not, 874–75, 1193, 1221, 1883, 2045, 2092
repeated thrice, 1919
Samosata, followers of, 2400
of the sick, 889, 1286–87, 1993
sponsors/godparents, 1549–50, 2214, 2286
See also Holy Spirit: baptism and; water, baptismal
baptism/initiation, effects of, 966, 1264, 1343, 1561, 2096
adoption as children, 915, 1559, 2096, 2121, 2123
death/life, 1051, 1394, 1498, 1545, 1558, 1599, 1627, 1647, 2121–22
as enlightenment/illumination, 914, 1302, 1342, 1374–75, 1438, 1570, 1608, 1704
forgiveness of (washing away/cleansing) sin, 896, 919, 937, 956, 1041, 1047, 1050, 1066, 1102, 1170, 1213, 1344, 1396, 1401–2, 1542, 1558–59, 1571, 1913, 2096, 2101, 2104, 2121, 2476. *See also* sin, forgiveness of
rebirth, 894–98, 1004, 1016, 1045, 1052–55, 1233, 1252–53, 1264, 1404, 1570, 1595, 1609, 2096, 2119, 2286, 2458, 2475
as seal, 913–14, 986–87, 1060, 1132–34, 1344, 1461, 1601, 1608, 1627, 1646, 1943, 2081, 2096, 2101, 2141, 2318, 2476
unity, 894, 898
baptism/initiation, liturgy of
adhesion to Christ, 1554, 1583–84, 1646, 1661, 2114
anointing, 1600, 1605–6, 1608, 2085
anointing(s), postbaptismal (e.g., confirmation/chrismation), 974–75, 1052–53, 1060–62, 1249, 1294, 1394, 1577, 1626, 1646, 1668–69, 1994, 2124, 2290–92. *See also* chrism/myron; Holy Spirit: baptism and
anointing(s), prebaptismal, 1008, 1555, 1557, 1577, 1626, 2118–33, 2288, 2382
catechesis immediately after, 2106. *See also* mystagogical catechesis
Christ, putting on, 2476
clothing, removal of, 1569, 1586, 1598, 2117, 2286
cross, signing with, 1556, 1584–85, 1913, 2284. *See also* signing with the cross
the devil, renunciation of, 950, 952, 1009, 1234, 1324, 1552–53,

1579–82, 1628, 1661–63, 2108–15, 2288, 2376
"ephphetha," 1006–7, 1063–66
Eucharist and, 905, 1072–75, 1563, 2293, 2361
exorcisms, 1194, 1379, 1460, 1546, 2093, 2099, 2284, 2288. *See also* oil: blessing of
exsufflation/insufflation, 1460, 2093, 2476
facing east, 2284. *See also* orientation for prayer
facing west, 2288. *See also* orientation for prayer
formulas, 874, 900, 910, 965, 973, 1038, 1042, 1048, 1050, 1131, 1221, 1323, 1350, 1398, 1404, 1559, 1578, 1626, 1646, 1661, 1885, 1887–89, 2289, 2399–2400
immersion/going down into/coming out of water, 1324, 1498, 1559, 1627, 1886, 1890, 2119
inscription of names, 1064, 1194, 1400, 1543, 1991, 2090, 2214, 2467
instruction of candidates, 2215. *See also* mystagogical catecheses
kiss of peace, 1560, 1587–88, 2292. *See also* kiss of peace
milk and honey, 886, 901, 2293
mystagogical catecheses. *See* mystagogical catechesis
the Our Father, receiving/reciting back, 1628
prayer after, 1672–73, 2378
prayer after reception, 2377
profession/handing over of the creed/profession of faith, 1153–54 (**53-N**), 1172, 1498, 1664, 1992–93, 2115, 2119, 2216–17
white garment/linen cloth, 897, 979–82, 1110, 1377, 1545, 1558, 2082, 2142
See also baptismal font/pool/shell; bishop(s)/hierarch(s): baptism and; catechumenate, length of; catechumens; feet, washing of; hand(s), imposition/laying on of; hands, washing of; Holy Spirit: baptism and; oil: blessing of; signing with the cross; water, baptismal
baptism (of Jesus) by John, 871, 924, 1021, 1216, 1263–64, 1373, 1599, 2121
baptismal font/pool/shell, 895, 897, 1053, 1213, 1291, 1500, 2361
baptismal oil. *See* chrism/myron; oil
baptistery, 950
baptized, newly, prayer for, 1724, 2375
Basil the Great (ca. 330–79), 1322–65 (**67**), 1384–85
basilica, architecture of. *See* church(es): architecture of
bema, 1383–84, 1515, 1596, 1740
Bethlehem, 2173–74, 2176, 2205, 2209
bishop(s)/hierarch(s)
almsgiving and, 2431
baptism and, 1006–7, 1014, 1249, 1285, 1294, 1622
care for the poor, 2431
Church's goods and, 1880
Communion, receiving, 1786
Communion to the dying and, 1453
continence and, 1156
Daily Office, role at, 2164–2220 passim
deaconesses and, 1625
deacons and. *See* deacon(s): bishop(s) and
dismissals from liturgy and, 1697
divorce and, 1860
escorted into church, 2359
eunuchs ordained as, 1870
examining those to be ordained, 884
failing to minister after ordination, 1877
fasting and, 2323
first fruits and, 1812, 1859
giving the peace, 1532, 2241
holding assemblies twice a year, 1878
Holy Spirit and, 1536
leaving his diocese, 1299
length of penance, determining, 888
ministry of, 953, 1006–7, 1014, 1249, 1279, 1293, 1609, 1615, 1810–11, 1893, 1927, 2320, 2430
ordaining within his own district, 1876

ordination of, 1223, 1630, 1679–1793, 1809, 1856, 1908, 2239–40
permission required by presbyters and deacons, 1879
prayer(s) for, 1540, 1717, 2392
praying for Christian people, 1734–36
presbyter, differing from a, 1927–28
relative, not to ordain a, 1904
reverence toward, 1608, 1658
selection of, 1658, 1681, 1905–6, 2239
seven orders in the Church, one of, 2426
steps before ordination of, 1198–99
time between baptism and ordination, determining, 1448
use of the word, 1503
visiting from another church, 1617
widows and, 1624
See also chorbishop(s); chrism/myron: preparation by bishop; clerics; hand(s), imposition/laying on of
bishop's chair/*cathedra*, 868, 1532, 1536, 1611, 2201–2, 2245–46, 2359, 2360, 2412, 2413
books with impious titles, 1894
bread
blessing of, 2384
breaking of. *See* Communion rite: fraction/breaking of bread
warm and fresh, 2452
burial
of Macrina, 1390–93
procession, 1385, 1513, 1645, 2385
psalmody during, 1390–91, 1541, 1645, 2347

candles, 1281, 2080
canonical readings. *See* Word, Liturgy of: canonical readings
Canons of Father Athanasius, 2425–61 (91)
Canons of Hippolytus, 2237–2338 (85)
cantor(s)/singer(s), 1341, 1356
baptize, not to, 1622
books, using only catholic, 2432
Communion, receiving, 1786
function of, 1810
greeting to, 1421
Holy Spirit and, 2428
marry, permitted to, 1872
orarion, not to wear, 1975
praying for, 1721
readers as, 1967
seven orders in the Church, one of, 2426
singing alone, 1496
singing during Communion rite, 2158
singing only from Psalter, 2449
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
teaching others, 2449
Cappadocia, 1920
Cappadocians, 1403
Carthage, 863, 880
Carthage, Synod of (345–48). *See* councils/synods: Carthage (345–48)
Carthage II, Synod of (390). *See* councils/synods: Carthage II (390)
Cassius, 2030
Cataphrygians, 1246, 1255
catechumenate, length of, 1287, 1817, 1991, 2274
catechumens
almsgiving on behalf of, 1504
Anastasis, not to enter the, 2218
baptism, desiring when in danger of death, 2463
baptism of, 1289
baptism of those unable to confess the faith, 2465
baptized by a member of the faithful, 1285
bread sent to, 2298
Communion and, 2462
dismissal of, 1614, 1690–98, 1742, 1823, 1831
faithful, numbered among the, 2263
forbidden jobs and professions, 1815–16, 2265–71
gathering in church, 2100
hands, not to lift up the, 1537
hearers, 1352, 1437
imposing hands upon, 1660, 2395. *See also* hand(s), imposition/laying on of
midwives not to pray with, 2276

mysteries, present at, 1918
new mothers praying with, 2279
Pasch (Eucharist), not to celebrate the, 1531
Pasch, only salt given to during, 882
pray with believers, not to, 1821, 2275, 2481
prayer by, 1540
prayer for, 1499, 1971, 2388
preparation of, 1659, 1814–17, 2091, 2099–2100, 2105, 2215, 2263, 2282, 2319, 2355–56
slavery and, 1816
See also elect (*competentes*); secret, discipline of; signing with the cross
Cathars, 1350, 1449, 1460
cathedra. *See* bishop's chair/*cathedra*
Catholic, 1246–47
cemeteries, 1645
of heretics, 1962
offering Eucharist in, 1962
women keeping night vigils in, 1282
See also burial
chalice. *See* cup
chant. *See* singing
children/infants
assembly and, 1341, 1481, 1613
baptism of, 939, 1194, 1376, 1380, 1438, 1562, 2286, 2357, 2458
bema, standing near, 1740
night vigils and, 1487
Palm Sunday, carrying branches on, 2192
praying for, 1729
singing hymns, 2198
singing *Kyrie eleison*, 2166
singing psalms, 1158
See also Communion: to children
chorbishop(s)
and diocesan bishop, 1950
limitations of, 1431, 1950
chrism/myron, 1608
blessing of, 1653–54. *See also* oil: blessing of
preparation by bishop, 876, 891
symbolism of, 1646
See also baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), postbaptismal
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
Christian, name of, 867, 1246–47, 2085
Christian prayer. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east; Office, Daily (cathedral)—west; Office, Daily (monastic)—east; Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of)
Christians, 2129
persecution of to cease, 2054, 2073
Christmas. *See* Nativity of the Lord
Chrysologus, Peter. *See* Peter Chrysologus
Chrysostom, John. *See* John Chrysostom
church(es)
architecture of, 1611
building of stimulated, 2054–58
construction of, 1485–86
decoration within, 2174
dedication/consecration of, 2055–58, 2219–20, 2404
despoliation of, 2413
many in world, 1403
panagyric on construction of, 2058–71
pictures on walls, 1283
place for sacrifice, 943
place of assembly, 1952
restrictions on use of, 1979
therapeutes and, 2004
women dancing in, 1340
See also prayer(s): places for
Church, members of Christ's body. *See* assembly: as Body of Christ
Clement of Rome (d. 101), 1854, 1910
clerics
not allowed to become, those, 1895
altar, allowed to approach, 1971
fasting and, 2323
heretics, role forbidden to, 1881
marry, forbidden to, 1872
penance, admitted/not admitted to, 1200
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
wives, refraining from, 1280
collection for poor. *See* almsgiving
Communion, 1349 (**67-E-2**)
to apostates, 1224
to children, 1786, 2293

not consuming what is received, 1296
as "daily bread," 1120–22
deceased, not given to the, 883
dismissal of those not receiving, 2470
to the dying/Viaticum, 1197, 1212, 1224, 1284, 1290, 1435, 1597, 2032–36, 2441
fasting before, 2295, 2312
fruits of, 1003, 1157, 1510
the "holy may approach." *See* Communion rite: invitation to receive
layman having a nocturnal emission, 2473
married persons and, 2466. *See also* married couple, refraining from intercourse
prayer after, 1650, 1789–90
preparation for receiving, 1587, 1614, 2145, 2150, 2418
receive, those not to, 1270–74, 1281, 1352, 1650
received by a catechumen, 2462
receiving in the hand, 2045, 2159
reverence toward. *See* Eucharist: reverence toward
union with Christ, 1484
worthy/unworthy, reception of, 1236, 1241, 1501, 1518–20
See also Eucharist: frequency of reception/celebration
Communion rite
blessing of the people, 2370–71
bread sent to catechumens, 2298
cantor singing during, 2158
clerics failing to receive, 1863–64
cup, receiving from, 1493, 1563, 1589, 1604, 2088, 2160, 2293, 2402. *See also* wine, at Eucharist
cup of blessing, 1489
disposal of what remains, 2454
formulas, 999, 1092, 1521, 1784–85, 1787–88, 2157
fraction/breaking of bread, 2369, 2439
invitation to receive, 1652
minister of, 1279, 1455, 1514, 1593, 2320, 2363–64, 2402
order of receiving, 1786
Our Father during, 2155–56
See also *eulogia;* kiss of peace
concluding rites. *See* Mass/Divine Liturgy: rites, concluding
confessors, ordained/not ordained, 1805, 2251
Confirmation. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), postbaptismal
Constantine, 1923–25, 1947, 2072, 2075, 2077–82, 2172, 2174–75
letter of, 1313–21
Constantinople I, Council of (381). *See* councils/synods: Constantinople I (381)
councils/synods
Ancyra (314), 1422–36 (**71-A**)
Antioch (341), 1947–50 (**80-A**)
Ariminum (359), 1193
Arles I (314), 1220–24 (**59-A**)
Carthage (345–48), 874–75 (**50-A**)
Carthage II (390), 876–78 (**50-B**)
Constantinople I (381), 1460 (**71-D**)
Elvira (ca. 300), 1270–94 (**62-A**)
Gangra (ca. 345), 1951–55 (**80-B**)
Hippo (393), 879–93 (**50-C**)
Laodicea (between 343 and 381), 1956–2003 (**80-C**)
Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320), 1437–47 (**71-B**)
Nicaea I (325), 1448–57 (**71-C**), 1458–59 (**71-C-2**), 1925–26, 1947
Nîmes (394), 1226 (**59-C**)
Saragossa (ca. 380), 1295–98 (**62-B**)
Sardica (Serdica) (ca. 343), 1299 (**63**)
Valence (374), 1225 (**59-B**)
creed/profession of faith
explanation of, 1153–54 (**53-N**)
handing over. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: profession/handing over of the creed/profession of faith
cross
relic of true, 2201
signing with. *See* signing with the cross
veneration of, 2201
cup
deacon holding, 2442

receiving Communion from. *See* Communion rite: cup, receiving from
Cyprian of Carthage (b. between 200 and 210; d. 258), 1246, 1256, 1262, 1350
Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–87), 2090–2162 (82)

Damasus I, Pope (ca. 366–84), 900 (**52**)
dancing, 1506
spiritual, 930–31
deaconess(es)
appointment of, 1799–1800, 1931
Communion, receiving, 1786
greeting to, 1421
imposition of hands, not to receive the, 1456
ministry of, 1613, 1625, 1629, 1810, 1930–31
deacon(s)
not baptizing by, 1854
bishop(s) and, 1455, 1629–30, 1879, 1928, 1949, 2304, 2336
bless, not to, 1854
Communion, receiving, 1455, 1786
continence and, 1156
correcting others, 1850
divorce and, 1860
first fruits and, 1812, 1859
greeting to, 1421
guilty of serious sin, 1361
holding cup, 2442
liturgical fans and, 2443. *See also* fan(s), liturgical
minister after ordination, who fail to, 1877
ministry of, 1810, 2322
number of, 1447
offer, not to, 1222, 1854
older deacons being present, 2443
ordain, not to, 1630
ordination of, 1431, 1630, 1797–98, 1856, 1950, 2247, 2249–50, 2379
poor and, 1629, 2248
praying for, 1720, 2392
presbyter, replacing, 2324
presbyters and, 1630
presbyters, not to give Communion to, 1455, 2321
presbyters, not to sit in presence of, 1972
presbyters, not to sit with, 1455, 1972
presence at Morning Prayer, 2164
psalmody and, 2412
reverence toward, 1658
role, 1613, 1629, 2248
role at baptism/initiation, 953, 1008, 1010, 1014, 1294, 1622, 1814
role at Mass/Divine Liturgy, 1279, 1499, 1524, 1526, 1533, 1540, 1610–15, 1617–18, 1689–1743, 1788, 1791, 1793, 2145–46, 2424, 2433, 2470
role at Morning Prayer, 1831–32, 1835, 1838
role at ordinations, 1682
role during prayer for the deceased, 1841–42, 1845
role during the *lucernarium*, 1822–24, 1827, 1830, 2326
role in Jerusalem, 2163–2211 passim
role on Good Friday, 2447
sacred vessels, not to touch, 1973
who sacrificed during persecutions, 1423
selection of, 1658
seven orders in Church, one of, 2426
sick and, 1629, 2304
who sin, 1442
striking one another at altar, 2434
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
visiting from another church, 1617
See also clerics; diaconate
deceased
almsgiving on behalf of, 1504
"analempsis" for, 2327
baptized, not to be, 883
bodies of, those who care for, 1931
burial of. *See* burial
commemorating, 1848–49
community and relatives of, 2460
Eucharist, not to be given, 883
Eucharist offered for, 1607
praying for, 1169, 1504, 1631, 1645, 1841–47, 1929, 1934, 2153–54, 2385
Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus, 2484–93 (**95**)

devil, renunciation of the. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: the devil, renunciation of
diaconate
  step toward presbyterate, 1198–99
  women elevated to, 1226
Didascalia of the 318 Fathers (Fides Nicaena), 2398 (**89**)
Didymus the Blind (ca. 313–98), 2475–77 (**93**)
Dionysius the Great of Alexandria (d. ca. 264), 1350, 2032, 2037–46
direct psalmody. *See* psalms/psalmody: singing, methods of
dismissals
  of those not receiving Communion, 2470
  See also Word, Liturgy of: dismissals from; catechumens: dismissal of; energumens: dismissal of; penitent(s): dismissal of
Dokimeion, marble slab from, 1461 (**72-A**)
Donatist(s), 893
doorkeeper(s), 1613
  baptize, not to, 1622
  function of, 2429, 2433
  greeting to, 1421
  role on Good Friday, 2447
  seven orders in Church, one of, 2426
  taverns, not to frequent, 1976
Doxology, Great, 1675. *See also* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: conclusion of
dying, 1567
  assisted by angels, 1597
  See also Communion: to the dying/Viaticum

east, facing
  at baptism, 952, 2115
  during prayer. *See* orientation for prayer
Easter. *See* Pasch/Easter
Easter, octave of, 1643
Easter season. *See* paschal season
Easter vigil. *See* Pasch/Easter: vigil
Easter week
  as observed in Jerusalem, 2205, 2218
  servants and, 1820
Ebionites, 2009
Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles. See *Apostolic Constitutions*
Egeria/Aetheria, 2163–2220 (**83**)
Egypt, 1349, 1458
Egyptians, 1356
elderly, sitting in church, 1613
elect (*competentes*)
  dismissal of, 1704–7, 1831
  enrolling names of, 1194
Eleona, 2175–2220 passim
Elvira, Synod of (ca. 300). *See* councils/synods: Elvira (ca. 300)
emergency baptism. *See* baptism/initiation: of the sick
Encratites, 1350–51
energumens, 1278, 1481, 1524, 1526
  catechumens who are, 2463–64
  clerics, not to become, 1907
  dismissal of, 1823, 1831
  present on Sunday, 2464
eortae, 2178
Ephesus, 908
Ephraem the Syrian (ca. 306–73), 1601–7 (**76**)
epiclesis. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: epiclesis/invocation of the Holy Spirit
Epigraph of Saint Tarcisius. *See* Tarcisius, Epigraph of Saint
Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315–403), 1912–35 (**78**)
Epiphany, 1186–87, 1368–73, 1463
  attending church each day for three weeks before, 1297
  baptism and, 1194
  Basil and, 1384
  bishop washing priests' feet on, 2453
  Communion, receiving on, 1501
  no fasting or kneeling on, 1932
  Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as celebrated in, 2173–77
  observing, day and month for, 1631
  octave of, 2175–77
  rejoicing, day of, 2431
  servants not to work on, 1820

episcopal ordination. *See* bishop(s)/hierarch(s), ordination of
Eucharist
bread, unleavened, 1917, 1987
"broken bread scattered/gathered," 1650, 2367, 2488
celebrated by Christians, 866–67
celebrated for a particular person, 1167, 1607
forgiveness of sins and, 1095, 1150
frequency of reception/celebration, 1121–22, 1150, 1157, 1349, 1486, 1508–9, 1516–21, 2084
"many grains," 1490, 1650
as meal/banquet, 901, 1109, 1394, 1480, 1493, 1535–36, 2085, 2140, 2413
minister(s) of, 1514, 1535, 1620–21, 1652, 1655, 1951, 2026
miracles associated with, 1366
offered by heretics, not to be, 1882
offered for the deceased, 1607
offered in private homes, 2001
Old Testament types, 902, 992–96, 1077–79
Real Presence, 904, 943, 995–99, 1081–92, 1097–99, 1108, 1120, 1127, 1129–30, 1217, 1388, 1396, 1490, 1492, 1598, 1602–5, 1912, 2113, 2127, 2134–43, 2158, 2424–25
reservation of, 1349, 1366, 1491, 2032–36, 2441
reverence toward, 1382, 1492, 2159, 2313–15, 2402
as sacrifice, 907, 1152, 1155, 1173, 1478, 1490, 1516, 1529, 1535–37, 1589, 1607, 1616, 1657, 1971, 2085, 2204, 2210, 2367
as thanksgiving, 1478, 1650–52, 1748, 1940–41, 1946, 2365
unity and, 1490
See also Communion
Eucharist, Liturgy of
bringing/presenting/distributing/praying over gifts, 1277, 1723, 1743, 1858–59, 2242, 2324–25, 2424
Last Supper, relationship to, 1602–3
mixed cup. *See* wine, at Eucharist: mixed with water
preparation for. *See* Communion: preparation for receiving
See also Communion rite; Eucharist; Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora; hands, washing of
Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora, 904, 1602, 1744–73, 2365–68
anamnesis (memorial), 1094, 1749–54, 1756–58, 2490
conclusion of, 1772, 1946, 2045, 2244, 2368, 2492. *See also* Doxology, Great
epiclesis/invocation of the Holy Spirit, 873, 918, 1324, 1590, 1595, 1761, 1945, 2113, 2151, 2368, 2487
initial dialogue, 1745–47, 1936, 2147–49, 2242
institution account, 1088–93, 1535, 1759, 2134, 2367, 2489
intercessions/supplications/reading of names/commemorations, 1762–71, 2152–54, 2367, 2484
offering, 1094, 1760, 1942, 2367
people's participation, 1500, 1948, 2045
preface, 1748, 1937–38, 1940–41, 2150, 2366, 2485
See also Holy, holy, holy/*Trisagion*
eulogia, 1810, 1813, 1966, 1982
Eunomians, 1460
eunuchs, ordination and, 1870–71
Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (ca. 260–ca. 340), 2004–89 (81)
evening hymns, 1218
Evening Prayer. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*)
exomologesis. *See* penance/reconciliation: exomologesis
exorcisms. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: exorcisms
exorcist(s), 1546, 1931
appointment as, 1950

bishop's permission required by, 1978
greeting to, 1421
not ordained, 1950
step toward ordination, 1214
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
exsufflation. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: exsufflation/insufflation

faith, profession of. *See* creed/profession of faith
faithful
forbidden to associate with the excommunicated, 1948
good order among, 1851–55
meaning of, 1577
prayers for, 1971
Roman use of word, 1005
unity of. *See* unity: faithful, of the
See also laity
fan(s), liturgical, 1743, 2443
fasting/fasts
at Ascension, 1190
baptism, before, 1647, 2215. *See also* baptism/initiation: fasting before
bishop and. *See* bishop(s)/hierarch(s): fasting and
Christmas, immediately before or after, 1190
clergy and, 2323
Communion, before. *See* Communion: fasting before
Easter (Pentecost) season, during/not during the, 908, 1644, 1932, 2208
Epiphany, not on, 1932
feasts, not on, 1644, 1892
for five whole days, 1648
four seasons, during the, 1192
on Friday, 1644, 1648, 1899, 1932, 2236, 2297, 2437
on Holy Saturday, 1648, 2089, 2178
Holy Week, during, 1637, 1639, 2417
Jews, not with the, 1900
on Monday(s), 1648
Pasch, before the (i.e., during Lent), 905, 1190, 1381, 1530, 1631, 1899, 1932, 1996, 2178, 2186–87, 2297, 2416–17, 2423
Pasch, during the, 905, 1631, 1639, 1933, 2023, 2302–3, 2447, 2469
penance, as sign of, 2221–22
on Pentecost, 1190–91
Pentecost, after, 1644, 2213
Pentecost, not during, 1932
poor, to benefit, 1530, 1644. *See also* poor: care for
Saturdays, on/not on, 905, 1637, 1896, 1918, 2213, 2456
Sundays, on/not on, 905, 908, 1295, 1644, 1896, 1955, 2213, 2236
superpositiones, 1275–76
Thursdays, on/not on, 1648
virgins and, 2323
Wednesdays, on/not on, 1644, 1648, 1899, 1932, 2236, 2297, 2437
widows and, 2323
See also Communion: fasting before
Fausta, basilica of, 1176
feast(s), yearly, 2431
feet, washing of, 976–78, 1056–59, 1291, 1599, 2453
Fides Nicaena. See *Didascalia of the 318 Fathers*
Filaster of Brescia (d. 397), 1185–92 (54)
first fruits, 886, 1656, 1812
blessing of, 1839–40, 2243, 2333–35
prayer for those who give, 1723
Flavius Latinus, Epigraph of, 1214 (57-C)
font/pool, baptismal. *See* baptismal font/pool/shell
fraction (breaking of bread). *See* Communion rite: fraction/breaking of bread
frequency of Communion. *See* Eucharist: frequency of reception/celebration
Fridays
assembly on, 1932
Communion, receiving on, 1349
fasting on. *See* fasting/fasts: on Friday
funeral meals. *See* meal(s): funeral
funerals. *See* burial

Galerius, Decree of, 1307–12
Galerius, Letter of, 1313–21

Gangra, Synod of (ca. 345). *See* councils/synods: Gangra (ca. 345)
general intercessions. *See* Word, Liturgy of: petitions
genuflecting. *See* kneeling/prostrating/genuflecting
gifts, bringing/presenting of. *See* Eucharist, Liturgy of: bringing/presenting/distributing/praying over gifts
godparents. *See* baptism/initiation: sponsors/godparents
Good Friday
  baptismal candidates and, 1579
  as observed in Jerusalem, 2198–2203
  priests gathering at third hour, 2447
gospel book, 2169, 2194–95, 2255
grave diggers, greeting to, 1421
"Great Week," 2191–2203, 2217, 2414. *See also* Holy Week
greeting, reader not to extend, 881
Gregory of Elvira (d. after 392), 1263–69 (61)
Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–89), 1366–87 (68)
Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 330–95), 1388–1420 (69)

hand(s), imposition/laying on of, 1503, 1544, 1810
  baptism, after, 1285, 1608, 2373
  baptism, before, 1626, 2284
  catechumens, upon, 1660, 2278, 2395. *See also* catechumens: imposing hands upon
  diaconal ordinations, during, 2249, 2379
  episcopal ordinations, during, 2381
  laity, not upon, 1621
  lucernarium, during the, 1827–29
  Morning Prayer, during, 1835–37
  offerings, upon, 2242
  presbyteral ordination, during, 1441, 1450, 1795, 2380
  presbyters, not given by, 1622
  readers, not upon, 2255
  reconciliation, during, 870, 888
  reconciliation of heretics, during, 1193
  sick, upon, 922
hands, upraised, 1144–45, 1167, 1474–75, 1511, 1537, 1580
hands, washing of, 1740, 2145
Hannah, 1644
hearers. *See* catechumens: hearers
heathens. *See* pagans
hebdomadarii, 2186
heretics
  baptism by, 900
  Eucharist, when present at, 2470
  eulogiae of, 1982
  excluded from house of God, 1959
  forgiveness of sins by, 921
  reconciliation of, 1193, 1221, 1353, 1456, 1460, 1960–61, 2037–40
  See also baptism/initiation: of heretics
Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–67), 1216–19 (58)
Hippo, Synod of (393). *See* councils/synods: Hippo (393)
Hippolytus, Canons of. See *Canons of Hippolytus*
Holy, holy, holy/*Trisagion*, 1471, 1502, 1755, 1939, 2366, 2486
Holy Saturday. *See* Pasch/Easter: vigil
Holy Spirit
  anointing and, 2123. *See also* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), postbaptismal
  baptism and, 897, 911–19, 956, 964–65, 970–71, 973, 1004, 1019, 1021, 1042–43, 1132, 1135–36, 1216, 1233, 1252–53, 1322–23, 1396, 1398, 1544, 1558, 1588, 1601, 1608, 1627, 1646, 2101, 2123–30, 2291–92, 2475, 2477. *See also* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: anointing(s), postbaptismal
  bishop, present in, 1536
  bishop and, 2254
  cantor(s) and, 2428
  forgiveness of sin and, 1683
  orders and, 1589, 1683
  prayer and, 1330, 2254
  reconciliation of heretics and, 1193
  role in Christian life, 2475
  sending of, 1643

Holy Thursday
fasting on, 887
as observed in Jerusalem, 2196–97
Holy Week
as observed in Jerusalem, 2191–2203
priests remaining in church, 2447
sadness, a time of, 2301
servants and, 1820
See also "Great Week"
Hours. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east; Office, Daily (cathedral)—west; Office, Daily (monastic)—east; Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of)
Hydroparastatae, 1350
hymn, evening, 1676–77
hymns
Ambrosian, 1181–84 (**53-T**)
at evening, 1934
God, accepted by, 1464
God, sent up to, 1465
in Jerusalem, 2164–2218 passim
monastic use of, 1505
morning, 944, 2086, 2164
morning and evening, 1218, 2086
singing in imitation of angels, 1471
singing of, 863, 906, 943, 1171, 1347, 1511–12
sung at funerals, 1513, 1541
sung continually, 1355, 2482
therapeutes and, 2005, 2007
virgins and, 2482

Ignatius, Pseudo-. *See* Pseudo-Ignatius
Imbomon, 2192–2212 passim
imposition of hands. *See* hand(s), imposition/laying on of
incensation
of altar, 907
Anastasis, in grotto of the, 2169
liturgy, during, 2461
incense
altar of, 1071
bringing in as gift, 1858
infants, baptism of. *See* children/infants: baptism of
institution account. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: institution account
intercessions. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: intercessions/supplications/reading of names/commemorations
introductory rites. *See* Mass/Divine Liturgy: rites, introductory
invocation of Holy Spirit. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: epiclesis/invocation of the Holy Spirit
Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 130–ca. 200), 2024–31

Jerusalem, 1930, 2012, 2163–2220 (**83**)
Jesus Christ
adhesion to, 1554, 1583–84, 1646, 1661, 2114
altar as symbol of, 1103
anointing of, 871
baptism and, 1303–4, 1545, 1561, 1599, 2120–28
baptism by John, 871, 924, 1021, 1216, 1263–64, 1373, 1599, 2121
Communion effecting union with, 1484
prayer and, 885
present within assembly, 1476
putting on, 2476
Jews
baptism by, 900, 1030
Christian sacraments and, 1015–16, 1027, 1077
feast with or accept gifts from, not to, 1900, 1986
the Pasch, not to celebrate with, 1947
penance, refusing to do, 931
pray with, not to, 1897
slaying Stephen, 1211
unleavened bread, not to accept from, 1987
John the Baptist, 924, 931, 969, 1011, 1019, 1021, 1046, 1056, 1114, 1264, 1402
John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407), 1464–1598 (**74**)
Jordan River, 2124

kiss of peace, 1971
at baptism. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: kiss of peace
at episcopal ordination, 1738–39, 2241

eucharistic liturgy, during, 1614, 1774, 2146
women not to give to men, 2277
See also bishop(s)/hierarch(s): giving the peace
kneelers. *See* penitent(s): kneelers
kneeling/prostrating/genuflecting
baptismal candidates and, 1580
forbidden during Pentecost, 1932
Kyrie eleison, 1695, 1708
sung by children, 2166

labor, forbidden on Sunday. *See* Sunday/Lord's Day: no/less labor on
Lactantius (ca. 250–ca. 325), 1305–21 (**66**)
laity
functions forbidden to, 1621
hands imposed upon, 2396
ordinations and, 884
sharing in decisions, 1500
See also faithful
lamps, 1386, 2166, 2429
lighting of, 1284. *See also* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*)
Laodicea, Synod of (between 343 and 381). *See* councils/synods: Laodicea (between 343 and 381)
lapsed
catechumens as, 1454
Cathars and, 1449
penance/reconciliation and, 1225, 1422–29, 1451, 2221–24, 2228, 2231, 2232
Last Supper. *See* Eucharist, Liturgy of: Last Supper, relationship to
laying on of hands. *See* hand(s), imposition/laying on of
lectionary. *See* gospel book
lectors. *See* reader(s)/lector(s)
Lent (*Quadragesima*)
assemblies during, 1933
celebrated once a year, 1529
church, those absent from during, 1295
Communion, receiving during, 1501
Eucharist offered only on Saturdays and Sundays during, 1995
fasting during. *See* fasting/fasts: Pasch, before the
marriages not celebrated during, 1998
as observed in Jerusalem, 2182, 2185, 2187
observed in Jerusalem, eight weeks, 2178–88
priest not to go to a bath during, 2437
See also "Great Week"
"Let us pray," 1499
levite(s). *See* deacon(s)
Liberius, Pope, 1193
Licinius, 2072, 2075
Liturgy of the Eucharist. *See* Eucharist, Liturgy of
Liturgy of the Hours. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east; Office, Daily (cathedral)—west; Office, Daily (monastic)—east; Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of)
Liturgy of the Word. *See* Word, Liturgy of
Lord's Prayer. *See* Our Father
lucernarium, lighting of lamps, 2307, 2326. *See also* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*)

Macedonians, 1460
Macrina, 1389–93 (**69-B**)
Manichaeans, 1350, 2400
manna, 993, 1068, 1076, 1091
marriage/wedding
bishop and, 1387
Christians attending celebrations of, 1999

cleric attending an illicit, 2472
father crowning couple, 1387
heretic, not to a, 1963, 1981
Lent, not during, 1998
to a person engaged to another, 1196
presbyter and, 1439
vows accepted, 1201
married couple, refraining from intercourse, 2474. *See also* Communion: married persons and
martyrdom, baptism and. *See* baptism/initiation: martyrdom and
martyrion, 1405–19 (**69-D-3**), 2170–2220 passim, 2456
martyrs
acts of, 879, 892
baptism and. *See* baptism/initiation: martyrdom and
baptism on feast of, 1194
catechumens as, 2281
commemoration of during Lent, 1997
commemoration of, hymns and psalms at, 2083
Eucharist offered in memory of, 2083
false, 1984
feasts of, 2455
nuns and, 2456
poor, meals to assist the, 2083
praying/not praying for, 1645
shrines to, 1175–78
tombs of, gathering at, 1564
veneration of, 1175–78, 1347
vigils in honor of, 2455
See also saints
Mary
Holy Spirit descending upon, 958
Jesus born of, 998, 1004, 1079, 1084, 1233
Mass/Divine Liturgy
dismissal from, 1533. *See also* catechumens: dismissal of; penitent(s): dismissal of
monks leaving early, 2343
people joining monks for, 2344
place of celebration, 2405–11
rites, concluding, 1791–93, 2162
rites, introductory, 1611
Sunday celebration of in Jerusalem, 2170
time of celebration, 943
See also assembly; Word, Liturgy of; Eucharist, Liturgy of
Matins. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Morning Prayer
meal(s)
funeral, 1850
prayer at, 903, 1348, 1678, 2328–32, 2479–81
meal/banquet, Eucharist as. *See* Eucharist: as meal/banquet
Melchizedek, 1097–98, 1659, 1683, 1855
Melitius, 2428
memorial, prayer of. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: anamnesis (memorial)
Methodius of Philippi (d. ca. 311), 1301–4 (**65**)
midnight, prayer at. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): nocturnal prayer (vigils)
midwives
number of, 2280
purification of, 2276
Milan, 1314
milk and honey. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: milk and honey
mixed cup. *See* wine, at Eucharist: mixed with water
monasticism/monks/nuns
hours and, 1327–38 (**67-B**)
omitting work to pray, 1327–28, 1331
See also Office, Daily (monastic)—east
monasticism, meal prayers
after meals, 1339
before meals, 1339

monazontes, 2164
Mondays, fasting on, 1648
Montanus, 1246, 1350, 1460
Morning Prayer. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Morning Prayer (Matins); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Morning Prayer
Mount of Olives, 2175–2220 passim
musical instruments, 1470, 1512
myron. *See* chrism/myron
mystagogical catechesis, 946–1004 (**53-L**), 1005–1152 (**53-M**), 1543–88 (**74-V**), 2098–2106 (**82-B**), 2107–62 (**82-C**)

Naaman the Syrian, 926, 961–63, 1013, 1017–18, 1036
names. *See* Word, Liturgy of: petitions; Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: intercessions/supplications/reading of names/commemorations
Nativity of the Lord, 1187–88
  baptism on, 1194
  date of observance, 1631
  servants not working on, 1820
Nazoraeans, 1914, 1916
Neo-Caesarea, Synod of (ca. 320). *See* councils/synods: Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320)
Nicaea I, Council of (325). *See* councils/synods: Nicaea I (325)
night, prayer during. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): nocturnal prayer (vigils)
Nîmes, Synod of (394). *See* councils/synods: Nîmes (394)
noncanonical readings. *See* Word, Liturgy of: noncanonical readings
None. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: prayer at ninth hour (None); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: prayer at ninth hour (None); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): prayer at ninth hour
Novatian (d. 257/258), 920, 1193, 1246, 1253, 1255–56
Novatianism, 1960
Novatians, 920, 1246, 1261, 1460

Office, Daily (cathedral)—east, 2308
  Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers), 1565–66, 1821, 1934, 2086, 2166, 2171, 2350
  Morning Prayer (Matins), 1356, 1467, 1509, 1565, 1818, 1821, 1934–35, 2086, 2164, 2350
  nocturnal prayer (vigils), 1219, 1471, 1473, 1487, 1566, 2173, 2412
  prayer at cockcrow, 1512, 2164, 2167–69, 2299, 2309
  prayer at ninth hour (None), 1821, 1970, 2165
  prayer at sixth hour (Sext), 2165
  prayer at third hour (Terce), 1821
  times for prayer, 1474, 1565–66, 1821
Office, Daily (cathedral)—west
  Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers), 903, 943
  Morning Prayer (Matins), 906, 944, 1218
  nocturnal prayer (vigils), 1176, 1347
  prayer at sixth hour (Sext), 943
  times for prayer, 903
Office, Daily (monastic)—east
  Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers), 1334–35, 1505, 1512, 2174
  Morning Prayer (Matins), 1329, 1337, 1339, 1505, 1512, 2483
  nocturnal prayer (vigils), 1335–36, 1339, 1356, 1511, 2364, 2483
  prayer at cockcrow, 1512
  prayer at ninth hour (None), 1333, 1339, 1505, 1512, 2478
  prayer at sixth hour (Sext), 1332, 1339, 1505, 1512, 2478
  prayer at third hour (Terce), 1330, 1339, 1505, 1512, 2478
  times for prayer, 1327–38, 1339, 1505, 1511–12

Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of)
Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*), 903, 1619, 1821–30
Morning Prayer, 903, 1619, 1821, 1831–38
nocturnal prayer (vigils), 903
prayer at cockcrow, 1821
prayer at ninth hour, 1821
prayer at sixth hour, 1821
prayer at third hour, 1821
times for prayer, 903, 936, 1137, 1619, 1821
oil
blessing of, 1324, 1396, 2118, 2127, 2243, 2287, 2356, 2372, 2383–84
bringing as a gift, 1858
drinking of, 2471
offering at a pagan sanctuary or a Jewish temple, 1901
stealing, 1902
symbolism/meaning of, 1627, 1811, 2118
See also chrism/myron
Optatus of Milevis (d. ca. 400), 868–73 (**49**)
orarion, 1974–75
orders
distinctions among, 1853–55
imposition of hands. *See* hand(s), imposition/laying on of
seven in Church, 2426
stages of, 1198–99, 1214, 1421
ordinations
an adulterous wife, of a man with, 1440
age of candidates, 2257
approval by bishop, 1179
confessors and, 1805, 2251
delay required for the recently baptized, 1957
examination, after an, 884
gift of healing, of those with, 2259
hearers, not to be present at, 1958
impediments to, 1867–69, 1922, 1931
obtained by money, 1874
prayers of the people, requesting, 1500
who sinned before baptism, of those, 1430
slaves and, 2253
study of Scriptures before, 881
twice, not conferred, 1898
See also bishop(s)/hierarch(s): ordination of; deacon(s): ordination of; presbyter(s)/priest(s): ordination of
orientation for prayer, 1324, 1326, 1614, 1671. *See also* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: facing east; baptism/initiation, liturgy of: facing west
ostiarius(ii). *See* doorkeeper(s)
Our Father, 870, 1114–25, 1502, 1649, 1671
alternating with psalms, 903
before meals, 2480
See also Communion rite: Our Father during; baptism/initiation, liturgy of: the Our Father, receiving/reciting back

Pachomius (ca. 290–346), 2339–49 (**86**)
Pacian of Barcelona (d. before 392), 1227–62 (**60**)
pagans, 1036, 1988
Palestinians, 1356
Palm Sunday in Jerusalem, 2192
Palmas, 2012
Paphnutius (d. ca. 360), 2350–64 (**87**)
Paraclete. *See* Holy Spirit
parthene, 2164
Pasch/Easter, 1187
baptism during, 1194, 1300, 1342. *See also* baptism/initiation: day(s) for celebrating
catechumens and, 882
Constantine and, 2080
date of (e.g., Quartodeciman controversy), 880, 1459, 1600, 1638, 1862, 1920, 1923, 1925, 1947, 1960, 2010–31, 2048–53, 2416
as greatest feast, 1386
happiness and, 1530, 2415
meaning of word, 902
observance of, 2205–6
Sunday after, 1643, 2207
each Sunday as, 1529

vigil, 894, 1367, 1598, 1641, 1933, 2204, 2338, 2450
washing priests' feet on, 2453
week after. *See* Easter week
paschal lamb. *See* Passover: lamb
paschal mystery, 1121, 1508, 1529, 1944, 2415
paschal season, 1644, 1966. *See also* Pentecost/Easter season
paschal week. *See* Easter week
passions of the martyrs. *See* martyrs: acts of
Passover
Christian. *See* Pasch/Easter
Jewish, 1599
lamb, 902
Paulianists, 1456
peace
greeting of, 1936
kiss/sign of. *See* kiss of peace
prayer for, 1494, 1532
penance/reconciliation, 920–35 (**53-G**), 1246–50 (**60-C-1**)
adulterers and, 1359
allowed once, 935
baptism, after, 1251, 1253, 1257–58, 1921
Christ, those who have denied, 1362
clergy and, 2230
clerics, forbidden/not forbidden to, 1200
community support, 925, 934, 1209–10, 1242, 1262, 1357, 1364, 1481
exomologesis, 1245
fornicators and, 1360
homilies on, 1202–9 (**56-A**), 1210 (**56-B**)
incest, those guilty of, 1364
length of, 888, 1363, 1365, 1423, 1434, 1436, 1452, 1956
murderers and, 1357–58
persecution, those escaping, 2225–27, 2232
persecution, those provoking, 2229–30
persecution, those who fled, 2233
practices of, 925
robbers and, 1420
role of bishop, 1279
sacrifice, those forced to, 1424
soldiers and, 1452
steps, 1357–60, 1362, 1364, 1424–29, 1432–34
ways of doing, 1537
See also lapsed: penance/reconciliation and; reconciliation
penitent(s), 1235–45 (**60-B**)
clerics, not to become, 1200
dismissal of, 1357, 1364, 1500, 1614, 1708–11, 1742, 1823, 1831, 1971. *See also* Word, Liturgy of: dismissals from
hearers, 1357–60, 1364, 1424–29, 1451–52, 1454
kneelers, 1357–60, 1364, 1424–29, 1451–52
mourners, 1357–60, 1362, 1364
relapse, those who, 1197, 1272
standers, 1357–60, 1364, 1424–26, 1428–29, 1432, 1451–54
Pentecost, 1043
fasting afterwards, 1644
a festival, 1457, 1643, 2414, 2416
observance of, 1288
as observed in Jerusalem, 2210–12
role of bishop on, 2431
servants not working on, 1820
Sion, people gathering at, 2172
washing of priests' feet on, 2453
Pentecost/Easter season
celebrating, 908, 1326, 2417
no fasting during, 908, 1644, 1932, 2208
standing during, 1457, 1932
Pepuzites, 1350
Peter of Alexandria (d. probably 311), 2221–36 (**84**)
Photinianism, 1960
Phrygians, 1246, 1460, 1961, 2400
Pius I, Pope, 2025
Polycarp of Smyrna (ca. 69–ca. 155), 1926, 2027
poor
care for, 1479–80, 1812
Eucharist, present at, 1618
Eucharist and, 1493

goods of the deceased given to, 1848–49
meals to assist, 2083, 2326
served by deacons, 1629, 2248
wine given to, 2436
Postumius Eutenion, Epigraph of, 1215 (57-D)
praesidentes, 1964
prayer(s)
"at the genuflection," 2393
authorized forms of, 885
catechumens, heretics, or the unbaptized, not with, 1821
Christ and, 885
Christians and, 899
Church, for the, 2391–92
communal, 1539–40
Constantine and, 2080
deceased, for the. *See* deceased: praying for
deposed cleric, not with a, 1866
energumens, not with, 1907
excommunicated, not with the, 1865
Father and, 885
for fruitfulness, 2390
heretics, not with, 1881, 1897, 1983
at home, 903, 936, 1475, 1511, 1539, 1821, 2307, 2309–10
improvised by bishop, 2254
Jewish times for, 1915
Jews, not with, 1897
at meals. *See* meal(s): prayer at
for others, 1929
people, for the, 2394
places for, 1137–43, 1821
priest and, 1596
in public, 1475
for rulers, 1509, 1537, 1615
schismatics, not with, 1983
in synagogue, 1915
three times a day, 1649
unity in, 1539–40
without ceasing, 2415
women and, 1147
See also orientation for prayer
preaching. *See* Word, Liturgy of: preaching
preface. *See* Eucharistic Prayer/anaphora: preface
presbyterae, 1964
presbyter(s)/priest(s)
arriving after the psalm, 2445
assisting at deaconal ordinations, 1797
attending a second marriage, 1439
baptism and, 1622
baptism, who fail to minister after, 1877
bishop(s)/hierarch(s) and, 878, 891, 1180, 1879, 1949, 2336, 2453
bishops, differing from, 1927–28
chrism and, 891
continence and, 1156
correcting others, 1850
country, in the, 1445
deacons and. *See* deacon(s): presbyters and
departing liturgy early, 2446
deposition, reasons for, 1875
divorce and, 1860
enter a church before the bishop, not to, 2000
episcopal ordination, required before, 1198–99
Eucharist, receiving, 1786
Eucharist, receiving from deacons, 1455
first fruits and, 1812, 1859
greeting to, 1421
impose hands, not to, 1622
interval between baptism and ordination, 1448
involved in an illicit marriage, 1354
living in a foreign place, 2261
location in church, 1611, 2438
marriage and, 1951, 2260
as minister of the Eucharist. *See* Eucharist: minister(s) of
ministry of, 876, 1279, 1445, 1612, 1810, 1893
occupations, prohibited, 2445
ordain, not to, 1630, 1854, 2246
those ordained without suitable inquiry, 1450
ordination, age required before, 1443
ordination of, 1431, 1443–44, 1630, 1795–96, 1856, 1950, 2245, 2380

prayer for, 1719, 2392
present at Morning Prayer, 2164
present in church on Saturday and Sunday, 2445
reordination of, 1456
respect for, 1397
role at baptism, 1008
role at Daily Offices, 2164–2214 passim
who sacrificed during persecutions, 1422
selection of, 1180, 1658, 1965
serious sin, guilty of, 1361, 1441
seven orders, one of, 2426
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
town, residing in, 2445
virgins, not to bless, 891
visiting from another church, 1617
See also clerics
processions, burial. *See* burial: procession
profession of faith. *See* creed/profession of faith
prostration. *See* kneeling/prostrating/genuflecting
The numeration of the following psalms is that of the LXX.
Psalm 7, God accepting our hymns, 1464
Psalm 49, melody giving wings to the soul, 1465
Psalm 50, sung at midnight, 2483
Psalm 62, sung in the morning, 1467
Psalm 90, sung at nightfall, 1335
Psalm 140, sung in the evening, 1466, 1619
Psalm 144, continuously sung by all the faithful, 1468
psalmists. *See* cantor(s)/singer(s)
psalms/psalmody, 1158–60, 1356, 1383–85, 1399, 1600
appropriate and well-chosen, 2172
at beginning of the day, 2164
Communion, after, 2315
at dedication of churches, 2056
at end and beginning of each day, 940
at funerals, 1541
at home, 1346
in Jerusalem, 2164–2205 passim
learning, 2478
lesson read between, 1969
liturgy, during, 1612. *See also* Word, Liturgy of: psalmody during
the Lord's Prayer, alternating with, 903
monastic practice, 1505, 2339–42
privately composed, 2002
reader singing, 2337
singing, 863, 906, 1345, 1494
singing, methods of (e.g., antiphonal, responsorial, direct), 1356, 2164–2218
sung everywhere, 2087
unity and, 1469, 1494
Pseudo-Athanasius (early 4th century?), 2478–83 (**94**)
Pseudo-Ignatius (ca. 400?), 1421 (**70**)
pulpit/ambo, 2337. See also *bema*

Quadragesima. See Lent (*Quadragesima*)
Quartodeciman controversy. *See* Pasch/Easter: date of

reader(s)/lector(s), 1515
appointment of, 1803–4, 1950
baptize, not to, 1622
Communion, receiving, 1786
destined for orders, 1198–99
gospel book given to, 2255
greeting, not to extend, 881
greeting to, 1421
hands not laid upon, 2255
honor to be given to, 2440
instructing others, 2448
marry, permitted to, 1872
orarion, not to wear, 1975
praying for, 1721, 2392
reading Catholic scriptures only, 2427, 2432
role of, 1612, 1810, 2258
selected from all ranks, 1931
seven orders in Church, one of, 2426
singing in church, 1967, 2337, 2454
speaking alone, 1496
subdeacons, not to serve, 2440
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
understanding what one reads, 2448

virtues of a deacon required by, 2255
readings, 1612
reconciliation
of actors, 890
Communion at end of penance always possible, 1436
of heretics. *See* heretics: reconciliation of
kiss of peace and, 2146
liturgy, during, 1610
role of Christ, 1258
role of priest/bishop, 877, 888, 1256, 1591–92, 1594–95
See also hand(s), imposition/laying on of: reconciliation, during; penance/reconciliation; penitent(s); sin, forgiveness of
Red Sea, 945, 2108
redditio symboli. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: profession/handing over of the creed/profession of faith
responsorial singing/psalmody. *See* psalms/psalmody: singing, methods of
Roman deacon, anonymous. *See* anonymous Roman deacon
Rome, 868, 892, 1057–58, 1459, 2012, 2020, 2027
rulers, prayer for. *See* prayer(s): for rulers

Sabbath, Christian, 1619
Sabbath, Jewish
observed by Ebionites, 2009
replaced by Lord's Day, 1935
Sabbatians, 1460
Sabellians, 1460
sacraments
ministers of, 909, 1514
older than those of the synagogue, 989–92, 1015, 1077
preparing for, 1568, 1587
how wonderful, 1483
sacrifice, Eucharist as. *See* Eucharist: as sacrifice
Sadducees, 1645
saints
praying for us, 1385
veneration of, 1399
Salona, Epitaph at, 1300 (**64**)
Samosata, followers of, 2400
Samuel, 1644, 1683, 1853
Saragossa, Synod of (ca. 380). *See* councils/synods: Saragossa (ca. 380)
Sardica (Serdica), Synod of (343). *See* councils/synods: Sardica (Serdica) (ca. 343)
Saturday
assembly on, 2362
celebration of martyrs on during Lent, 1997
Eucharist celebrated on, 1995, 2351, 2457
fasting/no fasting on, 905, 2178, 2213
feast, day of, 1648
intercourse, refraining from, 2474
rest, not a day of, 1980
servants and, 1820
superpositio observed on, 1276
Saturninus, lector, 862, 864, 867
Satyrus, 1162 (**53-R-1**)
Scriptures
education in before ordination, 881
listening to, 1460, 1512, 1515
meditating on, 2478
monks learning by heart, 2348
pagan rulers, sought out by, 862
reading of in private, 936, 1482, 2309
See also gospel book; Word, Liturgy of: canonical readings
seal, baptism as. *See* baptism/initiation, effects of: as seal
secret, discipline of, 1325, 1497, 1500, 2094, 2103, 2217–18, 2318, 2401
Serapion of Thmuis, bishop (d. after 360), 2365–97 (**88**)
servants
church attendance on Saturday and Sunday, 1820
labor forbidden on certain feasts, 1820
to be treated kindly, 1819
See also slaves
Sext. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: prayer at sixth hour (Sext); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: prayer at sixth hour (Sext); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: prayer at sixth hour

(Sext); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): prayer at sixth hour
sick/dying
care of, 2304, 2306
Communion to. *See* Communion: to the dying/Viaticum
entering God's house, 2305
fasting by, 2297, 2471
healing of, 1513, 1595, 2300
imposing hands on, 922, 1220
praying for, 1725, 2304, 2389, 2397
wine given to, 2436
See also baptism/initiation: of the sick; oil
signing with the cross, 965, 1133, 1324, 1400, 1460, 1744, 2317, 2480. *See also* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: cross, signing with
silence, 1614
sin, circumcision from, 937
sin, confession of, 933, 1522, 1528
sin, forgiveness of, 870, 920, 922–35, 1123–24, 1163, 1279
Church, by the, 921, 1262
Communion, by receiving, 1150
the Lord and, 924
various means of, 1530
See also baptism/initiation, effects of: forgiveness of (washing away/cleansing) sin; Eucharist, forgiveness of sins and; reconciliation
sin, types of, 1236–39
birth, existing from, 937
daily, 941
deadly, 927, 1227–28
greater and lesser, 935
singers. *See* cantor(s)/singer(s)
singing, 1345–46, 1355, 1512
benefits of, 1465
unity, sign of. *See* unity: singing as sign of
women and, 2398
See also psalms/psalmody
Siricius, Pope (384–99), 1193–1201 (**55**)
sitting by elderly in church, 1613
slaves
baptism of, 2264
believer having a concubine slave, 1816
circumcision of, 937–38
ordination of, 2264
See also servants
soldiers
Christians not to voluntarily become, 2269
Christians serving as, 1565
never to kill, 2268
Soter, Pope, 2025
Spirit, Holy. *See* Holy Spirit
sponsors/godparents. *See* baptism/initiation: sponsors/godparents
standers. *See* penitent(s): standers
standing
baptism, after, 1383
Eucharistic Prayer, during the, 1742
gospel, during the, 1612
for prayer, 1352, 1671, 1824, 2480
psalmody, during, 2483
on Sundays, 1326
on Sundays and Pentecost, 1457
See also kneeling/prostrating/genuflecting
Stephen, servants not working on feast of, 1820
Stephen I, Pope (d. 257), 2037
stole. See *orarion*
Strasbourg Papyrus, 2494–97 (**96**)
subdeacons
appointment of, 1801–2, 1950, 2256
Communion, receiving, 1786
doors, not to leave unattended, 1974, 1989
functions of, 1740, 1810, 1977, 2258
greeting to, 1421
orarion, not to wear, 1974
praying for, 2392
seven orders in Church, one of, 2426
taverns, not to frequent, 1976
Sunday/Lord's Day
those absent from assembly on, 1299
assembly on, 862, 1485, 1619, 1657
as celebrated by the Ebionites, 2009
Christ's resurrection, day of, 937
Communion, receiving on, 1349, 2089
Constantine and, 2078–79
energumens present on, 2464
Eucharist celebrated on, 2351, 2457

fasting/not fasting on, 908, 1295, 1644, 1955, 2178, 2213
feast, day of, 1648
first prayer for, 2386
intercourse, refraining from on, 2474
no kneeling/genuflecting on, 2236
no/less labor on, 1980, 2078
during Lent celebration of martyrs on, 1997
during Lent Eucharist offered only on Saturday and, 1995
names for, 937
observance of, 2362
as observed in Jerusalem, 2167–72
as the Pasch, 1529, 2088
readings on, 1968
role of bishop on, 2431
servants observing, 1820
standing on, 1326, 1457
symbolum. *See* creed/profession of faith
synaxis. *See* assembly

table
one, 1500
See altar(s): as table
tapers. *See* candles
Tarcisius, Epigraph of Saint, 1211–12 (57-A)
Tecla, Saint, inscription in baptistery of, 1213
Telesphorus, Pope, 2025
Terce. *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: prayer at third hour (Terce); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: prayer at third hour (Terce); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): prayer at third hour
Tertullian (155–220?), 1262
theater, foolishness of, 929
theophany. *See* Epiphany
theraputes, 2004–7
Thomas, 1801, 2206
Thursday, fasting on. *See* fasting/fasts: Thursdays, on/not on
Timothy I of Alexandria (d. 385), 2462–74 (92)
tithes, 1656
traditio symboli. *See* baptism/initiation, liturgy of: profession/handing over of the creed/profession of faith
tradition(s), 1324–25
translator(s), 1931, 2218, 2392
Triduum. *See* Pasch/Easter
Trisagion. *See* Holy, holy, holy/*Trisagion*

unity
baptism, as effect of, 894, 898
chair of Peter as basis for, 868
Eucharist and, 1490
faithful, of the, 1483, 1500, 2410
priests sharing in, 1246
singing as sign of, 1158, 1346, 1356
universal prayer. *See* Word, Liturgy of: petitions

Valence, Synod of (374). *See* councils/synods: Valence (374)
Vespers (Evening Prayer). *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*; Vespers); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): Evening Prayer (*lucernarium*)
vessels, liturgical, 1479–80
appropriate as one's own, not to, 1903
deacons not to touch, 1973
on Epiphany in Jerusalem, 2174
former penitents, not to be held by, 1200
guards, person who, 2435
lesser steward and, 2451
spiritual character of, 2424
See also cup
vestments, 1744
appropriate as one's own, not to, 1903
white and washed, 2435
See also *orarion*
Viaticum. *See* Communion: to the dying/Viaticum
Victor, Pope, 1926, 2012, 2014, 2020, 2022

vigil(s). *See* Office, Daily (cathedral)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (cathedral)—west: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (monastic)—east: nocturnal prayer (vigils); Office, Daily (private/early beginnings of): nocturnal prayer (vigils)
virgins
  appointment/blessing/consecration of, 876, 891, 1298
  Communion, receiving, 1786
  convent, staying within at night, 2459
  fasting by, 2323
  favored status, 1201
  greeting to, 1421
  location in church, 1613
  not ordained, 1806
  praying for, 1721, 2392
  reconciliation of, 1273
  singing hymns, 2482–83
  tithes and, 1812

washing of feet. *See* feet, washing of
washing of hands. *See* hands, washing of
water
  blessing of, 2372, 2384
  replacing wine, 1917–18. *See also* Aquarians
  symbolism of, 1100
  See also wine, at Eucharist: mixed with water
water, baptismal, 1396
  blessing of, 916, 1022, 1042, 1324, 1534, 1544, 1666–67, 1811, 2285, 2356, 2374
  Old Testament types, 955
  symbolism of, 1267–69, 1627, 1646
Wednesday
  assembly on, 1932
  Communion, receiving on, 1349
  fasting on. *See* fasting/fasts: Wednesdays, on/not on
west, turning toward, 2110, 2115. *See also* orientation for prayer
widow(s)
  bishop and, 1624
  Communion, receiving, 1786
  deacons and, 2248
  exhortation to, 1623
  fasting and, 2323
  feeding of, 2332
  greeting to, 1421
  location in church, 1613
  not ordained, 1807, 2262
  prayer on behalf of, 1624, 1721
  tithes and, 1812
wine, at Eucharist
  mixed with water, 886, 1098–1100
  symbolism of, 1104, 1111–13, 1394
  See also water: replacing wine
women
  altar, not to approach, 1990
  baptism of, 1438, 1625, 2283, 2467
  baptize, not to, 1620
  behavior of, unruly, 1341
  Communion, receiving, 1197, 1617, 2468
  covering head, 1616, 2278
  dancing, 1340
  deportment of, 2273
  the diaconate, elevated to, 1226
  Eucharist, not to preside/serve at, 1620, 1930
  fasting and, 2469
  keeping night vigils in cemeteries, 1282
  lighting candles in cemeteries, 1281
  location in church, 1613, 2095, 2277
  men, not to give peace to, 2277
  men in church, not to gather with, 2076
  menstruating, 2467–68
  midwives, purification of, 2276
  new mothers entering the church, 2279
  praesidentes, 1964
  prayer and, 1147
  praying with catechumens, 2279
  presbyterae, 1964
  singing psalms, 1158, 1391–93
  speak in church, not to, 1930, 2095, 2273, 2398
  teachers of other women, 2076
  visiting from another church, 1617

See also deaconess(es); midwives; virgins; widow(s)
Word, Liturgy of
canonical readings, 879, 892, 1482, 1612, 1686, 1910, 1968, 2002–3, 2202, 2419–20, 2427, 2432
dismissals from, 1614, 1689–1711, 1742, 1971
incensations, 2461
leaving immediately after, 1948
noncanonical readings, 879, 892, 2002, 2422
petitions, 1278, 1615, 1713–36, 1775–82
prayer after homily, 2387
preaching, 1612, 1617, 2170
psalmody during, 1612
See also Alleluia, no celebration till heard; kiss of peace
Word of God
listening to. *See* Scriptures: listening to
living by, 942
words, efficacy of, 1670

Zeno of Verona (d. ca. 375/380), 894–99 (**51**)

Volume 3—Fifth Century, West: Augustine of Hippo, Arnobius the "Younger," Pope Innocent I, Peter Chrysologus, Pope Leo I, Maximus of Turin, Pope Gelasius, Faustus of Riez, *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*; Fifth Century, East: Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyr, Narsai of Nisibis, *Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ,* Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria; and others.

Volume 4—Sixth Century, West: Fulgence of Ruspe, Pope Hormisdas, *Rule of the Master,* Benedict of Nursia, Pope Vigilius, Cassiodorus, the *Liber pontificalis,* Synod of Rome (595), Pope Gregory I, Caesarius of Arles, Gregory of Tours, Columbanus; Sixth Century, East: Theodore Lector, Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, Evagrius Scholasticus, the Manchester Papyrus; and others.

Lawrence J. Johnson is the former executive secretary of the Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions and the former editor/director of The Pastoral Press. He has written several books on the liturgy and its music, including *The Mystery of Faith: A Study of the Structural Elements of the Order of the Mass.*

Jacket design and layout by David Manahan, OSB.
Cover image: Detail from *The Glorification of the Virgin Mary* by Franghias Kavertza? fc. ".040), Crete. The Art Archive/Roger Cabal Cell:' rti.rm. Gianni Dagli Orti.

"*Worship in the Early Church* is a rich treasure trove of source materials for those who study early Christian worship. This anthology gives them access to English translations of a wide range of ancient sources that may not be otherwise available to them. The author, who studied under Pierre Marie Gy and Pierre Jounel at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, has done scholars a great service in providing these translations, the majority of them his own. Johnson's comprehensive bibliography, with entries covering the past century and a half, will be a welcome bonus for those wishing to trace the development of scholarship on these early documents. A truly remarkable and indispensable resource!"

Gilbert Ostdiek, OFM
Professor of Liturgy, Catholic Theological Union

"This set will be a great resource. I was impressed with the thoroughness of Johnson's bibliography and his attention to detail. In addition to scholars in the area of worship or liturgy, this collection could also serve those in theology and historical theology. . . . It could have significant ecumenical appeal."

Judith M. Kubicki, Associate Professor
Department of Theology, Fordham University

"It will be very useful to have all these texts in one location. The ability to search and to cite directly from a disk will lighten the task for authors. The bibliography is very useful and the translations are excellent."

Dominic E. Serra, SLD, Associate Professor and Director, Liturgical Studies/ Sacramental Theology, The Catholic University of America

"The project looks tremendous . . . eminently usable for classroom purposes. This is a volume that can be used and used for years to come. . . . A much-welcomed product."

Rev. Paul Turner, STD
Saint Munchin Parish, Cameron, Missouri

"They will serve as valuable tools for serious research in the future."

Gerard Austin, OP
Rice School for Pastoral Ministry, Arcadia, Florida

ISBN 978-0-8146-6198-7
59495
9 780814 661987
U.S. $94.95